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A
COMPENDIOUS HISTORY
OF
NEW ENGLAND

FROM THE
DISCOVERY BY EUROPEANS
TO THE
First General Congress of the Anglo-American Colonies

BY
JOHN GORHAM PALFREY

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. IV

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA
SOUTHERN REGION

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CONTENTS

OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

BOOK V.

PROGRESS UNDER THE HANOVERIAN KINGS.

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION OF BURNET.

	PAGE
William Burnet's Early History	1
His Reception in Massachusetts	3
His Demand for a Stated Salary	4
Refusal of it by the General Court	6
Appeal of the General Court to the Towns	14
Repetitions of the Governor's Argument	16
Adjournment of the Court to Salem	19
Memorial of the Court to the King	24
Prorogation of the Court	26
Dissensions in the Court	28
Adjournment of the Court to Cambridge	33
Disappointment and Death of Burnet	34
Lieutenant-Governor Dummer	36

CHAPTER VI.

ADMINISTRATION OF BELCHER.

Jonathan Belcher's Early History	38
Lieutenant-Governor Tailer	40
Belcher's Demand for a Stated Salary	42
Pertinacious Refusal of it by the General Court	44
Triumph of the Policy of the Court	45
Belcher's Use of Official Patronage	46
Claim of the House to audit Accounts	47
Refusal of Supplies	48

Surrender of the Pretension of the House	52
Financial Embarrassment of the Province	53
Renewed Project of a Bank	56
War between England and Spain	58
Affairs in New Hampshire	59
Belcher's Hostility to Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth	61
His Altercations with Lieutenant-Governor Dunbar	62
Parties in New Hampshire	65
Boundaries of New Hampshire	68
Plots against Belcher, ending in his Removal	73
Death of Belcher in New Jersey	75

CHAPTER VII.

"THE GREAT AWAKENING."

Ministry of Solomon Stoddard at Northampton	77
Ministry of Jonathan Edwards	78
Religious Excitement in the River Towns	79
Report of it in England	80
George Whitefield's Arrival in New England	81
Effects there of his Preaching	82
Effects there of the Preaching of Gilbert Tennent	87
James Davenport, of Southhold	89
Reaction from the Excitement	93
Proceedings of the Ministers	94
Second Visit of Whitefield to Massachusetts	98
His Death at Newburyport	101
Character and Consequences of the Awakening	102

CHAPTER VIII.

CONNECTICUT AND RHODE ISLAND.

Whitefield and Tennent in Connecticut	111
Proceedings of the Clergy and the Legislature	113
Arraignment of James Davenport and Benjamin Pomeroy	115
Multiplication of Congregations and Preachers	116
Suppression and Subsidence of the Excitement	117
Its Limited Prevalence in Rhode Island	119
Accession of Governor Law in Connecticut	120
Ecclesiastical Policy of his Administration	121
Multiplication of Towns	121

CONTENTS.

vii

Appeal from the Courts of Connecticut to England	122
Alarm for the Charter	124
Yale College	125
Internal Administration of Connecticut	126
Population and Traffic of Rhode Island	128
Western Boundary of Rhode Island	129
Election of Governor Joseph Jenckes	130
Election of the Brothers Walton to the Chief Magistracy	132
Dean Berkeley in Rhode Island	132
Education and Religion in Rhode Island	133

CHAPTER IX.

ADMINISTRATION OF SHIRLEY.

Shirley's Earlier Relations with Belcher	135
His Favorable Reception to the Government	139
Financial Condition of the Province	140
Renewed Application for a Stated Salary	143
Disposal of the Question	145
War between England and France	147
Capture of Canseau by the French	147
French Fortification on Cape Breton	148
Shirley's Proposal of an Expedition against Louisburg	149
Its Reception by the General Court	152
Preparations for the Expedition	153
Operations against Louisburg	157
Capture of Louisburg	161
Importance of the Conquest of Cape Breton	168

CHAPTER X.

ADMINISTRATION OF SHIRLEY, CONTINUED.

Project of an Invasion of Canada	171
Alarm of French Invasions	172
Impressment of Seamen in Boston	175
Commotion excited by the Impressment	176
Retrocession of Louisburg to France	179
Unfriendly Designs in England	181
Departure of Shirley for England	183
Society for Propagating the Gospel	183
Lieutenant-Governor Phipps	184

Renewed Indian Agitations	184
French Neutrals	186
Reform of the Currency	187
Appointment of the Attorney-General	193

CHAPTER XI.

ADMINISTRATION OF SHIRLEY, CONTINUED.

Return of Shirley to Massachusetts	195
Dangers of French Encroachment	197
Scheme of Colonial Union	201
Outbreak of the Last French War	205
Conference of British and Colonial Officials	207
Condition and Movements of the French Neutrals	209
Transportation of the French Neutrals	211
Irruption of the French under Baron Dieskau	216
Defeat of Dieskau	219
Unprosperous Campaign of Shirley at the Northwest	220
Appointment of Shirley to be Commander-in-Chief	221
His Recall to England	224
His Retirement and Death	225

CHAPTER XII.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF PHIPPS AND POWNALL.

Operations against New France	226
Successes of the Marquis de Montcalm	228
Massacre at Fort William Henry	229
Arrival of Governor Pownall	231
Arrogance of Lord Loudoun	233
Visit of Lord Loudoun to Boston	235
Advancement of William Pitt to Power	236
His Enlightened Policy for America	237
Disastrous Defeat of General Abercrombie	239
Capture of Fort Frontenac by Colonel Bradstreet	241
Capture of Louisburg by General Amherst	243
Expedition against Quebec under General Wolfe	245
Wolfe's Victory before Quebec	248
Siege and Capitulation of Quebec	249
Surrender of Canada	251
Consequences of the Conquest	252
Departure of Governor Pownall from Massachusetts	254

CHAPTER XIII.

NEW HAMPSHIRE, CONNECTICUT, AND RHODE ISLAND.

Benning Wentworth made Governor of New Hampshire	256
Share of New Hampshire in the Exploit of Louisburg	257
Maraudings of French and Indians	261
Important Services of New Hampshire Troops	264
Rejoicings for the Conquest of Canada	266
Mason's Claim to New Hampshire Lands	267
The Governor's Disputes with the Deputies	269
Improved Condition of the Province	271
Troops of Connecticut at Carthage	272
Troops of Connecticut at Louisburg	273
Annexation by Connecticut of Four Massachusetts Towns	274
Yale College	275
Governors Law, Wolcott, and Fitch	277
Activity of Connecticut in the last French War	279
Abatement of the Isolation of Rhode Island	281
Population and Occupations of Rhode Island	282
Contributions of Rhode Island to the French War	283
Revision of the Boundaries of Rhode Island	284

CHAPTER XIV.

ADMINISTRATION OF BERNARD.

Loyal Sentiment in the Colonies	288
Jealous Policy of England	293
Terms of Peace with France	294
Arrival of Francis Bernard in Massachusetts	296
His Representations of Massachusetts to the Ministry	297
His Appointment of Thomas Hutchinson to be Chief Justice	299
His Relations to the Otises, Father and Son	301
Reclamation by the Province of Moneys misappropriated	303
General Writ of Assistance	305
Arguments of Thacher and James Otis, the Younger, against it	309
Decision of the Court sustaining the Writ	312

CHAPTER XV.

ADMINISTRATION OF BERNARD, CONTINUED.

Jealousy entertained in England	314
Intelligent Loyalty of Massachusetts	315

Pacific Counsels of Bernard	316
Hutchinson and Otis	317
James Otis in the General Court	318
Complaint of the Governor's Misuse of Money	319
Otis's "Vindication of the House"	322
Alarm of Episcopal Usurpation	324
Change of the Agent for Massachusetts in England	325
Governments instituted in the Conquered Territory	326
Scheme of Colonial Taxation	328
Rigorous Execution of the Navigation Laws	331
Population and Employments of Massachusetts	332

CHAPTER XVI.

ADMINISTRATION OF BERNARD, CONTINUED.

Abortive Appointment of Hutchinson to be Agent in England	335
Early Life of Samuel Adams	336
"Instructions" of Boston to its Representatives	337
Discontent of the General Court at the Sugar Act	339
Otis's "Rights of the British Colonies"	340
Appointment of <i>Committees of Correspondence</i>	347
Petition to Parliament for the Repeal of the Sugar Act	348
Thacher's "Sentiments of a British American"	349
Distinction between Duties and Taxes	355
Report of Preparations for a Stamp Act	356

CHAPTER XVII.

NEW HAMPSHIRE, RHODE ISLAND, AND CONNECTICUT.

New Hampshire Grants	359
Dispute about them with New York	360
Origin of Dartmouth College	361
Writs of Assistance in the Smaller Colonies	362
College of Rhode Island	363
Population and Business of Rhode Island	364
Injurious Operation of the Sugar Act	366
Discontents and Disorders in Rhode Island	367
Petition to the King	369
Hopkins's "Rights of the Colonies"	371
Military Operations of Connecticut	372
Population and Business of Connecticut	373

CONTENTS.

xi

Remonstrance against the Sugar Act and the Stamp Act	374
Proceedings in Parliament on the Stamp Act	375
Provisions of the Stamp Act	376

CHAPTER XVIII.

IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES OF THE STAMP ACT.

Unrighteousness of the Stamp Tax	379
Imprudence of the Act	380
Discouragements to Resistance in the Colonies	383
Want of Union between the Colonies	384
Vacillating Action of Leading Men	385
Non-Importation Agreement	387
Proposal of a General Congress	388
Intelligence of Spirited Action in Virginia	389
Distributors of Stamps in New England	389
Riots in Boston	390
Resignation of Oliver as Distributor of Stamps	391
Sack of the Lieutenant-Governor's House	393
Impunity of the Rioters	394
Temporary Disposition of the Stamps	395
Proceedings in the Smaller Colonies	395
Meeting of the General Court of Massachusetts	397
Proceedings of the Colonial Congress	399

CHAPTER XIX.

LAST TEN YEARS OF COLONIAL DEPENDENCE.

Ministry of the Marquess of Rockingham	405
Debate in Parliament on the Stamp Act	406
Repeal of the Act	407
Obstruction of Judicial Proceedings in Massachusetts	408
Ministry of the Duke of Grafton	409
Charles Townshend's Renewal of the Policy of Taxation	410
Question of Quartering Troops in Massachusetts	411
Circular Letter of Massachusetts	412
Non-Importation Agreement	413
Seizure of a Vessel of John Hancock	413
Provincial Convention	415
British Troops in Boston	416
Remonstrance of the General Court	417

The "Boston Massacre"	418
Partial Repeal of the Act imposing Duties	420
Appointment of Hutchinson to be Governor	421
Burning of a King's Ship in Rhode Island	422
Dispute respecting Salaries from the Crown	423
Publication of Letters of Hutchinson and Others	425
Defeat of the Stamp Act in the Smaller Colonies	427
Opposition to the Tea Tax	427
Destruction of Tea in Boston	429
The "Boston Port Bill"	430
Departure of Hutchinson, and Arrival of Governor Gage	431
Contributions for the Relief of Boston	432
Mandamus Counsellors of Massachusetts	432
Second General Congress of the Colonies	433
Provincial Congress of Massachusetts	434
Appointment of Military Officers	435
Proceedings in the other Colonies of New England	435
Address of Parliament to the King	436
Fight at Lexington and Concord	437
Siege of Boston by New England Troops	438
Battle of Bunker Hill	439
Arrival of General Washington at the Camp at Cambridge	439

HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND.

BOOK V.

PROGRESS UNDER THE HANOVERIAN KINGS.

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION OF BURNET.

GILBERT BURNET, the famous Bishop of Salisbury, had several children. By his interest, one of them, who was named William after his godfather, the Prince of Orange, and who had been bred to the legal profession, held in England a place in the customs, from which he was transferred to be governor of New York ^{1720.} and New Jersey, being then just over thirty years of age. His administration of those provinces was in general satisfactory to the people, though, towards the close of it, a faction was created against him on account of some regulation of the Indian trade, which gave displeasure to the merchants of the city of New York. Whether in consequence of their complaints, or because, as the historian Hutchinson had learned, the place, being lucrative, was coveted by a favorite of King George the Second, Burnet, on the acces-

sion of that prince to the throne, was transferred to the government of Massachusetts, a post then of more honor, but of uncertain pecuniary value. The government of New Hampshire was added, but the profit from this was small. The change was disagreeable to Burnet, as he had lost largely in the South Sea speculation, and had a numerous family on his hands. The busy bishop was now dead, and his children had to rely on their own merits and fortune.

Governor Burnet possessed qualities imposing and attractive. His figure and manners were dignified and engaging. He was intelligent, witty, learned, accomplished, and experienced in business. In his youth he had been reputed to entertain doubts of the authority of revealed religion, but, under the influence of Sir Isaac Newton, he had come to a better state of mind, and while he was in New York he published a theological work, which had some reputation and currency.

The history of Burnet's fourteen months' administration of Massachusetts is little else than the record of a dispute with the House of Representatives about the settling of a stated salary upon the governor. The reader has seen that this question, introduced by Dudley, and largely treated by him and his successor, had been mostly lost sight of in the last years of the government of Shute, and in that of Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, which followed. It was not brought

to a settlement in Governor Burnet's time, but it was then that the contest about it was most animated.

The lavish magnificence of his reception in Massachusetts, so far as it expressed genuine enthusiasm, is to be ascribed to the general veneration entertained for the memory of his father. As far as it was dictated by prudence, its object may be naturally imagined to have been to conciliate the new ruler in respect to the different matters upon which the province had been at issue with his predecessors, especially in the reign of the late king.

Losing no time in causing his own position on this matter to be understood, he made it the sole theme of his first communication to the ^{1728.} General Court. Eleven days after reach- ^{July 24.} ing Boston he addressed them in a speech, in the first sentence of which he not only declared peremptorily what he wanted, but cleverly turned the generosity of their reception of him into an argument in favor of his demand. "The commission," he said, "with which his Majesty has honored me, however unequal I am to it, has been received in so respectful and noble a manner, and the plenty and wealth of this great province has appeared to me in such a strong light, as will not suffer me to doubt of your supporting his Majesty's government by an ample, honorable, and lasting settlement." He flattered their sense of importance by saying that they approached

“the nearest of any of his Majesty’s American dominions to the trade and numbers of people in his European kingdoms.” He gave them notice of the King’s pleasure respecting the salary, of his own immovable purpose to comply with it precisely, and of his confident expectation that they would do the same. “I shall lay before you his Majesty’s instruction to me upon this subject, which, as it shall be an inviolable rule for my conduct, will without question have its due weight with you.” Meanwhile he volunteered some suggestions of his argument in its support. “The three distinct branches of the Legislature,” he said, “preserved in a due balance, form the excellency of the British Constitution. If any one of these branches should become the less able to support its own dignity and freedom, the whole must inevitably suffer by the operation. I need not draw the parallel at length. It speaks of itself. . . . The wisdom of parliaments has now made it an established custom to grant the civil list to the king for life. And as I am confident the representatives of the people here would be unwilling to own themselves outdone in duty to his Majesty by any of his subjects, I have reason to hope that they will not think such an example has anything in it which they are not ready to imitate.”

Next came a copy of the royal instruction, which justified the governor’s description of it. After rebukes to the provincial authorities for

their previous neglect of directions of the same tenor, it proceeded as follows: "Our will and pleasure therefore is, and we do hereby require and direct you to acquaint the Council and Assembly of our said province of the Massachusetts Bay, that, as they hope to recommend themselves to the continuance of our royal grace and favor, they must manifest the same by an immediate compliance with what has been so often recommended to them in forthwith passing Acts to establish a fixed and honorable salary for the supporting and maintaining the dignity of our governor and commander-in-chief for the time being; and we deem a competent sum for that purpose to be at least one thousand pounds sterling per annum from our said province of the Massachusetts Bay. And in case the said Council and Assembly shall not pay a due and immediate regard to our royal will and pleasure hereby signified, we shall look upon it as a manifest mark of their undutiful behavior to us, and such as may require the consideration of the Legislature in what manner the honor and dignity of our government ought to be supported in our said province for the future."

This threat of a resort to the interference of Parliament was made the more significant by a remembrance of the measures which had from time to time been taken by the Ministry to engage Parliament in a scrutiny of the colonial charters. The power of Parliament in respect to

those charters was the more of a bugbear for having never been defined, nor so much as discussed. But a vague belief of the omnipotence of that body was a sort of English instinct. When the King said that he considered his authority as affronted, and that he might see fit to call on his Parliament to vindicate it, it was impossible that the patriots of Massachusetts should not revert to those times of which the memory was so recent, when the cancelling of their charter had placed them at the mercy of King James and his governor. Nevertheless, their resolution was taken. Two days, morning and evening, they read over again and again the governor's speech and the instructions referred to in it, "and spent some considerable time in debating thereon." The day after these discussions was Sunday, and they did not meet. And the next day July 27. they simply "resolved that the sum of seventeen hundred pounds be allowed and paid out of the public treasury to his Excellency William Burnet, Esquire, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of this his Majesty's province, to enable him to manage the public affairs of the government, and defray the charge he hath been at in coming here." The amount of the grant was unprecedentedly large. The Representatives were willing to be liberal, and gained some advantage by showing themselves to be so disposed. But the question of a greater or less liberality, to be exercised at their own discretion, was one

entirely different from that on which they had resolved to make their stand.

It is probable that the governor was scarcely prepared for so prompt an exhibition of firmness on their part. On the third day after, the Council having meanwhile concurred in the vote, the governor sent a message to both Houses. July 30.

The grant, he said, "is contrary to his Majesty's instruction communicated to you, inasmuch as that sum is allowed partly 'to enable me to manage the public affairs of the government,' which part of the application of that sum is the very thing against which the said instruction is levelled; for it recites that, 'instead of a salary, the Council and Assembly had from time to time made governors such allowances and in such proportions as they themselves have thought his Majesty's governors had deserved, in order thereby to make the said governors the more dependent upon them,' which is by his Majesty termed a neglect of their duty; and an immediate compliance in settling a salary payable to the governor is made a condition of his royal favor, and the contrary declared a manifest mark of undutiful behavior. For these reasons, I am utterly disabled from consenting to the said resolve, that I may not draw his Majesty's just displeasure upon myself; and I hope that when you have considered the whole matter with its consequences you will have the same thoughts with me."

The issue was distinctly joined. A sharp dispute followed, which did not result in causing either party to abandon the position it had taken.

Aug. 6. The House, having meditated on the subject for a week, passed a resolve dividing its former grant, and giving the governor three hundred pounds "for defraying the charges" of his journey, and fourteen hundred pounds "to enable him to manage the public affairs." And the two branches joined in an Address praying him to accept this provision, and expressing their confidence "that this and succeeding Assemblies would at the usual times cheerfully afford a support suitable to the dignity of his person and station." They professed to "apprehend that his Majesty's service in the necessary defence and support of the government, and the protection and preservation of the inhabitants thereof, the two great ends proposed in the power granted to this Court for the raising taxes, will be best answered without establishing a fixed salary," and at the same time they "esteemed it a great unhappiness that his Majesty should think our method of supporting a governor of this province a design of making them dependent on the people." This language seems carefully chosen. It does not affirm that such was not their design, but that they were sorry the King should think it to be. No doubt they regretted that his discernment was not more dull.

Aug. 9. To this Address the governor replied that

“the privilege in the charter to raise money for the support of the government was therein expressed to be *by wholesome and reasonable laws and directions*, and consequently not by such as were hurtful to the ends of government”; and that “a support given in such a precarious manner as had been usual here could not possibly be honorable, because it implied no sort of confidence in the government, and made the support of it depend visibly on an entire compliance with everything demanded by the other branches of the Legislature.” He made a telling point when he said, “I may appeal to the consciences of such gentlemen as have been concerned in the public affairs here, whether the allowance for the governor’s salary has not been kept back till other bills of moment have been consented to, and whether it has not sometimes depended on the obtaining such consent. These matters, which are well known, leave no room to wonder why his Majesty thinks this method of supporting the governors a design to make them dependent on the people. And as you have given me no reason at all against this opinion, I must believe it is the real view intended to be pursued.”

To the governor’s message each branch of the Legislature prepared an answer, and neither would consent to adopt the form proposed by the other. The answer of the Council was brief, merely expressing in general terms their regret that a difference should have occurred at so early

a period of the administration; their continued persuasion that the purpose for which the power to levy taxes had been conferred by the charter "would be best answered without establishing a fixed salary"; and their opinion that "an honorable allowance made by the General Court at the beginning of a session" could not "be justly looked upon as having a tendency to bring the governor into a dependence on the people inconsistent with the dignity of his station, or his freedom of acting according to his judgment."

The House had come to deal more frankly with the policy of maintaining a control over the governor by keeping him in dependence for his livelihood. "If," they said, "we resemble the British Constitution, as your Excellency has done us the honor to declare, we humbly apprehend that no part of the Legislature should be independent. We have ever conceived that it was the peculiar distinction and glory of the British Constitution, that every part of it had a mutual relation to and dependence on each other. If your Excellency intends that we do not put so much confidence in the governor as the Parliament do in our most gracious sovereign, to whom the civil list is granted for his life, (which God long preserve!) we freely acknowledge it. Is it reasonable or possible that we should confide in any governor whatsoever so much as in our most gracious King, the common father of all his subjects, who is known to delight in nothing so

much as their happiness, and whose interest and glory, and that of his royal progeny, are inseparable from the prosperity and welfare of his people, whereas it is most obvious that neither the prosperity nor adversity of a people affect a governor's interest at all, when he has once left them?" They pointed out particulars in which both branches of the Legislature were dependent on the governor, as constituting "vastly more than a counterbalance for any possible dependence of the governor upon them. As to the past conduct of Assemblies in making the support of the government conditional, ... it is not easy to say what men may have had or had not in their own views and thoughts; but this we can say, that to have done so, as the case might have been circumstanced, would not have been unreasonable in itself, nor without precedent from the Parliaments of England, when some of the greatest patriots and most wise and learned statesmen have been actors in them." And their unambiguously expressed conclusion was: "We are constrained in faithfulness to the people of this province to say, that we cannot pass any Act to establish a fixed salary for the governor, according to your Excellency's instruction from his Majesty."

The Council entertained the opinion that "though it might prove of ill consequence to settle a salary upon the governor for the time being, yet that a salary may be granted for a

Aug. 20. certain time to his Excellency, William Burnet, Esq., without danger to the province"; and they passed a vote to that effect, with which the House refused to concur. Then

Aug. 28. the House asked the governor for a prorogation, inasmuch as sitting all summer was inconvenient to them. He was as obstinate as they. "In answer," he said, "to your message of this afternoon, that the House is desirous to rise, I must observe to you that his Majesty expects an immediate regard from the Council and Assembly to his will and pleasure signified in his twenty-third instruction to me concerning the establishment of a fixed and honorable salary for the support of the government. If I should consent to your present desire, I should thereby make your immediate regard to his Majesty's pleasure impossible, which it is not as long as this present session continues; and therefore I cannot agree to a recess till you have finished this matter for which the court is now met." The House renewed its request, and the governor repeated his refusal, accompanying it with a threat. "I am persuaded," he said, "that you would be

Aug. 29. very sorry to have his Majesty's favor withdrawn from you on account of your undutiful behavior in not paying an immediate regard to this instruction; and you would be very much concerned to find the Legislature of Great Britain taking into consideration the support of this government, and perhaps something besides, which I

forbear to name. When these things happen, as from your proceedings they naturally must, I am sure you will thank no person who has been instrumental in bringing matters to such a pass; and therefore for your own sakes, as well as out of duty to his Majesty, I declare to you my fixed resolution of doing nothing on my part that may put it out of your power to continue in your duty to the best of kings."

To this message the House made a reply, which appears to have been drawn by Mr. Cooke, and into which were incorporated the reasonings of that paper of theirs which a fortnight before had failed to obtain the approbation of the Council. The governor answered it in a long argument which produced no ^{Sept. 2.} other effect upon them than a repetition of the request for a prorogation, after the passing of two resolves which took higher ground than ever. They were: 1. That they would not "take under consideration the settling a temporary salary upon the governor or commander-in-chief for the time being"; 2. That they could not, "with safety to the people they represented, come into any other method for supporting the governor or commander-in-chief for the time being, than what had heretofore been practised." When the committee of the House delivered their message, "And here," said the governor, who had information of its purport, "is my answer thereto." It was as follows: "Gentlemen of the House of

Representatives; I have already informed you that my duty to his Majesty will not permit me to agree to a recess till his instruction is complied with. I have given you my reasons why I think so, and I have answered all your objections. I can only assure you that unless his Majesty's pleasure has its due weight with you, your desires will have very little with me."

Actuated, as they said, by "an earnest desire, by all just and proper ways consistent with the privileges of this people, to recommend them to the continuance of his Majesty's royal grace and favor, and to bring this session which has been already so long and expensive to a good conclusion," the Council "voted that it is ex-

Sept. 6.

pedient for this Court now to ascertain a sum as a salary for his Excellency's support, as also the term of time for the continuance of the same." The House refused so much as to consider this proposal. They turned to the people.

Sept. 11. They fortified themselves with an elaborate "Advice" to their constituents, recapitu-

lating the transactions of the session, and explaining their own moderation, and the governor's obstinacy. This was designed "to be transmitted to the several towns by their representatives" on the rising of the Court, because, notwithstanding their confidence in the correctness of their proceedings, "several members had desired to know the minds of their principals." But when the hope of a prorogation was disappointed, it was circulated at once.

The governor brought another influence to bear. He sent to the House an extract from a letter written six years before by the prov-^{1722.}ince's agent, Jeremiah Dummer, giving an ^{March 10.}account of a conversation between Dummer and Lord Carteret, Secretary of State. That minister had advised Dummer "to write to the Assembly that they would so behave themselves for the future as not to provoke the government to bring the matter of their charter before the Parliament; for if they did, he said 't was his opinion that it would be dissolved without opposition." Lord Carteret had referred to a bill lately introduced into Parliament for the subjection of Ireland. "It was entitled, 'A Bill for better securing the Dependence of Ireland on the Crown of Great Britain'; and it passed without a division. 'This, his Lordship said, would be our fate on the like occasion.'" And complaining "that by several votes and resolutions of the lower House, printed in their journals, we showed an inclination to be independent of the administration here, and that we treated the King's commands as waste paper, particularly in not settling a proper salary on our governors, he had recommended to them for their own sakes a more discreet conduct." The governor did not serve his cause by this recollection. An unheeded and unexecuted threat has been divested of its terrors when it is six years old. Lord Carteret can scarcely be said to have been now in power. At all events,

the new charm of his brilliancy, and with it a part of his consequence, was gone. Robert Walpole was at the head of the King's affairs, and it belonged to his cautious policy not to touch the colonies as long as he could with decency let them alone.

1728. The governor sent to the House a long, ;
 Sept. 17. elaborate, and acrid stricture on their "Advice" to the towns, though he had received no formal communication of it. The House
 Sept. 20. promptly replied with a counter-criticism no less careful, but characterized by a calmness and dignity which rebuked his petulance;
 Sept. 21. and the next day they renewed the grant, which the governor had declined, of fourteen hundred pounds "for his support in managing the affairs of the government," and added a grant of sixteen hundred pounds more. Again he
 Sept. 23. sent them an extended and peevish argument upon the case as they had last presented it. He resented as a grossly injurious imputation their suggestion of the reason why he refused them leave to separate. "What could be less decent or respectful, and more irritating, than directly to charge me with a design to keep you sitting in order to compel you to act contrary to your native freedom and declared judgment, and so betray the great trust and confidence your principals have reposed in you?" His reason for refusing to prorogue them was, as he tauntingly phrased it, "that I may do nothing on my part

that may put it out of your power to continue in your duty to the best of kings." As to the three thousand pounds they had offered him, he would have none of their money except on his own terms. "As to your offer which you have now made, I see no difference between it and what I was obliged to decline before, but in the sum; that is to say, that you would give me still a higher reward for to take his Majesty's displeasure off from you and lay it upon myself, which I am by no means inclined to do."

The House replied in a very few respectful words, merely affirming their continued conviction of the correctness of their views of the controverted question. The governor was not at all discouraged. He owed to the Duke of Newcastle, that while he had "brought" ^{Sept. 13.} the Council into the measure of a fixed salary," he had found himself "contending with a stiff Assembly"; but at the same time he informed the Lords of Trade that he "intended to continue sitting with the Assembly till they comply, that the country, who pay about a thousand pounds a month to the Council and Representatives by way of wages during their attendance, may feel the inconvenience of their standing out." "I have now," he wrote, "reduced" ^{Sept. 30.} them to silence. I am so far from desiring to have leave to depart from my instruction [so as to receive their grant of three thousand pounds], that I think his Majesty's authority

in danger of being lost in this country, if it be given up in this point."

The governor tried yet another device. He informed the House in a formal speech

Oct. 1. that he had reason to believe that their Act for the issue of sixty thousand pounds in bills of credit, passed in the last year, would be disallowed by the King, a result which would be fruitful of embarrassments; and that the most likely way to save it would be to appropriate the interest which it would bring in to the salary which he was demanding. The Council

Oct. 5. proposed to refer this communication to a joint committee. The House, refusing to make this disposal of it, referred it to a committee of their own, and sent out warrants to call in all the members for the more solemn deliberation on the subject. On the report of their com-

Oct. 24. mittee, the House replied to the governor's proposal: "If we should by such an Act settle the said four per cent, as your Excellency moves, it would be fixing a salary, which is concluded by this House to tend very much to the hurt of the people of this province, as we have often declared, and in this opinion we still fully are." And they added, "As we have been very ready to show our honorable esteem and high respect for your Excellency at your arrival and till your settlement, and in adorning the province house for your more pleasant entertainment, so we are very desirous that your Excellency may

be still honorably supported, and therefore would again entreat you to accept of the fourteen and sixteen hundred pounds, which this Assembly have so cheerfully granted, and which is so far beyond any grants in this province ever before; which if your Excellency should be pleased to do, we cannot doubt but that succeeding Assemblies, according to the ability of the province, will be very ready to grant as ample a support. And if they should not, your Excellency will then have the opportunity of showing your resentments."

The answer to this Address was an adjournment of the Court by the governor for a week, to meet at the end of that time at the Court House in Salem. So bold an attempt at coercion did he deem expedient and becoming. In justifying it to the Lords of Trade he wrote that, 1.

Boston had instructed its Representatives Oct. 28. to vote against the establishment of salaries; that, 2. "the people of the town were continually endeavoring to pervert the minds of the members who come from the country," while at Salem he was "informed the people were generally well inclined, as the members from that place were"; and that, 3. "the whole profit of the meeting of the Assembly was confined to the town of Boston, who deserve so ill at the hands of the government." He "begged leave to propose two expedients that he humbly apprehended would be necessary to bring this people to reason and

their duty." One was "a disallowance of the Act for raising and settling a public revenue for and towards defraying the necessary charges of this government by an emission of sixty thousand pounds in bills of credit"; the other, "to lay before his Majesty the whole conduct of the Assembly, not only in refusing to comply with his Majesty's twenty-third instruction, but likewise in having the confidence to charge his Majesty with giving an instruction that has a direct tendency to weaken, if not to destroy, their happy Constitution." He "humbly submits if it is not absolutely necessary that his Majesty be moved to lay the matter before the Parliament." The action of Parliament which he desires "will be no final decision against their charter, but will give them just apprehensions of losing it, if they continue refractory." He begs the Board to "give all possible despatch to this affair, . . . till which time this government is of no profit and has no authority." At the same time he informs the Duke of Newcastle that he has had "no subsistence at all but from perquisites from the shipping, which have amounted to about two hundred pounds sterling a year, since they were raised to a par with those of New York."

"You are, no doubt," he said, on meeting the Court in the unusual place for their assembling, "desirous of knowing my motives for removing the General Court from Boston, and I am as ready to satisfy you." He had, he

Oct. 31.

said, "for some time had too much reason to think that the general inclination of the inhabitants of that town was against a compliance with his Majesty's twenty-third instruction, and that they used endeavors to work upon the minds of the Representatives to bring them into their own way of thinking." But, as he proceeded to explain, what had brought him to the determination to change the seat of government for the present, was "a public unanimous declaration, at a town-meeting [of Boston] called for the purpose, that they were against settling a salary." He had "therefore thought it proper to adjourn the Court to some place where prejudices had not taken root." In terms well adapted to exasperate the existing disaffection, he recommended "a harmony between the branches of the Legislature." He repeated his argument respecting the last emission of bills of credit; and as to their rejection of it he assured them that he could not "think without concern on the consequences it would have to their disadvantage, and therefore would earnestly persuade them, if possible, to reconsider with care what had perhaps been too suddenly resolved, that, before it was too late, they might avoid all the unhappy effects which those measures might bring upon them."

It was no time for intimidation when the Representatives and the capital were incensed by so violent a measure as the removal of the Court. Perhaps it was to show that they meant to do

nothing in passion, that the House passed a fortnight in the transaction of other business before uttering their sense on the great present grievance. There was then more gravity and calmness in their language than cogency in their argument. After expressing their grief at the governor's imputation, "so very dishonorable to them," of being "influenced by the people in Boston," and declaring their persuasion that "the reasons that prevailed with them to determine as they had, would go with them, guide and influence them everywhere," they proceeded to complain of what was "so very grievous to them, and hurtful to the province, as the removal of the Great and General Court from Boston."

The charter had given to "the governor for the time being full power and authority from time to time to adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve all Great and General Courts and Assemblies," and besides the prescribed yearly General Court of Election, courts were "to be held at such other times as the governor should think fit and appoint." Nothing was said in the charter of the place of meeting, and the argument would have been plausible, at least, that no power short of that of the whole government could designate any place other than the ancient and customary one, where the public records were kept. But the Representatives went further. They urged that an Act, confirmed by the royal approbation, for "establishing the form of the writ and precept for

calling a Great and General Court or Assembly " had "determined the town-house in Boston to be the only place for convening, holding, and keeping Great and General Courts or Assemblies"; and they represented that a few years before, when Governor Shute, with the advice of ^{1721.} his counsellors, had transferred the General Court to Cambridge, on account of the small-pox then raging in Boston, he had assented to votes of the whole Court giving validity to the proceeding in those new circumstances, and guarding against this act of the governor being drawn into precedent. They had now given the governor an advantage. He told them very justly that the words in the writ were "to be understood by way of instance or example only," and no more determined Boston to be the only lawful place for holding General Courts than the appointed forms of precepts for the election of Representatives, which expressed the name of no other county but Suffolk, determined Suffolk to be the only county that could lawfully be represented. And he reminded them of the order in Council, passed in conformity with the opinion of the King's Attorney-General and Solicitor-General on the former occasion when the question was raised, to the effect "that the sole power of dissolving, proroguing, or adjourning the General Court or Assembly, either as to time or place, is in his Majesty's governor."

Recurring to the main question, he asked, "If

the settling of the salary of a governor be not just and equitable, how came it to be just to settle the wages of the Council and Representatives, as had been lately done, by law? Would it not have been better to have waited till each session was over to see how much every member of either House might deserve by voting with the majority, and to allow them wages in that case only?" Their desire to return to Boston, and their persistence in the same views which they entertained there, only satisfied him still more that Boston was not a safe place for him to trust them in. "If your thoughts are still the same that they were at Boston, it only proves how deep impressions were made upon you there, which I shall continue to hope will be removed in time."

Nov. 22 The Representatives, satisfied by this time that the governor was inflexible, turned to the King. In a respectful Memorial, comprising a repetition of arguments grown familiar in this controversy, they justified their not having accommodated themselves to the royal instruction. They described the ample liberality of their grants to the governor, and explained, on the other hand, that in the course of his administration they had had no encouragement to change their sentiments as to a permanent salary "from any grounds or reasons for special confidence in him; but the treatment they had met with in the methods that had been used

to bring them into a stated salary had tended to confirm and abundantly strengthen them in their first determination." The governor asked for a copy of this Memorial. The House, after debate, refused it. The House voted to instruct the treasurer to remit a hundred pounds sterling to Francis Wilks of London, "to enable him to serve the interest of the province in the affair of the humble Address the House have prepared." The Council unanimously declined to consent to this appropriation, "for that the Address of the House to his Majesty not having been communicated to this Board, they cannot judge whether it be for the interest of the province or no," and also because Mr. Wilks was to be only the agent of the House. Mr. Belcher, who was about to embark for England, was then desired by a vote of the House to co-operate with Mr. Wilks in endeavors to obtain the King's favorable reception of the Memorial.

This movement had one good effect, which had probably been contemplated, though no purpose of the kind was avowed. It furnished the governor with an excuse to himself for releasing the Legislature from its five months' imprisonment. For many successive days the only record on the Council's journal is that there was "no business before the Board." The House would prepare none for them until the Council should concur in their protest against the governor's removal of the Court to Salem, which the Council steadily

refused to do. The governor had offensively said that he could not be so unkind as to dismiss the Court, because a prorogation would put it out of their power to set themselves right by compliance with the King's instruction. But now that they had directly approached the King with the assurance that no such compliance was to be expected from them, there was an end to that pretence,

and they were prorogued for three months,
Dec. 22. to meet again at Salem. The governor
1729. wrote to England that he had been re-
Jan. 24. luctantly "prevailed upon by friends in the Assembly, whose affairs suffered very much, to give them a recess before Christmas. As to the fixing of a salary," he said, "I have no expectation to succeed in it, till a censure of Parliament is passed."

He had now become angry. He wrote to the Duke of Newcastle : "I have seen so much
March 31. of the temper of the people of this province that I humbly conceive that some of his Majesty's forces upon the British establishment will be necessary to keep them within the bounds of their duty"; and he urged upon the Board of Trade the expediency of sending over at least two companies of a hundred men each, and making him captain of one of them. The Privy Council considered the representation, and advised the
May 22. King to lay before Parliament the facts indicating the insubordination of Massachusetts.

The governor was all this while embarrassed for

the means of living. He was resolved that he would not take the public money except on his own terms. The Representatives were resolved that he should not have it except on theirs. He resorted to a measure which would have occasioned much more outcry, if personally he had been less liked, and if the more material controversy which was pending had not absorbed attention. In his former government of New York he had been accustomed to receive fees for passes given to vessels cleared at the custom-house. It was complained of in England, and he was instructed to discontinue it. But it does not seem to have occasioned any violent crimination; and in Massachusetts he had resumed the practice, and had raised the fees till they yielded him a considerable revenue.

The governor's speech at the beginning of the next session referred briefly to some April 2. matters of inconsiderable importance, but the topic with which it began and closed was that which had caused the warm discussion of the preceding year. "All proposals to me," he said, "to deviate from my royal master's commands will be vain and fruitless, and, as I kept you together in the fall that you might avoid his Majesty's displeasure, till you put it out of my power to excuse you by sending home a declaration that must have been highly offensive to him, so now I give you an opportunity which this House of Representatives will never have again,

of retracting and retrieving so unhappy measures."

April 4. The House, after debate, voted that they would not "come into any further consideration of settling a salary on the governor at this present session." They directed the

April 10. treasurer to remit three hundred pounds to Mr. Wilks and Mr. Belcher to recompense their services in the matter of the Address. The Council refused, for the same reasons as before, to

April 11. concur in this larger appropriation, and they complained that in the Address, of which they had only obtained a sight several months after its transmission, they found a statement, which they considered "partial, not to say unfair," that the House "had the concurrence of the Council in their conclusion, not to settle or fix a salary on the governor." The failure to obtain money from the treasury for the purposes of the Address was made up by a voluntary contribution of merchants and others of Boston, whom the House engaged to "use their utmost

April 16. endeavor" to reimburse "in all convenient time." In messages which passed be-

April 17, tween the two branches, vindicating with
18. some asperity the proceedings had by them respectively, the House, by the citation of a precedent of Lieutenant-Governor Dummer's time, defended its course in respect to the appointment and remuneration of agents of its own, and to the withholding of their instructions from the

knowledge of the Council, while the Council maintained that, inasmuch as they had "declared their readiness to come into a salary to the present governor for a limited time the Honorable House in their Address ought not to have represented the Council as concurring with them, ... but ought in justice either to have left the Board unmentioned, or to have stated the matter in its true light."

"For the more sure guidance and direction of his Majesty's good subjects here, if that affair should be brought for further con-^{April 17.}sideration before the General Court," the House directed the members from Boston to compile and publish a collection of instructions from the crown to the governors respecting the establishment of a salary, and of all proceedings which had been had upon that subject since the grant of the existing charter; and the volume, consisting of a hundred and twelve pages, in small quarto size, was published in the same year. The term of the Court was near to expiring.

The governor dissolved it without having^{April 18.} given his approval to the resolves which had been passed for its pay. "It may justly appear doubtful," he said, in his message, "whether the towns ought to bear an expense, the sole end of which was defeated; and since you would not come into any further consideration of settling a salary on the governor at this present session, I think you cannot wonder that I should

defer the consideration of your allowances in the same manner." He communicated an extract from a letter from the Board of Trade, applauding his "prudence and integrity in declining to accept of money from the Assembly upon any terms different from those enjoined by the instructions"; and he concluded with an assurance of the satisfaction he had in thinking that in the approaching annual election "the country would have an opportunity, by a new choice, of showing their duty and loyalty to his Majesty, as well as their faithfulness to their own Constitution."

Of course, the governor did not expect this to be taken as sincere. At all events, the character of the new House, which also, agreeably
May 28. to the writ, came together at Salem, was the same as that of the last. Its vote for Counsellors did not however express the resentment which would have been not unnatural. Only four new members were chosen to that Board, of whom two, Jonathan Belcher, the House's agent in England, and Isaac Little, were rejected by the governor. The formal business of the opening of the legislative year having been transacted in two days, the Court was prorogued to the following month, when the House began the session
June 25. - by opening another question. It proposed
July 10. to go into convention with the Council for the choice of an Attorney-General. The Council replied that it was not at liberty to

do so, a royal instruction to the governor having declared that that officer must be appointed by the executive department. The House
 appealed to a precedent of the time of Governor Shute, when the Council, after setting up this pretension, had on further reflection abandoned it. But the Council now persevered; and with their advice and consent, Paul Dudley, who had held the office by annual elections of the Court, was reappointed to it by the governor. The two Houses concurred in a vote to
 issue twenty thousand pounds in bills of credit to meet the current expenses of the government; but the governor refused his consent.

1715.

July 8.

The Representatives prayed him to issue his warrant for the payment of their predecessors who had served in the last House. The law, they said, prescribed no such condition of the remuneration of Representatives as that of "their being always of the same sentiments with the governor." But they could get nothing from him beyond the answer that "he should lay the matter before the Lords of Trade, and take their directions therein." They were engaged in a discussion as to a grant to be made to the governor, when, after a fortnight's session, the Court was again prorogued, to meet again at Salem. At neither of these sessions had the governor resumed the application for a salary. He was awaiting intelligence of the action of the King's Privy Council upon the Address which had been

sent by the House. As soon as he had parted with the Court, he wrote to the Lords of
July 19. Trade: "The principles of independency are too deeply rooted in them to be managed by anything but the Legislature of Great Britain."

Aug. 20. He was ready, at the next meeting of the Court, to acquaint them with the action of the Privy Council, premising that, till he should be informed of it, he had purposely abstained from presenting the question respecting salaries to the present House, in order that they "might remain free and unconstrained from any share in the dispute." He now informed them that, after hearing the agents of the House by counsel and

May 22. the law officers of the crown in reply, the Privy Council, with expressions of their high approbation of his perseverance, and with a reassertion of their judgment that the governor of Massachusetts should have a permanent annual salary of a thousand pounds, had advised the King "to lay the whole matter before the Parliament of Great Britain." The House, however, at the same time, received information from the agents — which, to keep up the public spirit, they immediately published — to the effect that the reference to Parliament was not likely to be made. The agents had probably discovered that resolute reluctance of Sir Robert Walpole to meddle with the colonial administration, which was so characteristic of the instinctive wisdom of that clear-sighted statesman.

The House again, in the same terms as Aug. 22. before, passed its resolve for the emission of bills of credit, to the amount of twenty thousand pounds, to meet the charges of the government. The Council amended the resolve so as to clear it from that claim on the part of the House which had been before a subject Aug. 23. of dispute. The House refused to concur in the amendment, and again the measure fell to the ground. The Council by a unanimous vote refused to accede to a grant of five hundred pounds made by the House to its agents in England. In a calm and respectful message the House expressed to the governor its approval of the position taken by the last House respecting the great question of salaries, and the governor immediately resorted to another measure of coercion, adjourning the Court to meet after four days at Cambridge.

The further dispute was to be of no long duration. Of course the House met in no more manageable mood, when, for the gratification, as it seemed, of the governor's passion, or for a harsher trial of his power, it found itself in a second unusual place. But it did not overlook the advantage of proceeding with dignity in a quarrel with an angry man. It now made Aug. 27. a grant to him of six thousand pounds "for his support the last year, and further to enable him to manage the affairs of government." "If you will not comply," he said to the Repre-

sentatives, "with his Majesty's instruction, you might at least forbear your endeavor to seduce one of his servants from his declared duty"; and in his ill-temper he warned them against adjourning themselves, as they had done, "from Saturday morning to Tuesday afternoon," and threatened to bring to the notice of Parliament this unauthorized extension of their right by charter

Aug. 30. to adjourn themselves for forty-eight hours.

They answered his refusal of their money with an argument to which the frequent previous repetition of it now left nothing to be added.

Aug. 31. The next day, as he came towards the ferry from Cambridge on his way to Boston, his carriage overset, and he was thrown into the water. A fever followed, and he

Sept. 7. died at the end of the week, having first, however, sent to the House from his sick-chamber

Sept. 2. a very long vindication of his own proceedings and claims, accompanied with a strain of equally confident condemnation of the opposition which had distressed and baffled him. The

Court, which had little fault to find with him, except for his stubborn fidelity to a claim opposed by themselves with as stubborn resistance, and which could not be unimpressed by his generous and manly qualities and by his various accomplishments, honored him by a costly funeral.

Sept. 12.

Sept. 10. Appearing at the Council Board, from which he had been absent since the third

day after Burnet assumed the government, Lieutenant-Governor Dummer adjourned the Court for a week. His speech at its meeting briefly declared his good intentions towards the province, and referred to the obligation which his instructions imposed to ask for a stated salary. The House repeated, in the same terms as before, its vote to supply the treasury by an issue of twenty thousand pounds in bills of credit. The Council amended the vote. The House refused to accept the amendment, and the Council to recede from it. With the now familiar arguments, the House replied to the lieutenant-governor's demand for a salary; the lieutenant-governor justified it, and the House criticised his plea. But the other point, to which up to this time they had adhered with equal obstinacy, they now surrendered. The inconvenience of a suspension of payments from the treasury was too great to be longer borne; and the House had become discouraged as to carrying their point in respect to the form of the grant. The necessary supply was now granted in the manner which had been practised before the last year of Governor Shute; that is, subject to be drawn from the treasury by the governor's warrant without a subsequent action of the Legislature upon each payment. The Court, having sat a week, was prorogued to come together again at Boston, the Council having first repeated their refusal to

Sept. 17.

Sept. 18.

Sept. 23.

Sept. 24.

Sept. 26.

make an allowance for the remuneration of the House's agents in England.

Nov. 19. In the next session, of a month's dura-
Dec. 20. tion, the standing topics of dispute were again treated, but it was with no novelty of dis-

Dec. 19. cussion, and nothing beyond routine business was accomplished, except that a law was passed relieving Baptists and Quakers from parish taxes. The lieutenant-governor recommended to the House not to waste their time in deliberating about a grant to him, since he must adhere to the instruction to receive none except in a stated salary. To make good their own ground, they went through the form of granting him seven hundred and fifty pounds. The Council still refused to meet the House for the election of an Attorney-General, and to consent to its grants to its agents; and it refused, though earnestly urged, to have a conference with the

Dec. 9. House on those questions. The House voted to direct the Treasurer to place five hundred pounds at their disposal by paying it into their Speaker's hands; but the Council defeated this plan by an amendment directing the Treasurer to pay the money to Jeremiah Dummer, who in England represented the whole

Dec. 13. Court. The House, in a single vote, granted three thousand pounds to their agents, and two thousand pounds to the late governor's children. In another they attempted

Dec. 15. to get their agents paid as for services in

calling Burnet to account before the Privy Council for taking illegal fees for the clearance of vessels. But against both devices they found the Council equally inflexible.

At the annual meeting for elections the ^{1730.} lieutenant-governor made no reference to ^{May 27.} the controverted questions. He told the Court that Burnet's practice as to taking fees had been disapproved by the Privy Council, and that Jonathan Belcher, one of the House's agents, was about to return to Massachusetts as governor. The House went through the form of voting nine hundred pounds to the lieutenant-governor, and then, at its request, the Court was ^{May 30.} prorogued for a month, on account of an alarm of the small-pox in Boston, and of the expectation of the speedy arrival of the new governor.

CHAPTER VI.

ADMINISTRATION OF BELCHER.

AT some time within the first nine years after the immigration of Winthrop's company, Andrew Belcher set up an inn in Cambridge. His son Andrew made a considerable fortune as a merchant, first of Hartford and then of Boston, and was a member of the Council of Massachusetts several years under King William's charter. He married a daughter of Deputy-Governor Danforth. His son Jonathan, after finishing the term
1699. of study at Harvard College, travelled abroad, both in England and on the Continent, and, according to a statement in one of his speeches, had an honorable reception at the court of the Elector of Hanover, and of his mother, the Princess Sophia, heiress presumptive to the British crown. Returning home, he followed in his father's steps, becoming a merchant, a Representative in the General Court, and a member of the Council.

He cannot be said to have had a generous nature, but he had qualities which go far to insure popular regard. His person and presence were graceful and pleasing. He had a cheerful countenance, a hearty voice, a demonstrative

gesticulation, and an habitually affable address. He was a man of society and of the world. He was not troubled, like his differently constituted and differently trained predecessor, with pride and obstinacy about points of honor. The maxims of his earlier profession kept their hold on his experienced mind. He brought into politics some habits of trade. When satisfied that he could not get what he wanted unless at an inconvenient price, he accepted with complacent good-nature as much as was to be had. He was no miser. He spent his money with an elegant liberality. Especially was his purse freely opened when it might buy large returns of praise and consequence.

He was known for years as a friend of high prerogative principles in the government. Great surprise was felt when, at the height of the quarrel with Burnet about a stated salary, it became known that Belcher had embraced the popular pretension. The House made him one of its agents in England to enforce that doctrine on the Court, and in England he remained and persevered, though the Provincial Council steadily refused its consent to his being paid. There the news of the death of Burnet found him, and another not less unexpected change in his position forthwith took place. Lord Townshend's quarrel with Walpole had more than begun, and each of the rivals wished to avoid strong measures which might offer an advantage to the other.

Wilks, Belcher's colleague in the agency, persuaded Townshend that Belcher, if anybody, could manage the turbulent Representatives of Massachusetts. It was thought that the popular branch in the Legislature which had so lately chosen him to be agent could not fail to welcome him as governor, and to be accessible to his persuasions; and, on the other hand, he volunteered satisfactory assurances to the Ministry of his determination

^{1729.} to desert the popular cause. He assured
^{Dec. 31.} the Duke of Newcastle that there was no reason "to entertain a thought to his prejudice on the score of the station he lately sustained; no one," he said, "shall be more tender of the honor and dignity of the crown, nor more industrious to promote the interest of the mother kingdom." Shute, whose appointment Belcher had aided by a contribution of money fifteen years before, now repaid the boon by his good offices. Belcher was made governor of New Hampshire as well as of Massachusetts.

Dummer was not continued as lieutenant-governor. At the instance of Wilks, who had established some claim upon favor, perhaps by his negligent execution of his trust from the Representatives, the place was restored to William Tailer, who fifteen years before had served in it under Shute. Tailer had lately held the Naval Office, a position of more emolument. Wilks, wanting it for a friend, made the other arrangement for Tailer, as a partial compensation for his loss.

Belcher helped his associate in the agency in making this transfer. Avowing his preference for Tailer, he solicited of the Duke^{March 30.} the "favor always allowed to the King's governors, to be made easy in their lieutenant-governors."

Tailer, who was on the spot, and who had received his commission, met the General^{1730.} Court at the time to which it was pro-^{June 30.} rogued, before Belcher's arrival. He told them that he should propose nothing but business of routine, but he did at once a generous act by approving a grant made by the House to Dummer, from which Dummer, under his instruction, had withheld his approval, and which would^{July 3.} otherwise have lapsed. The Court sat but three days, and it was not till after four successive prorogations that they came into the presence of their new compatriot ruler.

In his inaugural speech he exhorted them to be watchful for the interests of^{Sept. 9.} religion, and tolerantly regardful of the rights of conscience; to attend to the condition of the Indians, of trade and currency, and of the fortifications, which were not to be neglected, notwithstanding the peace lately made with Spain; to protect the King's rights in the woods and in naval munitions; and to maintain the contested boundary of Massachusetts on the side of New Hampshire. In the circumstances, his utterance on the subject of the governor's salary, which he

had lately been sent abroad to plead against, could not but be awaited with curiosity. He said that, according to the royal instruction which had been renewed to him, he must demand and expect from the Court a stated annual allowance of a thousand pounds. In his management of this delicate matter he probably gave himself credit for a dexterity which on the other part was not ascribed to it. He told the House that, having manifested, in their past course, the courage and persistence exemplified by Cato till the crisis at Utica, they certainly would not think of imitating the Roman further to the point of his self-destructive obstinacy. The Representatives thought the governor's reasoning was the worse for this indulgence of his rhetoric. If their course hitherto had been as just and magnanimous as he implied it to have been, it was fit to be persevered in, at least till perseverance was shown to be attended with more danger than as yet appeared.

The instruction to Belcher was in terms more peremptory than had been employed before in the same connection. If the salary should not "be forthwith fixed by law, his Majesty," it was said, "will find himself under a necessity of laying the undutiful behavior of the province before the Legislature of Great Britain, not only in this single instance, but in many others of the same nature and tendency, whereby it manifestly appears that this Assembly, for some years last past,

have attempted by unwarrantable practices to weaken if not cast off the obedience they owe to the crown, and the dependence which all colonies ought to have on their mother country." The demand was announced to be "the last signification of the royal pleasure to them upon this subject"; and, should it not be complied with, "it is our will and pleasure, and you are required," so wrote the Council in the King's name, "immediately to come over to this Kingdom of Great Britain, in order to give us an exact account of all that shall have passed upon this subject, that we may lay the same before our Parliament."

But it was not the governor alone who knew what was passing in England. The popular leaders also had good sources of information, and on the whole their opinion was that, in the existing state of English parties, and of the mutual jealousies among great men, the danger of an attack in Parliament upon the province was not imminent, and that the displeasure of the Privy Council might probably be exhausted in threats. They had reason to believe that by persons more powerful than those who constituted the well-informed and officious Board of Trade the zeal of that body was rather feared than encouraged, and that the Privy Council, though it could do no less than echo the complaints of the Board, would not be disposed, or would not be suffered, to embarrass the existing party relations by forcing into Parliament a question susceptible of uses which

could not be calculated. And in the last resort they judged that, if the question must be decided against them, it might be better that it should be so decided by Parliamentary usurpation than by their voluntary surrender.

Sept. 21. In a message to the Council, the House made known its inflexible resolution on the subject. The Council, after taking time for con-

Oct. 1. sideration, proposed to the House to join them in an engagement to pay to the present governor a fixed salary as long as he should fill the office. But neither to this arrange-

Oct. 2. ment would the House consent. A conference between the two branches effected nothing. The governor made them a speech, and, quoting certain recommendations respecting the colony which seven years before had been addressed by the Board of Trade to the Lords Justices of England, warned them of the probability that the government would have recourse to the vigorous measures therein indicated. The

Oct. 3. House asked for an adjournment of the Court. The governor refused it; adopting the pert language of his predecessor, he said that he could not do them such a wrong as to put it out of their power to show their duty to the King in the way which he had pointed out. Three or four weeks passed, and they showed no sign of yielding. He called on the Council to advise him, on their oaths, whether it would

Oct. 28. be for the King's interest that he should dissolve

the Court. The Council unanimously advised against a dissolution, and he ordered a prorogation for seven weeks, to give the Representatives opportunity to take the better sense of their constituents. When they next met, ^{Dec 16.} he touched the disputed question lightly, expressing little besides the hope that they had now come together "with good and dutiful inclinations to the King." If they had, they were not prepared to express those inclinations in the way that he desired. Again he treated the ^{Dec. 29.} argument at large, adding that he "did not intend to give them any further trouble." They informed him in positive terms that ^{1731.} their minds were made up upon the sub- ^{Jan. 1.} ject. He dissolved them with an angry ^{Jan. 2.} rebuke, and ordered writs for a new election.

On the main question the new Court ^{Feb. 10.} proved no more tractable than the old, and their constancy showed the way to a termination of the quarrel. The governor began to be incommoded by the want of money. The House desired that he should have it, but would give it him on none but their own conditions. The House proposed, and the Council agreed, ^{April 1.} that the two bodies should unite in a Memorial to the King to permit the governor to accept their temporary grants, as had been done by his predecessors. That their course was not prompted by motives of parsimony, they had taken care to show by generous gifts to the gov-

ernor (which there was no obstacle to his accepting) for his services as agent in England, and for defraying the expenses of his voyage. The perseverance of the House prevailed to carry this important point so long and obstinately contested. For three successive years the governor received permission from England to accept the annual grant of the General Court, accompanied with an order to urge the demand for a stated allowance. At length, however, the un-^{1735.}availing claim was definitively disused, and the governor was allowed permanently to take his money in the form in which the Court was willing to make the grant.

Politician as the governor was by taste and practice, he addressed himself to the management of the parties, of which he had successively enjoyed and disappointed the confidence in past times. Unmindful of the maxim of the Great Monarch that every appointment to office makes one person ungrateful and ninety-nine angry, he sought to fortify himself by a new distribution of places, assuming that commissions needed to be renewed on each accession of a new governor. After the manner of his tribe, he thought it prudent to attach opponents, and take for granted the continued support of friends. Cooke, the tribune of the time, was made a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and, giving some signs at last of sycophancy, lost his popularity, and with it his power. The judicial courts had by

law the appointment of their respective clerks. The governor proposed a person whom he wished to advance as clerk for the county of York. The judges said they were satisfied with the present incumbent. The governor superseded the judges, and so compassed his object. This sort of proceeding was new in Massachusetts, except so far as precedents might be found for it in the administration of Andros. It was odious to the moral sense of the people, and presently fell again into disuse.

Another controversy was in progress at the same time with that respecting a stated salary for the governor. The House revived its old pretension to audit public charges before moneys which had been granted by them should be paid out. The governor would not accede to it. The Court passed money-bills with that condition attached, and he rejected them. The laws for replenishing the treasury expired without renewal, and it was empty. This was a state of things which could not last, for government, to go on, must be paid for; and for the present, till the King's pleasure should be signified after a representation of the case, the House was prevailed upon to appropriate money for specific ob-^{1731.}
jects, to be drawn and paid on the govern-^{April 24.}
or's warrant, without further action of that body. The governor dissolved the Court on the day when this Act was passed.

But it seems that the constituencies were not

pleased with this action of the Court, for the next

May 27. House refused to repeat it. The gov-

ernor's speech at the beginning of the session was short, as was especially his reference to the vexed question respecting his salary. The reason was that he was expecting the royal consent to his departure from the instruction which he had so positively insisted on; and he received it, accordingly, for the present year.

June.

July 13. An old controversy, revived for a moment

by a vote of the House to adjourn itself for three days, brought a sharp rebuke from the governor. The House again made appropriations with their cherished reservation of the right to audit the accounts which were to be discharged, and now the Council acquiesced; but the governor, as before, refused to sign the bill.

July 28. A request of the House to be prorogued

Aug. 25 - was at first refused, but their importunity

Sept. 22. or their inflexibility obtained for them three

Oct. 6 - vacations in the autumn, from neither of

Nov. 3. which did they bring back any disposition

Nov. 9 - to yield their point. Argument might seem to

Dec. 1. have been exhausted, but they had not wearied

1732. of it. For the Representatives to with-

Jan. 20. draw their claim to see for themselves whether the specified charges defrayed from the treasury were honest and reasonable and conformable to their appropriations, would be, they said, "to prostitute the money in the treasury to the unaccountable and consequently uncontrol-

lable will and pleasure of the governor and the major part of seven gentlemen of his Majesty's Council [seven Counsellors being the number prescribed in the charter for a quorum], which is four, and those such as the governor shall pick and choose out of twenty-eight. If his Majesty's instruction, and not what the General Court judges to be for the good and welfare of the province, must be the rule, we dare not do it, being firmly of opinion that we shall act neither like Englishmen nor rational creatures, to comply with the instruction." The governor Feb 2. replied with copious reasoning and reproof. He then ordered a prorogation of the Court, and did not summon it again.

He reminded the next Court that there June 1. had "not been any money in the treasury June 9. for more than twelve months past," and he informed them that the Privy Council had advised the King to adhere to his sixteenth instruction, which limited the issue of Massachusetts bills of credit to the amount of thirty thousand pounds, and to his thirtieth instruction, which disallowed the pretension of the House to audit the public accounts. When the House June 30. again justified by an elaborate argument their perseverance in the latter claim, the governor seems to have resolved to make a different experiment. He prorogued them for four July 7. months, perhaps thinking that if keeping them inconveniently away from their homes

failed of its purpose, as it had done hitherto, the object might be accomplished by compelling them to see for a considerable time that discomfort and annoyance on the part of unpaid public officers, which for the time being they were deprived of the capacity to relieve.

Nov. 2. But if such was the governor's calculation, he was disappointed. When he had made his customary complaint, with the specification that there had now "been no supply for

Nov. 3. eighteen months," only one representative among fifty-seven was found opposed to a vote that a relinquishment of the ground which had been taken "would necessarily tend to destroy the powers and privileges granted to the General Court in and by the royal charter." Another exchange of long messages took place, and a positive refusal on the part of the House to give way. Trying another method, the

Dec 15. Council joined with the House in an Address to the King, praying for his indulgence in the matter, and in another to the House of Commons, soliciting their intercession. The latter measure gave displeasure to the governor, as an insolent attempt at dictation to the crown,

1733. and a prorogation followed for three
Jan. 4. months, which time nearly exhausted the political year.

The next House persisted in its method of granting supplies, attaching to them by a unanimous vote the condition that the governor's war-

rant should not draw money from the treasury to satisfy any claims other than what the House should have examined and ap-^{June 6.}
^{June 14.}proved; and the governor assured them that he never would sign a supply bill to which that condition was attached. The House was at a disadvantage in the controversy. It was the governor who was distressed, when, because a stated salary was denied, he refused to approve a bill granting money for his support; but it was the province on whom the inconvenience fell, when, because of a condition which he would not admit, the governor withheld his signature from a bill for providing the means to pay the salaries of subordinate officers and maintain the other expenses of the province. The last hope of opposition to him was lost when, the treasury having now been empty two years, intelligence came that the application for indulgence had been unfavorably received both by the King in Council and by the House of Commons.

The House thereupon asked the governor to issue his proclamation for a day of prayer and fasting, because of the province being "under the manifest token of the Divine displeasure." But he did not see the exigency in that light. In fact, the House was helpless. There must be money in the treasury to meet current expenses, or the machinery of government would come to a stop. There was no way to place it there, except by the governor's consent. It was clear that he

had made up his mind not to yield to the conditions insisted on by the House, and that his superiors in England were equally determined. When the Court came together again in the autumn, the House first expressed its feelings,

Oct. 16. and then submitted to its defeat. 'The

Representatives rejected by a vote of two to one a bill of supplies divested of the favorite condition, and on the afternoon of the same day, on a reconsideration, passed the same bill by a like majority. The question was not revived at any later time. Practically it was settled. And the other matter of dispute having also been put to rest by the consent of the Ministry to have their governor maintained by grants from year to year, instead of a stated salary, there was a prospect of future harmony in the provincial administration. The prospect was realized; and after a long continuance of harmony and quiet, the gov-

1737. ernor found himself prompted to express to
March 27 the Court his satisfaction with their pro-

May 28. ceedings, in which, he said, "they had so well conformed themselves to the directions of the royal charter, the effect whereof had been a general easiness and satisfaction through the province."

But two other questions had meanwhile been coming into prominence, — those of the redemption of the bills of credit, and of the boundaries of the province, especially the boundary on the side of New Hampshire. When only five years

remained before the latest time at which, agreeably to the instructions from England, the province's bills were made payable, the House, after "a long while spent in debating," got so far as to resolve that they would lay proportionate taxes in the intervening years; at the same time, however, raising "a committee to prepare the draft of an humble memorial to be presented to the King's most excellent Majesty in Council in the name of the Council and House of Representatives, setting forth the great inconveniences and difficulties his Majesty's good subjects here labor under on account of his Majesty's instruction to his Excellency our governor, forbidding his consent in laying the funds for drawing in the public bills beyond the year 1741, and praying his Majesty of his great grace and favor would please to order the said instruction may be withdrawn" ^{1736.} ^{June 17.} ^{June 18.}

The position of the question respecting supplies of the treasury by means of bills of credit brought into view another question more fundamental. If the General Court passed a bill for the issue of notes redeemable later than the date, or causing the whole circulation at any one time to exceed the amount, determined by the King in Council, or if the bill was so framed as to go into effect without being first approved in England, the governor disallowed it, pleading his instruction from the King. To the governor, dependent on the King for his office, the King's instruction

was decisive. But not so with the province. Their rights, as well as the King's authority, were sanctioned and maintained by the law of England. The Constitution of England in the first place, and in the second place their charter, defined and limited the King's power over them. The King, through the official action of his creature, the governor, or otherwise, might embarrass and thwart them as to the exercise of their rights; but the mere fact that the King by his instructions set his governor on work of this kind, was no reason why they should not resist and protect themselves, as best they might, by appeals to that law of England which was above even the King. Since the governor's continuance in office depended on the royal will, it might be supposed that he would not venture to violate the royal command. As long as the governor's living, while in office, depended on the people's will, it might be supposed that he would interest himself to prevent his instructions from oppressing them so much as to provoke them to starve him. And accordingly it had been with the best reason that they had persisted in that refusal to provide for the governor otherwise than by annual grants which at last they had established in practice. It was the same policy that the Parliament of England had adopted towards King Charles the First.

Repeatedly, to the very end of Governor Belcher's administration, the House persisted in

passing supply bills in terms disallowed by the royal instructions, and as often the governor withheld his signature. The finances of the province were in an extremely discouraging condition. The temptation to make a fictitious currency, and to defer the times for payment, was such as in like circumstances is always felt in prodigious strength. However doubtful the legal right of the British government to interfere, there is no doubt of the disastrous tendency of the course which the province was disposed to pursue.

To follow, step by step, the course of the dispute respecting financial affairs between the governor and the Representatives, would be to weary the reader with a recital of intricate and dull details. The year of settlement, when a debt of thirty or forty thousand pounds was to be paid by the province in sterling money, was looked forward to with increasing dismay as it drew near. The flood of paper circulation in Massachusetts was increased to a deluge by the still more inconsiderate profuseness of a neighboring community. Rhode Island, with its little population and property, fancied that it enriched itself by the
1733.
amount of a hundred thousand pounds, when it lent to its inhabitants its promises to pay that sum at the end of twenty years. The notes of Rhode Island came into circulation in Massachusetts. As a measure of partial protection, the merchants of Boston agreed together not to re-

ceive them, and formed a company, which issued bills to the amount of a hundred and ten thousand pounds, secured by their joint credit, and redeemable, one tenth part every year, in silver at the rate of nineteen shillings the ounce, or the equivalent in gold. But the agreement not to receive the Rhode Island notes was at first violated here and there, and then abandoned. Upon this, silver rose to twenty-seven paper shillings for the ounce, and the merchants' notes, payable at the rate of an ounce of silver for nineteen shillings, were withdrawn from circulation, and hoarded.

The financial chaos suggested a new enterprise, or rather a recurrence to one which had been defeated twenty-five years before. A proposal of Governor Hutchinson, now a Representative, to fund the debt by a loan in England, payable at distant periods, having been found not acceptable,

1740. the plan of a *Land Bank* was again entertained. A company, consisting of some seven hundred or eight hundred persons, was to issue its notes to the amount of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The security was to be a mortgage of real estate by each partner to an amount proportioned to the share taken by him in the stock, or a bond with two sufficient sureties; and each partner was to pay annually three per cent interest on the bills borrowed by him, and one twentieth part of the principal, in bills of the company, or in articles of the growth or

manufacture of the province at such rates as should be fixed by the company's directors. The project became a prominent political question, and, what with the numerous voters directly concerned in it and the much greater number who were induced to believe that it would advance their interests, a large majority favorable to it was secured in the House of Representatives.

The governor pronounced himself against it. He said, truly, that it was all delusive and mischievous. With a plausible plea of public advantage, he put in practice against it his system of administrative tactics. The elections of nearly half of the Council and of the Speaker of ^{1741.} the House were set aside by him on ac- ^{May.} count of the persons elected being officers and partners in the bank. For the same reason, and even for merely receiving or paying the bills, he displaced numerous office-holders, civil and military. Notwithstanding this resistance of his, — or perhaps the more because of it, — the speculation forced its way, and it was said that paper professing to represent no less than fifty or sixty thousand pounds was issued by the company. On the other hand, some of the best men of the province were so impressed with the dangerous nature of the scheme, that, despairing of protection from any nearer quarter, they went so far as to appeal to the authority of Parliament. An Act of Parliament had been passed at the ^{1720.} time of the explosion of the South Sea

Company, which would be sufficient for the present purpose, if it should be held to be applicable to the colonies; and to settle that question an Act was now made which determined the former law to have been in force in the colonies from the time of its enactment. The Land Bank Company was now caught in its own devices. For not only, according to this law, must the company desist from all further issue of its bills, but each individual member of it was liable, not only for the negotiable value of them, but for the sums at which, according to the stipulation on their face, they were redeemable in silver, with the addition of interest from the time of their being put into circulation.

The war between England and Spain, beginning in America with a quarrel between ¹⁷²⁰ the colonists of Carolina and of Florida, ^{October.} involved the governor of Massachusetts in another altercation with the General Court. A requisition was made upon the province for a thousand men to serve in the expedition against Carthagená under Admiral Vernon. Both the governor and the Court were honestly interested in the enterprise, but they were too much out of humor with each other to proceed harmoniously in means for its execution. The Court insisted that they should only be called upon to provide for the transportation of such troops as should be officered and armed before embarking. The governor urged that the troops ought to sail in the

expectation of having commissions and arms furnished when they should have joined the main force. The Court would not provide for the transportation of men without commanders and without equipments; and the consequence was that only four companies went to sea, of ten which had been enrolled. It was well that anything occurred to lessen the share of Massachusetts in the disaster which followed. Of five hundred of her troops who went to Carthagea only fifty ever saw their homes again.

The reader remembers that Burnet was governor of New Hampshire as well as of Massachusetts. The death of King George the First had dissolved the Assembly of the former province, when, owing to the absence of Governor Shute, it had existed for the extraordinary term of five years. Such a duration of the Legislature without a recurrence to the sense of the people for new elections, was inconsistent with the character of a popular government. An Act for limiting Assemblies to three years received the royal assent, and in the absence of a charter was all that controlled the royal will in respect to the government of the province. A Representative was, by the same law, required to have a freehold estate of three hundred pounds, and an elector to have a freehold estate in the town where he voted, neither voter nor Representative of a town being required to be a resident. Some new arrangements proposed by the House,

in relation to the judicial courts, led to disagreements between it and the other branch, which insisted on the continued allowance of appeals in certain cases from the ordinary courts to the governor in Council, a process which had been established under instructions from the King.

1728. The Assembly persisted, and the lieutenant-governor dissolved it. The breach was widened when a Speaker chosen by the next House was disallowed by the lieutenant-governor, — an act which they maintained that he was not competent to do, though he pleaded a royal instruction for his authority. They sent up the name of another Speaker, along with a vote in the nature of a protest. The lieutenant-governor adopted the choice, and condemned the argument. The session proceeded with mutual obstructions and provocations. The House voted an Address to the King, praying for an annexation of the province to Massachusetts. The arrival of the new governor was expected, and it was agreed to send to Boston a joint committee of the two Houses, with the lieutenant-governor, to give him a respectful reception on behalf of the province.

During his short administration, Governor Burnet scarcely saw his province of New Hampshire. For the latter government, as well as for that of Massachusetts, he was instructed to require a stated salary; and with little opposition the Assembly of New Hampshire passed a vote

securing to him for "three years, or during his administration," an annual payment of two hundred pounds sterling, or its equivalent, six hundred pounds in bills of credit, from which amount however one third part was to be taken to be the compensation of the lieutenant-governor.

In the time of Governor Belcher the affairs of New Hampshire were more blended with those of Massachusetts than at any other period of their political separation. His relation to the former province proved signally unfortunate for him. He began his administration by taking offence against Wentworth, the lieutenant-governor, from whom, while the question of his appointment was pending, he had assurances of friendship and support, but who, he was told, had at the same time been making professions of a similar tenor to Shute. He required Wentworth to disavow all claim upon the Assembly for support, reducing him to dependence on his own ¹⁷³⁰ Aug. 28. liberality; and he removed the lieutenant-governor's son and son-in-law from lucrative offices.

Wentworth lived but a few months ^{Wentworth's death.} longer. David Dunbar, an Irishman, who ^{Dec. 12.} had been a colonel in the army, and had served in Spain, was appointed to succeed him, and also to be Surveyor of the King's woods. Dunbar, who was a factious and determined man, had already made himself obnoxious in ^{1718.} Massachusetts. Some years before this time, Thomas Coram, a London merchant, who

had been in New England, had set on foot a scheme for the settlement of lands between Nova Scotia and the Kennebec. Defeated for a while by the exertions of Jeremiah Dummer, agent for Massachusetts, who objected to certain restrictions sought to be imposed upon the fishery, the project was renewed just before the appointment of Belcher to be governor, and thirty men were
1729. sent from Nova Scotia to the Massachu-
Oct. 29. setts post at Pemaquid. Dunbar came as their commander. Belcher's appointment was a
1730. source of uneasiness to him. He wrote to
Feb. 4. the Duke of Newcastle that the rumor of it occasioned much apprehension and displeasure among the members of the Church of England, to which, he said, Belcher was a known enemy.

At the instance of proprietors of land about Pemaquid, who had awaited his arrival for redress, Belcher issued his proclamation enjoining on all inhabitants of that region to remain in their allegiance to the province. Dunbar maintained that "all the lands to the eastward
1729. of the river Kennebec were deemed to be
Dec. 3. Nova Scotia," when it was proposed to settle them, and had accordingly been included in Governor Phillips's commission; and he insisted that the cause of the complaints against him was his having rebuilt the fort at Pemaquid, which Massachusetts had disobediently refused to do. "The people's disowning his Majesty's sovereignty," he said, "is too notorious." Belcher solicited the

appointment of Henry Sherburne of New Hampshire to be lieutenant-governor of that province as successor to Wentworth. The Board of Trade, after repeated applications, prevailed with the minister to give the place to Dunbar. The objections to him, they said, were so many recommendations, for "every man who [in New England] does his duty to the crown makes himself liable to the ill-will of the people, and therefore stands in need of all the support the government can give him from hence." Dunbar came to Boston, where he demeaned himself with insolence. The question as to Pemaquid was settled by an order of the Privy Council, made on a representation of proprietors of the eastern lands. The jurisdiction was declared to be in Massachusetts. Dunbar withdrew, and a Massachusetts garrison was placed in the fort.

When Dunbar came to New Hampshire, he did not delay to fan the flame which he found kindling against the governor. He began his administration by setting up the claim, as old as Dudley's day, that the lieutenant-governor was chief magistrate of New Hampshire during the absence in Massachusetts of the governor of both provinces. He was by this time so infuriated as to charge Belcher with intercepting his letters, and even with opening and publishing a letter to him from his wife. In a memorial to which he obtained the signa-

1730.

Dec. 15.

1731.

Feb. 10.

March 5.

July 10.

July 19.

July 10. tures of fifteen persons, the King was solicited to discharge Belcher from his place. A counter-memorial followed, with no fewer than a hundred names. Though the former failed to accomplish its specific design, it was not without effect to strengthen the party in opposition to the governor, and to embarrass his administration. The Board of Trade brought persons disaffected to him into his Council, notwithstanding his remonstrances against them by name; and his appointments to administrative offices were sometimes overruled, and other selections made, in England. There appeared reason to think that a jealousy of him had been created there which dictated the organization of a watch over him on the spot.

After three years' experience of uncomfortable association with Dunbar, the governor
 1734. Feb. 18. made urgent but fruitless request to the
 May 5. minister for his dismissal. Among other things, he said that the condition of the treasury of New Hampshire, which had been empty "near three years," was owing to Dunbar's perverseness. The character of their relations appears from the governor's informing his
 May 2. subordinate: "Had you not assumed in yours of September that the trembling in your hand did n't come by hard drinking, I should have thought yours of April had been wrote over a hearty bottle." Belcher went to New Hampshire, and dissolved the Assembly which Dunbar

was holding. He found them still impracticable as to a supply of money, and "the source ^{Nov. 26.} of it all," he wrote to the duke, "is from the lieutenant-governor and his few adherents." In the existing unsatisfactory state of things the old desire for annexation to Massachusetts unavoidably reappeared; and an urgent petition was presented to the King praying that New Hampshire might be "joined to the Massachusetts Bay as part of the province." At the end of the sixth year of his administration, ^{1736.} Belcher said to the Assembly: "There has ^{May 12.} been no supply of the treasury for five years past, and there is now due from this province between four and five thousand pounds." At last Dunbar went to England, and thereupon Belcher went to New Hampshire, where he found the Assembly in a more wholesome state of mind. He wrote to the minister that "after an obstinate re- ^{1737.} fusals for six years" they had resolved to ^{Jan. 1.} raise money for the public charges; adding that the public business would always have been carried on "with decency and good order had the province been so happy as never to have seen Colonel Dunbar." And he renewed ^{May 13.} the request for Henry Sherburne to succeed to the place.

The material issue which divided parties in New Hampshire related to the continuance of the independence of that government. The friends of Belcher desired a return to the old state

of things in a complete political union of New Hampshire with Massachusetts. The governor naturally desired this union, as it would have brought just so much addition to his consequence ; but it would not do for him to avow his wish to his masters in England, as the merging of New Hampshire in chartered Massachusetts would have been the loss of a sphere for the exertion of unrestricted prerogative.

The other party desired not only that New Hampshire should remain a separate province, but that it should attain a still further degree of independence, by ceasing to have, as it had had for nearly forty years, the same governor as Massachusetts. A practical difficulty in their way was the incapacity of New Hampshire to provide for its expenses, by reason of its poverty and its narrow limits. And this made the establishment of the yet unsettled boundary of that province a main element in the controversy. According to the extent which should be assigned to it, and the amount of public lands which should prove to be at its disposal, the prospect of the unionists or of the separatists would brighten.

The governor was instructed to obtain a settlement of the boundary by agreement between the
^{1781.} two provinces. Commissioners represent-
^{Sept. 21.} ing the parties accordingly met, but could come to no determination. The Representatives of New Hampshire, impatient and offended, resolved, though without the consent of the Coun-

oil, to make their suit to the King. They sent over an agent, who, not being disposed to remain, left his business there in the hands of one John Tomlinson, a capable and energetic merchant of London. Both parties kept up an active correspondence with the mother country, each party, and especially the respective heads of each, representing their opponents in the most unfavorable light, and the agents also being equally assiduous to justify and propagate the resentments of their principals. Dunbar, worsted in the local disputes, withdrew, and nursed his rage for nearly two years at Pemaquid. He got into difficulty in the execution of his office of Surveyor of the Woods, and complained bitterly that in the support of his authority the governor was remiss and hypocritical. He had come to entertain a 1737. hope of being appointed governor of New Hampshire, and his visit to England was made with a view to that promotion. If, in respect to personal comfort, his absence was a relief to Belcher, it was the transfer of a persevering foe to a scene of greater efficiency. Belcher under- May 13. stood this, and wrote to the duke that Dunbar had gone to England to make interest against him. In fact, Dunbar had scarcely reached July. that country when he joined with the agent Tomlinson and others in a Memorial to the duke for Belcher's removal. And the July 20. representation was warmly supported by the Board of Trade.

The settlement of the northern boundary line of Massachusetts was involved in endless complications. Did the charter of William and Mary renew the grant of territory contained in the charter of Charles the First? If it did not, what territory did it grant? If it did, at what point, on or near Merrimack River, and on or near the Atlantic Ocean, was the line to begin, which, produced westwardly as far as to the South Sea, or as far as to other possessions of the British Crown, was to make the northern boundary of Massachusetts through the greater part of its extent? The settlement of those questions would determine the southern boundary of New Hampshire. Where was the northern boundary line of that province? By the patent to Mason it was to run up Piscataqua River "to the furthest head thereof, and from thence northwestwards, untill threescore miles be finished from the first entrance." At what precise angle was this line to run, the language of the patent being that the direction should be "northwesterly"?

Agreeably to the advice of the Crown law-officers to the Board of Trade, and of the Board of
1737. Trade to the Privy Council, a commission
Feb. 9. composed of twenty Counsellors of New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Nova Scotia was appointed to adjudicate these questions; and to them the conflicting colonies were directed to submit their respective claims. At
Aug. 1. the day appointed for the hearing, eight

commissioners, five coming from Rhode Island and three from Nova Scotia, met at Hampton, in New Hampshire. Waldron, secretary of that province, and Eleazar Russell, sheriff of Rockingham County, appeared with the demand of New Hampshire, which was to the effect that a line running westward from a point on the Atlantic Ocean, three miles north of the middle of the channel of Merrimack River, should be established as the southern boundary of New Hampshire, and that the line defining the northern boundary of that province should be drawn from the ocean up Piscataqua and Newichwannock [Salmon Falls] Rivers, and from the head of the latter "northwestward, — that is *north, less than a quarter of a point westwardly*, as far as the British dominion extends." On the part of Massachusetts, the claim was that the southern boundary of New Hampshire should be a line running from the sea parallel with the left bank of the Merrimack, and three miles distant from it to "the crotch or parting of the river" (where is now Bristol, and where, according to the interpretation of the time, the name *Merrimack* ceased to be applied), and thence westerly to the South Sea; and that the line making the northern boundary of New Hampshire, and dividing it from the Massachusetts county of York, should run due northwest till it reached a point one hundred and twenty miles distant from the mouth of the Piscataqua. New Hampshire had hitherto

been understood by the government and people of Massachusetts to be enclosed within and bounded by their territory (of which Maine was a part) on all sides, except at the point where the river Piscataqua flows into the sea.

While the commissioners, who had been joined by Philip Livingston, of New York, were sitting, the Legislatures of the two provinces were brought by the governor, for the purpose of convenient conference, within five miles of each other, the one being adjourned to Hampton Falls, the other to Salisbury. The boundary between New Hampshire and Maine the commissioners determined to be a line running up the Piscataqua and Salmon Falls Rivers, and in a direction "north, two degrees westerly," from the source of the latter to a distance of one hundred and twenty miles from the mouth of the Piscataqua. Whether the provincial charter granted all the lands conveyed by the charter of Charles the First, was a question which, finding themselves unable to resolve, they referred back to the King's Privy Council. If it was to be so construed, then they adjudged that the western direction of that southern line of New Hampshire, which ran to the South Sea, was to begin at the confluence of the Pemigewasset with the Merrimack (where is now the town of Bristol). If otherwise, then that line should be drawn due west from a point on the coast three miles north of the river Merrimack.

As soon as there was time to digest their astonishment at this prodigiously capricious award, both parties took measures for an appeal to the King, the movement for New Hampshire, however, being made only by the Representatives, without the concurrence of the Council. Edmund Quincy, who was sent to England to prosecute the claim of Massachusetts, died presently after his arrival. Wilks, the agent of that province, was no match in skill or activity for Tomlinson, who represented New Hampshire, and who was himself aided by a cunning and unscrupulous attorney of the name of Parris, whose papers contain curious developments of the way in which the business was conducted. All sorts of influences were set to work to bias the decision. Belcher's private interest in it was dwelt upon, to destroy the effect of his official representations. The lands, the possession of which would be determined by the direction of the northern boundary line, were covered with valuable timber, which the government was concerned to withhold from the control of Massachusetts. Dunbar increased the sensibility upon this subject by his stories of the obstructions he had met with in the execution of his office of Surveyor of the Woods. Parris warmly represented the danger to which "the poor, little, loyal, distressed province of New Hampshire" was exposed from the rapacity of "the vast, opulent, overgrown province of Massachusetts." The Privy

Council cut the knot by a decree of the most extraordinary kind, which, abandoning the interpretation of the charters, established an arbitrary line. For the northern boundary of New Hampshire the award of the commissioners was adopted; and it was determined that "the northern boundary of Massachusetts should be a curved line, pursuing the course of Merrimack River at three miles' distance, on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic Ocean, and ending at a point due north of Pawtucket Falls, and a straight line drawn from thence due west." Thus not only was Massachusetts shorn of much more territory than the preposterous decree of the commissioners had taken from her; she had to yield to New Hampshire seven hundred square miles (much of it settled country), to no part of which had New Hampshire ever set up a pretension.

Governor Belcher's relation to this controversy had so brought him under the displeasure of excited parties as to become one of the main causes which rendered his position insecure, and finally displaced him from it. An extraordinary grant of eight hundred pounds, made to him by the General Court of Massachusetts while the dispute was pending, was construed into a corrupt arrangement for engaging him on their side, and was so represented to the men in power in England. Nor was it surprising that one who had so notoriously bribed others with office should be

supposed capable of being himself bribed with money. But his removal was brought about by methods only so far connected with the policy of his administration, as it was this policy which set in motion against him the activity of unscrupulous partisans. The First Lord of the Admiralty received a letter with the signatures, afterwards ascertained to be counterfeited, of five persons purporting to be inhabitants of Exeter, informing him that the governor had connived at the alienation of pine-trees fit for masts for the navy. Another letter to Mr. Holden, head of the dissenters in England, informed him that Belcher was engaged with the Episcopal interest in Boston in intrigues against the Congregational church.

It had no signature, the writer pretending that this was withheld for fear of the governor's resentment; but from the style of the superscription, Holden believed it to have come from Dr. Colman. A further unfavorable impression was produced on Holden's mind by the representation of the agent for New Hampshire respecting that grant of eight hundred pounds, which certainly Belcher ought not to have received at such a time. The agent in London of the friends of the Land Bank was Richard Partridge, who had married Belcher's sister, and was also known to have been employed by him in England in his private affairs; and it was whispered in the ear of courtiers that Belcher's profession of hostility to the bank could not be honest, since a person

so related to him was its champion. According to a story, said by Governor Hutchinson to have been told him by the person principally concerned, one Maltby, a zealous dissenter, who influenced the vote of Coventry, from which borough the Duke of Grafton desired to have his son returned to the House of Commons, was assured that Belcher was plotting with the Episcopalians against Congregationalism in Massachusetts, and that the duke would obtain his removal on condition of Lord Euston's getting the seat in Parliament; and the bargain was made and carried out, to the great subsequent annoyance of Maltby, who presently heard the truth as to Belcher's honest adherence to the religion of his fathers. At the same time also came the intelligence that Belcher had disallowed the election of no fewer than thirteen Counsellors, and displaced several subordinate officers on account of their connection with the Land Bank. But the news^{1741.} came too late. The chalice of his brewing had been commended, with added ingredients, to his own lips.

The general course of Belcher's administration had been advantageous to the province. But his sense of duty was coarse, and his love of it was infirm. He easily yielded to the bad sophistry which teaches that a good end transfers its character to all means which promise to advance it, and had become stained with the baseness to which that doctrine leads. He had been a jobber

in politics; and his enemies, as is natural and customary, followed his example against himself, and pushed it into applications reaching further than he might have been willing to go. Such is apt to be the retribution of men whose easy consciences so welcome artifice that nothing reveals to them the tortuousness of their course, till, by the managers that come next, it is followed out and twisted further for their own defeat and overthrow.

When the injustice of the treatment experienced by Belcher was known at Court, it was desired to make him some compensation, and he was transferred to New Jersey, which province he ruled with success, and with satisfaction to himself and the people, for sixteen years, till ^{1757.} his death. He remembered his early ^{Aug. 31.} home with fondness, and directed that his remains should be brought to Cambridge for burial. It was a meagre life which was brought to an end. Belcher's old age was not cheered by the conscious satisfactions of generous endeavor, nor had he so much as attained, to a large extent, to such rewards as promise to remunerate an ignoble ambition.

CHAPTER VII.

“THE GREAT AWAKENING.”

A PORTION of the people of New England deplored the departure of what was in their estimation a sort of golden age. Thoughtful and religious men looked back to the time when sublime efforts of adventure and sacrifice had attested the religious earnestness of their fathers, and, comparing it with their own day of absorption in secular interests, of relaxation in ecclesiastical discipline, and of imputed laxness of manners, they mourned that the ancient glory had been dimmed. The contrast made a standing topic of the election sermons preached before the government from year to year, from the time of John Norton down. When military movements miscarried, when harvests failed, when epidemic sickness brought alarm and sorrow, when an earthquake spread consternation, they interpreted the calamity or the portent as a sign of God's displeasure against their backsliding, and appointed fasts to deprecate his wrath, or resorted to the more solemn expedient of convoking synods to ascertain the conditions of reconciliation to the offended Majesty of Heaven.

That religion, so sickly, might be reinvigorated was the constant hope and aim of numbers of reflecting persons. From time to time there would be reports of remarkable success attending the labors of one or another devoted minister. Among such Mr. Solomon Stoddard was distinguished. In his ministry of nearly sixty years at Northampton "he had five harvests, as he called them"; that is, there were five different times at which a large number of persons professed religious convictions, and attached themselves to his church. An earthquake which traversed a considerable part of inhabited New England was interpreted as a Providential admonition, and the ministers of various places, of Boston especially, availed themselves of the terror which it inspired as an instrument of religious effect. The shock was felt just before midnight. "On the next morning a very full assembly met at the North Church [Cotton Mather's] for the proper exercises on so extraordinary an occasion. At five in the evening a crowded concourse assembled at the Old Church [Dr. Chauncy's], and multitudes, unable to get in, immediately flowed to the South [Mr. Prince's], and in a few minutes filled that also. At Lieutenant-Governor Dummer's motion a day of extraordinary fasting and prayer was kept in all the churches in Boston. The ministers endeavored to set in with this extraordinary and

1680.

1684.

1697.

1713.

1719.

1727.

Oct. 29.

awakening work of God in nature, and to preach his word in the most awakening manner"; and "in all the congregations many seemed to be awakened and reformed." But it was not till after the time of the political lull in Governor Belcher's administration, that in any quarter a religious movement took place of sufficient importance to attract wide attention.

Stoddard was succeeded as minister of Northampton by Jonathan Edwards, his grandson. In Edwards's judgment the people were suffering from want of a sufficiently distinct and earnest presentation of Calvinistic doctrine. He preached vehemently on "Justification by Faith" and "God's Absolute Sovereignty." Some of his friends were displeased, not by his doctrine, but by his exciting inferences from it, and would have discouraged him. But with an unimpassioned obstinacy he went on, and soon saw cause to rejoice in the fruit of his labors.

1734. "The spirit of God," he writes, "began
December. extraordinarily to set in and wonderfully to work among us; and there were very suddenly, one after another, five or six persons who were to all appearance savingly converted, and some of them wrought upon in a very remarkable manner. . . . A great and earnest concern about the great things of religion and the eternal world became universal in all parts of the town, and among persons of all degrees and all ages; the noise among the dry bones waxed louder and

louder; all other talk but about spiritual and eternal things was soon thrown by. Other discourse than of the things of religion would scarcely be tolerated in any company. There was scarcely a single person in the town, either old or young, that was left unconcerned; so that, in the spring and summer following, the town seemed to be ^{1735.} full of the presence of God; it never was so full of love, nor so full of joy, and yet so full of distress, as it was then."

The people of the towns about "seemed not to know what to make of it; and there were many that scoffed at and ridiculed it, and some compared what was called conversion to certain distempers." But a session of the ^{March.} Supreme Court at Northampton brought numbers of people together there, and "those that came from the neighborhood were for the most part remarkably affected. Many went home with wounded hearts, and with those impressions that never wore off till they had hopefully a saving issue. The same work began evidently to appear and prevail in several other towns in the county." South Hadley, Hadley, Suffield, Sunderland, Deerfield, Hatfield, Springfield, West Springfield, Longmeadow, Northfield, besides many towns in Connecticut, caught the sympathy, and made their large contributions of converts, — as large, Edwards thought, in proportion to their population, as

Northampton. Of his own town he wrote: "I hope that more than three hundred souls were savingly brought home to Christ in the space of half a year; how many more I don't guess, and about the same number of males as females. I hope that by far the greater part of persons in the town above sixteen years of age were such as had the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, and so, by what I heard, I suppose it is in some other places. . . . So far as I, by looking back, can judge from the particular acquaintance I have had with souls in this work, it appears to me probable to have been at the rate, at least, of four persons in a day, or near thirty in a week, take one with another, for five or six weeks together." About six hundred and twenty came to his communion-table, being nearly all the adults of his congregation. At one communion service a hundred new participants presented themselves; at another, eighty. Among his converts, ten were above sixty years of age, and two above seventy; "near thirty were to appearance so wrought upon, between ten and fourteen years of age; and two between nine and ten, and one of about four years of age."

The excitement, which in Massachusetts had been confined to towns on or near Connecticut River, ceased after about six months. Dr. Colman, of Boston, sent some account of it to England, and, in pursuance of a request from his correspondents there, obtained from Edwards a

detailed description in a long letter, which ^{1736.}
 was published in London by Dr. Watts ^{Nov. 26.}
 and Dr. Guise, and from which the facts related
 above have been taken. The ministers of Bos-
 ton kept the subject before the public mind.
 They circulated an edition of Dr. Ed- ^{1738.}
 wards's letter, and several sermons, which
 were considered to have been serviceable in the
 recent movement. Dr. Colman did more. He
 sent an invitation to George Whitefield to ^{1740.}
 visit New England, and in conjunction
 with his colleague, William Cooper, prepared a
 reception for him by publishing a sermon full of
 laudation of his gifts and graces by Josiah Smith,
 of South Carolina, prefaced by a eulogistic me-
 moir of their own. Whitefield was now twenty-
 six years old. A year before he had been or-
 dained a priest of the Church of England. He
 was at this time on his second visit to America,
 where his principal business had been the estab-
 lishing of a hospital for orphans in General Ogle-
 thorpe's recently constituted colony of Georgia.

The marvellous preacher was received in New
 England with flattering honors. From Charles-
 ton, in South Carolina, he came by water
 to Newport, arriving at that place with the ^{Sept. 14.}
 advantage of a favorable change of wind, which,
 as well as the offer of a hospitable lodging pres-
 ently made to him by a stranger, he thought to be
 due to his prayers. In three days he preached
 six times at Newport to large assemblies. Four

miles from Boston he was met on his way by
 Sept. 18. "the governor's son and several other gentlemen," who had come out to conduct him to that place. On the following day he "was visited by several gentlemen and ministers, and went to the governor's with Esquire Willard, Secretary of the Province, a man fearing God"; after which he "preached to about four thousand people in Dr. Colman's meeting-house, and, as he afterwards was told by several, with great success." The next day he "preached in the morning with much freedom and power to about six thousand hearers, in the Reverend Dr. Sewall's meeting-house," and afterward on the Common to about eight thousand, and again at night to a company which crowded his lodgings. Then came a Sunday, when he had an audience of "about fifteen thousand," not far from three quarters of the whole population of the town.

Whitefield remained ten days in Boston, exerting his prodigious powers of oratory with the same success as had attended them elsewhere. Crowds, listening to him, were dissolved in tears, and "cried out under the word like persons that were really hungering and thirsting after righteousness." Then he made a journey of a
 Sept. 29-
 Oct. 6. week to the eastward as far as York, preaching to great congregations in all the principal towns on the way. "Though," he writes, "I had rode a hundred and seventy-eight miles, and preached sixteen times, I trust, to the great

benefit of thousands, yet I was not in the least wearied or fatigued." At Hampton he addressed "some thousands in the open air," but "not with so much freedom as usual. The wind was almost too high for him. Some, though not many, were affected." At Portsmouth he had "preached to a polite auditory, and so very unconcerned that he began to question whether he had been preaching to rational or brute creatures." But in a second trial, on his way back, he subdued them, and recovered his self-satisfaction. Oct. 3. "Instead of preaching to dead stocks, I had now reason to believe I was preaching to living men. People began to melt soon after I began to pray, and the power increased more and more during the whole sermon. The word seemed to pierce through and through." This success put him in condition, and he "hastened after dinner to Hampton, and preached to some thousands of people with a good deal of life and power." The last day of a week passed at Boston, where he had spoken two or three times every day, he "went with the governor in his coach to the Common, where he preached his farewell sermon to near thirty thousand people." "I have observed," he records, "that I have had greater power than ordinary whenever the governor has been at public worship; a sign this, I hope, that the Most High intends to set him at his right hand."

His journal records the impressions which he

carried away from the chief town of America. "Boston is a large, populous place, very wealthy. Has the form kept up, but has lost much of the power of religion. . . . Ministers and people are obliged to confess that the love of many is waxed cold. Both, for the generality, seem to be too much conformed to the world. There's much of the pride of life to be seen in their assemblies. Jewels, patches, and gay apparel are commonly worn by the female sex, and even the common people I observe dressed up in the pride of life. And the little infants that were brought to baptism were wrapped up in such fine things, and so much pains taken to dress them, that one would think they were brought thither to be initiated into, rather than renounce, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world." But other things looked more favorably. "One thing Boston is very remarkable for, the external observation of the Sabbath. Men in civil offices have a regard for religion. The governor encourages them, and the ministers and magistrates are more united than in any other place where I have been. I never saw so little scoffing; never had so little opposition. . . . Boston people are dear to my soul. They were greatly affected by the word, followed night and day, and were very liberal to my dear orphans."

Oct. 13. Leaving Boston, Whitefield, still preaching as he went, proceeded through Worcester and Brookfield towards the river towns. It

was an object to him of great interest to see Edwards, and the scene of the revival which had made so much noise five years before. No minds could be more unlike than those of Edwards and Whitefield. The marvellous acumen of the metaphysical divine and the histrionic power of the irresistible speaker had nothing of themselves in common. But the widely dissimilar attributes belonged respectively to two men who were thoroughly in earnest in the pursuit of the same transcendent object, and they met with the most affectionate recognition of each other. Whitefield thought of Edwards that he had not "seen his fellow in all New England." Edwards paid his tribute to Whitefield's powers when he "wept during the whole time of exercise." "Lately the people of God," writes the visitor, "have complained of deadness and losing their first love; however, as soon as I mentioned what God had done for their souls formerly, it was like putting fire to tinder."

From Northampton, after a week's stay in the neighborhood, Whitefield took his ^{Oct. 20.} journey southward, and, after preaching more than a week in the chief towns of Connecticut on the river and along the southwestern coast, proceeded through the middle provinces to his temporary home in Georgia. "I think it proper," he wrote, "to set up my Ebenezer, before I enter into the province of New York, to give God thanks for sending me to New England. . . . It cer-

tainly, on many accounts, exceeds all other provinces in America, and for the establishment of religion perhaps all other parts of the world. In short, I like New England exceeding well ; and when a spirit of reformation revives, it certainly will prevail more than in any other place, because they are simple in their worship, less corrupt in their principles, and consequently easier to be brought over to the form of sound words, into which so many of their pious ancestors were delivered."

"Upon Mr. Whitefield's leaving us," writes Dr. Prince, one of the chroniclers of these transactions, "great numbers in the town were so happily concerned about their souls, as we had never seen anything like it before, except at the time of the general earthquake. Our assemblies, both on lectures and Sabbaths, were surprisingly increased, and now the people wanted to hear us oftener, in consideration of which a public lecture was proposed to be set up at Dr.

Colman's church, near the midst of the
Oct. 21. town, on every Tuesday evening.

When the evening came, the house seemed to be crowded as much as if Mr. Whitefield was there. It was the first stated evening lecture in these parts of the world." The sermon preached on that occasion by Dr. Colman, entitled "Souls flying to Jesus Christ pleasant and admirable to behold," is in print.

The blow which had been struck by Whitefield

was followed up by Gilbert Tennent, a Presbyterian minister of New Brunswick, in New Jersey. The year before Whitefield came to Massachusetts he had visited Tennent, and been much impressed by his preaching. "Never before," he wrote, "heard I such a searching sermon. . . . I found what a babe and novice I was in the things of God." Tennent came to Boston a few weeks after White-^{Dec. 13.}field's departure thence. He was very competent to take advantage of the excited state in which he found the town. Under his appliances "the people appeared to be yet much more awakened about their souls than before." His preaching, in a different style from Whitefield's, was perhaps not less effective. Whitefield's "was in the manner moving, earnest, winning, melting." Tennent's was "terrible and searching. . . . He seemed to have no regard to please the eyes of his hearers with agreeable gesture, nor their ears with delivery, nor their fancy with language." But "he seemed to have a deep acquaintance with the experimental part of religion. . . . His preaching was searching and rousing" to an extraordinary degree.

He remained in and about Boston be-^{1741.}tween two and three months, effectually^{March 3.}enforcing the impression which had been made by his friend. The ministers of the place were now incessantly occupied with public services and with the reception of applicants for instruc-

tion and advice. "Mr. Cooper [Colman's colleague] was wont to say that more came to him in one awakening in deep concern about their souls than in the whole twenty-four years of his preceding ministry. . . . He has had about six hundred different persons in three months' time. And Mr. Webb . . . has had in the same space above a thousand." The weekly evening lecture at the church in Brattle Street was found

insufficient, and another was instituted at
April 17. the South Church, and yet another to be

held twice a week in one of the two churches at the North End, while more private religious meetings were conducted by the ministers on every other evening in the week, except Saturday.

Hundreds of converts were received to the communion. Persons not converted were sobered, so that the whole social aspect seemed changed.

"Even the negroes and boys in the streets surprisingly left their usual rudeness. . . . Taverns, dancing-schools, and such meetings as had been called assemblies . . . were much less frequented. Many reduced their dress and apparel."

And it was "both surprising and pleasant to see how some younger people, and of that sex too which is most fond of such vanities, put off the bravery of their ornaments."

Tennent went to Portsmouth, and followed up Whitefield's labors there with equally striking success. Mr. Cooper of Boston, and other ministers from abroad, contributed their services.

On one occasion, "before the body of the people had left the place of public worship, the chimney of a house that stood near to it happening to take fire and blaze out to an uncommon degree, upon the sudden appearance of the light breaking in at the several windows there was a cry made that Christ was coming to judgment, which being really believed by a great many, some that were not before so much affected as others were put into the deepest distress, and great numbers had their convictions hereby strengthened and confirmed."

"With the common mixture of remaining infirmities and corruptions," things went on most satisfactorily for a year and a half after Whitefield's appearance in Boston, at the end of which time the movement "unexpectedly came to an unhappy period." James Davenport, minister of Southhold, on Long Island, was a person peculiarly esteemed by Whitefield and Tennent and their circle. His temperament was intensely enthusiastic, and the spirit of the times intoxicated him. What he heard, before they had met, of Whitefield's successes wrought him up to an unselfish frenzy of emulation. He is said to have begun by addressing his congregation in a discourse nearly twenty-four hours long, an exertion which brought on a brain fever. He promised to cure a sick woman by praying, and when she died he pronounced that to be her recovery. He hesitated to preach beyond the limits of his own

parish till he understood himself to be instructed to that effect by opening his Bible at the passage where Jonathan and his armor-bearer are related to have assailed the Philistine camp. Thus encouraged, he went to the neighboring town of Easthampton, wading up to his knees in snow, and had the satisfaction there of making

^{1740.}
Oct. - Nov. twenty converts. In New York and New

Jersey he heard from Whitefield himself of the recent successes of the great preacher in Massachusetts. He went in Whitefield's train to Philadelphia, but in the following summer he

^{1741.}
July. returned to the North, and at Stonington, in Connecticut, is said to have "convicted" nearly a hundred persons in a single sermon, and registered about that number of converts in a week. He even stepped across the border of Rhode Island, and flattered himself that he had some harvest from that rugged soil.

Davenport's doctrine was conceited and exclusive. He went about the towns telling the people in one and another of them that they were imperilling their souls by listening to an unconverted minister. He waited on the ministers, as he journeyed, asking them for a recital of their religious experience, which, if his request were granted, he often found unsatisfactory, and denounced them accordingly, as well as when they declined to gratify his curiosity. The credit of being esteemed by Whitefield was for a time an advantage to him, but he presumed upon it, and gave extreme provocation.

After a turbulent career in Connecticut, ^{1742.} he came to Massachusetts. At Charlestown ^{June 25.} he attended public worship in the first part of the Sunday next after his arrival, but remained at his lodging in the afternoon, saying that the minister was unconverted. The Boston ministers heard of this stricture, as they had already heard many other offensive things of him. The next day he came to Boston, where the ministers of the town were holding their customary monthly meeting. They sent and invited him to a conference, in which were discussed his past course and his views and purposes. The result was that, with the ministers of Charlestown, they published a "declaration of their judgment ^{July 1.} concerning him," which would have been unanimous, but that it wanted the name of Chauncy. They declared that "he appeared to be truly pious," and that they "hoped that God had used him as an instrument to many souls"; yet they judged it their duty "to bear their testimony against the following particulars: 1. His being acted much by sudden impulses. 2. His judging some ministers in Long Island and New England to be unconverted, and his thinking himself called of God to demand of his brethren from place to place an account of their regenerate state. 3. His going with his friends singing through the streets and highways, to and from the houses of worship on Lord's days and other days. 4. His encouraging private brethren (i. e. who are not

probationers for the ministry) to pray and exhort (i. e. like ministers) in assemblies gathered for that purpose." They judged it, therefore, they added, to be "their present duty not to invite him into their places of public worship, as otherwise they might have readily done." And they availed themselves of the opportunity to repeat their testimony to "the great and glorious work of God, which of his free grace he has begun and is carrying on in many parts of this and the neighboring provinces, beseeching him to preserve, defend, maintain, and propagate it, in spite of all the devices of Satan against it of one kind or other; that, however it may suffer by the imprudence of its friends, or by the virulent opposition of its enemies, yet it may stand as on the rock, and the gates of hell may never prevail against it."

Deprived of access to the pulpits, Davenport took to the open air. He preached on Boston Common, and on Copp's Hill, at the north end of the town, at which places the reputation that had preceded him assembled large audiences. The divisions which he excited gave a check to the movement, which had hitherto gone on with so little obstruction. He arraigned the ministers hitherto so revered and trusted, "naming some as unconverted, representing the rest as Jehoshaphat in Ahab's army, and exhorting the people to separate from them, which so diverted the minds of many from being concerned about their own

conversion to think and dispute about the case of others, as not only seemed to put an awful stop to their awakenings, but also on all sides to roil passions and provoke the Holy Spirit in a gradual and dreadful measure to withdraw his influence." The grand jury found a bill against Davenport for uttering "many ^{Aug. 19.} slanderous and reviling speeches against the godly and faithful ministers of this province." At his trial several of the Boston ministers ^{Aug. 24.} addressed a memorial to the Court in his behalf. It was proved, among other things of the same kind, that in a prayer on Copp's Hill he had said, "Good Lord, I will not mince the matter any longer with thee, for thou knowest that I know that most of the ministers of the town of Boston and of the country are unconverted, and are leading their people blindfold to hell." The jury found the fact, but returned a verdict of *not guilty*, on the ground that "the said James Davenport, at the time when he uttered these words, was *non compos mentis*."

The censorious criticisms of Davenport impaired with many the influence of the pastors of the churches. Sharp controversies were waged about the signs and assurances of conversion. The extremists wrought themselves up into extraordinary agitations, the more violent for the opposition with which their encroachments were repelled. In hope of assuaging the tumult, the Boston ministers published, with approving testi-

monies of their own, two treatises, one of them by Tennent, the other by Dickinson, also a Presbyterian clergyman of New Jersey, who had been in the van of the movement. But nothing short of the most extravagant statements and measures would now satisfy those who aspired to the lead, and the attitude of self-defence into which the natural guides of opinion were forced forbade their being any longer efficient in the labors of conversion. Nor was this all. The recent extravagances threw a shade of odium over the more moderate fervors which had gone before, and not a few who had distrusted them all along, or who had shared in them with more or less reserve, began to avow their doubts, and to stimulate the inquiry how much of the recent excitement had been healthy and profitable, and how much of it had been due to imagination, passion, and contagion.

At the next annual meeting of the ministers of the province at the time of the General Election, the subject of the revival could not fail to present itself. The result of their deliberations took shape in a published "Testimony of the Pastors of the Churches in the Province of Massachusetts Bay against several Errors in Doctrine and Disorders in Practice, which have of late obtained in various Parts of the Land." The errors in doctrine they found to be similar to those which had prevailed a century before in the time of Mrs. Hutchinson, and which

had been "testified against and confuted in the Acts of the Synod" of that period, "as printed in a book entitled 'The Rise, Reign, and Ruin of Antinomianism, etc., in New England.'" The disorders complained of were the "itinerancy" of persons who preached without the leave of the local pastors; the assumption of the sacred functions by "private persons of no education, and but low attainments"; "the ordaining or separating of persons to the work of the evangelical ministry at large, and without any relation to a particular parish"; "the spirit and practice of separation from the particular flocks to which persons belong, to join themselves with and support lay exhorters and itinerants"; assumption of "the prerogatives of God, to look into and judge the hearts of their neighbors, censure and condemn their brethren, especially their ministers"; "the many confusions that had appeared in some places from the vanity of mind and ungoverned passions of people with disorderly tumults and indecent behavior." The debate on the adoption of this manifesto was an animated, not to say an angry one. The minority complained of being treated with injustice. The paper was declared to be adopted by a majority casting thirty-eight votes; but some said that the number of affirmative votes was less, and some that it was greater.

Of course the decision of so small a proportion of the ministers of the province could not be

accepted as conclusive. A call was immediately issued for another meeting, to be held on the day after the approaching Commencement. Ninety ministers met. Dr. Colman was chosen moderator, and, when he declined to serve, Dr. Sewall. The ministers issued a paper which they entitled their "Testimony and Advice." They declared their "full persuasion that there has been a happy and remarkable revival of religion in many parts of this land through an uncommon divine influence. The present work," they said, "appears to be remarkable and extraordinary, on account of the numbers wrought upon, ... and these persons of all characters and ages; with regard to the suddenness and quick progress of it"; and "in respect to the degree of operation, both in a way of terror and in a way of consolation, attended in many with unusual bodily effects." The results of the excitement they estimated with great modesty and calmness. "With respect to numbers of those who had been under the impressions of the present day," they found themselves bound to "declare that there was good ground to believe they were become real Christians," though "indeed many who appeared to be under convictions, and were much altered in their external behavior, while this work began, and while it was most flourishing, had lost their impressions, and were relapsed into their former manner of life." They expressed

themselves to "be grieved at any accounts sent abroad, representing this work as all enthusiasm, delusion, and disorder." They lamented that "in some places many irregularities and extravagances had been permitted to accompany it," and they admonished their flocks that, in their care "to avoid Arminianism, they should not verge to the opposite side of Antinomianism"; that laymen should not "invade the ministerial office"; that ministers should not "invade the province of others"; that "people should beware of entertaining prejudices against their own pastors, and not run into unscriptural separations," nor "indulge a disputatious spirit, nor discover a spirit of censoriousness, uncharitableness, and rash judging." But above all, and notwithstanding all of these kinds of disorder that might have taken place, they "most earnestly warned all sorts of persons not to despise those outpourings of the Spirit, lest a holy God be provoked to withhold them, and instead thereof to pour out upon this people the vials of his wrath, in temporal judgments and spiritual plagues."

The sixty-eight names subscribed to this paper represented eminently the wisdom and worth of Massachusetts. Nevertheless, there were not a few respected ministers, besides those who had recently taken the opposite ground, and a still larger proportion of reflecting and religious laymen, who saw the recent transactions in a less favorable light; and the public mind, lately wrought

up to such tumults of emotion, was not only no longer so susceptible, but had become affected with some disgust. It was only four years after Whitefield's visit that Thomas Prince, who published an account of it and of the related occurrences, found occasion to record that "the
 1744. sovereign Spirit, in his awakening influ-
 Nov. 26. ence has seemed these two last years in a gradual and awful manner to withdraw. For a twelvemonth I have rarely heard the cry of any new ones, 'What shall I do to be saved?' But few are now added to our churches, and the heavenly shower in Boston seems to be over."

After an absence of four years, Whitefield
 Oct. 19. came a second time to New England, arriving by sea at York, in Maine. In the divided state of opinion, his reception was less flattering than it had been before, nor are such triumphs as he had once won of a nature to be repeated in the same field. Proceeding southward, he was detained at Portsmouth two or three weeks by illness, and scarcely appeared abroad except once, when he was borne from the pulpit so exhausted that fears were entertained
 Nov. 26. for his life. Thence he came to Boston, where he preached in several of the churches. At Dr. Colman's request, he administered the communion in the church in Brattle Street. This occasioned much complaint, on the alleged ground that Whitefield was in orders in

the Church of England. The newspapers began to assail him, carrying their animosity so far as to charge him with dishonest use of the funds collected by him for his orphan house. Two associations of ministers in Essex County united in a published rebuke to the Boston ministers for inviting him to their pulpits. The Faculty of Harvard College (then under the Presidency of Edward Holyoke) published their testimony against him. Besides their objections to "his going about in an itinerant way," as being "utterly inconsistent with the peace and order, if not the very being, of these churches of Christ," they charged him with being an "enthusiast," acting "either according to dreams, or some sudden impulses and impressions upon his mind"; and with being "an uncharitable, censorious, and slanderous man," and a "deluder of the people." The association of ministers about Cambridge passed a unanimous vote that they would not receive him. An assembly of ministers convened at Weymouth published their concurrence in the views of the College Faculty, and along with it expressions of the sympathy of other respected clergymen. Several ministers of the county of Bristol, and a meeting of ministers at Marlborough, besides the Faculty of the College in Connecticut a little later, announced their approbation of the sentiments expressed by President Holyoke and his associates.

Dec. 26.

Dec. 28.

1745.

Jan. 1.

Jan. 15.

Jan. 22.

Feb. 25.

Whitefield was sore beset. In letters to various friends, he expressed more diffidence than might have been expected from a young man who had drunk so deeply into the intoxication of

Jan. 18. popular applause. "Wild fire," he wrote,

"will necessarily blend itself with the pure fire that comes from God's altar. . . . It broke out and spread itself by the instrumentality of many good souls, who, mistaking fancy for faith and imagination for revelation, were guilty of great imprudence. . . . Some unguarded

Feb. 19. expressions, in the heat of less experienced youth, I certainly did drop. I was too precipitate in hearkening to and publishing private information, and, Peter-like, cut off too many ears." The tone of the defences which he judged it necessary to make was generally forbearing, and sometimes even self-distrustful. Continuing to affirm the

Jan. 18. integrity of his purpose, and the usefulness of his labors, he allowed that he had been

Jan. 23. "too unguarded" in his censures of ministers. He assured the Faculty of Harvard College of his "sorrow that he had published his private informations, though from credible persons, concerning the Colleges, to the world." He justified his "itinerancy" by the example of Knox and other reformers. He protested that he had "no intention of setting up a party for himself, or to stir up people against their pastors."

The flame which had burned so fiercely had

consumed its fuel. It was going out, and would not be rekindled. Whitefield soon left Massachusetts, after some journeys to towns at the eastward. He was still followed by admirers, but the former tokens of his power were not repeated. Another excitement, presently to be mentioned, of a different character, had taken possession of the public mind. He came to Boston again for a short time in the summer, and again at different times in later years, ending his days at the neighboring town of Newburyport, where is pointed out the place of his burial, beneath the pulpit of his friend and fellow-laborer, Jonathan Parsons. But his first achievements were far the greatest. There was not enough in him of other attractions to compensate entirely for the loss of the charm of novelty. He continued to make wonderful exhibitions of oratorical power, but the subtle influences, which through the sympathy of an audience surrender it helpless to an orator's control, did not combine to aid him to the same degree, after the strain of the first experiment.

As to the character and results of the paroxysm which has been described, it would be impossible to pronounce a judgment on a question which once agitated the mind of New England to its depths, and is still from time to time revived, without assuming an attitude of religious partisanship, which is not that of the historian. According to different estimates of favorable

1754.

1764.

1770.

Sept. 30.

judges, the converts made in New England during the Great Awakening amounted to twenty-five thousand, or to double that number. The sober historian of Connecticut placed the number at thirty or forty thousand. The supposed number of twenty-five thousand new communicants has been thought not to represent sufficiently the number of new Christians, inasmuch as, under the fresh impressions made upon their minds, many communicants became convinced that they had been hitherto unregenerate persons.

With respect to the character of the influences which had been exerted and the effects which had been produced, the differences of opinion, which were at first more or less timid and suppressed, multiplied as the operation went on and developed its various traits. At the beginning it was generally welcomed, and at least those who had misgivings were silent. As it proceeded, mutual apprehensions, jealousies, offences, and disgusts grew up. Its close left two parties to the dispute,—the one satisfied that a vast amount of good had been done, though, with few or no exceptions, allowing that it had been alloyed with unchristian temper and behavior; the other convinced that on the whole it had been a triumph of delusion and passion, though not without exceptions of cases in which rogues, libertines, and worldlings had been made virtuous, and good men had had their Christian graces renewed and ripened.

Some of the excesses which had gone furthest

to discredit and arrest the movement were dis-
 countenanced and condemned by the persons
 responsible for them, though the censure was not
 in season to avert the odium which they caused.
 When the tempest had sensibly subsided, the
 volatile James Davenport published his "Confes-
 sion and Retractations," in which he ex-
 pressed himself "fully convinced and per-
 suaded that several appendages to this glorious
 work were no essential parts thereof, but of a
 different and contrary nature and tendency;
 which appendages," he says, "I have been in
 the time of the work very industrious in and
 instrumental of promoting by a misguided zeal,
 being further much influenced in the affair by the
 false spirit which, unobserved by me, did, as I
 have been brought to see since, prompt me to
 unjust apprehensions and misconduct in several
 articles, which have been great blemishes to the
 work of God, very grievous to some of God's
 children, no less ensnaring and corrupting to
 many of them, a sad means of many persons
 questioning the work of God, concluding and
 appearing against it, and of the hardening of
 multitudes in their sins, and an awful occasion
 of the enemies' blaspheming the right ways of the
 Lord; and withal very offensive to that God, be-
 fore whom I would lie in the dust, prostrate in
 deep humility and repentance on this account,
 imploring pardon for the Mediator's sake, and
 thankfully accepting the tokens thereof."

1744.
 July.

The more resolute, but more discerning Tennent had his conscience touched at a much earlier stage. He had scarcely returned from that visit to Boston in which he had so triumphantly repeated the blow which had been struck there by Whitefield, than he poured out the disclosures of his remorseful introspection in ^{1742.} Feb. 12. a letter to a friend. "I cannot justify the excessive heat of temper which has sometimes appeared in my conduct. I have been of late, since I returned from New England, visited with much spiritual desertion, temptations, and distresses of various kinds, coming in a thick and almost continual succession, which has given me a greater discovery of myself than I think I ever had before. These things have given me a clear view of the danger of everything which tends to enthusiasm and division in the visible Church. Alas for it! my soul is sick of these things."

An anonymous letter, sent from New England and published in Glasgow, which Whitefield thought of importance enough to require ^{May 24.} a reply from himself, presents at large the unfavorable view which was taken of the excitement, when at its height, by one class of persons, so circumstanced as to utter their sentiments without restraint. "The boasted converts," says this confident writer, "not one of an hundred excepted, make religion to consist in the feeling of inward impulses and impressions, in an inexpli-

cable faith, joys, ecstasies, hearing of sermons, and such-like things. They are bigoted to certain opinions, which they do not understand, and have not the least degree of charity for those that are of another way of thinking. They are all of them vain, conceited, superstitious, enthusiastic, censorious, slanderers. Reason, learning, and morality they professedly disregard. Should they hear a minister preach in the most evangelical manner upon any moral duty, or recommend the exercise of reason and understanding, they would call him a dry, husky Arminian preacher, and conclude for certain that he was not converted. No sermons please but such as move and heat the passions, or scare and frighten them. Solid instruction is heathen morality or carnal preaching." The writer corroborates his judgment by extracts, collected in a preface, from writings of ministers and others in New England.

Of the New England ministers conspicuous in the controversy the most considerable may be allowed to be Edwards, Colman, and Chauncy, men in temperament most unlike to one another. Edwards lived and died in the belief that there had been an extraordinary and most beneficent effusion of God's Holy Spirit. His elaborate testimony to that effect, in "Thoughts concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England," was abridged by John Wesley for circulation in the parent country. Colman was a man of less sturdy fibre. He had early committed

himself on the main question, in his account to Dr. Watts of the movement under Edwards's auspices in the towns on Connecticut River, and in his last years he was probably influenced in no small degree by William Cooper, his younger and more impetuous colleague. Colman's fastidiousness was much disturbed by the intemperate and factious methods of the reformers; but there is no reason to doubt that to his death, which took place but two years after Whitefield's second visit, he adhered to the opinion that a useful work had been done "in many places," — an

1744. opinion which, in the year after his colleague's decease, he expressed in a published letter of comment upon Davenport's "Confession."

Dr. Chauncy, a man constitutionally indisposed to enthusiasm, logical, perspicacious, and reserved, probably entertained from the first that unfavorable sense of the phenomena of the time which later developments confirmed and intensified, and prompted him to express with great confidence and plainness of speech. An extract from his

1742. published "Letter concerning the Religious State of New England," addressed to a minister of Edinburgh, concisely expresses the opinion which he never scrupled to avow and maintain.

"Various are the sentiments of persons about this unusual appearance among us. Some think it to be a most wonderful work of God's grace;

others a most wonderful spirit of enthusiasm: some think there is a great deal of religion, with some small mixture of extravagance; others a great deal of extravagance with some small mixture of that which may be called good: some think the country was never in such a happy state on a religious account; others that it was never in a worse.

“For myself I am among those who are clearly in the opinion that there never was such a spirit of superstition and enthusiasm reigning in the land before, never such gross disorders and barefaced affronts to common decency, never such scandalous reproaches on the Blessed Spirit, making him the author of the greatest irregularities and confusions. Yet I am of opinion also that the appearances among us (so much out of the ordinary way, and so unaccountable to persons not acquainted with the history of the world) have been the means of awakening the attention of many; and a good number, I hope, have settled into a truly Christian temper; though I must add, at the same time, that I am far from thinking that the appearance, in general, is any other than the effect of enthusiastic heat. The goodness that has been so much talked of, ’t is plain to me is nothing more, in general, than a commotion in the passions. I can’t see that men have been made better, if hereby be meant their being formed to a nearer resemblance to the Divine Being in moral holiness. ’T is not evident to me

that persons generally have a better understanding of religion, a better government of their passions, a more Christian love to their neighbor, or that they are more decent and regular in their devotions towards God. I am clearly of the mind they are worse in all these regards."

It is not uninteresting to read the comments made on these transactions by a person who surveyed them from a point outside of that Congregational Church which they agitated. Dr. Timothy Cutler, once Rector of Yale College, was now the Episcopal minister of Christ Church in Boston. One must read his animadversions with allowance for the satisfaction he may have had in witnessing the conflicts and calamities of the communion which he had abandoned. He corresponded with Dr. Zachary Grey, of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, urging upon that dignitary the importance of energetic action in New England on the part of the Episcopal Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He wrote to his friend:

1743. "Whitefield has plagued us with a wit-
Sept. 29. ness, especially his friends and followers, who are likely to be battered to pieces by the battering-ram they had provided against our church here. It would be an excellent attempt to describe that scene of confusion and disturbance occasioned by him,—the divisions of families, neighborhoods, and towns, the contrariety of husbands and wives, the undutifulness of children and servants, the quarrels among the teachers, the

disorders of the night, the intermission of labor and business, the neglect of husbandry and of gathering the harvest. The fellow treated the most venerable with an air of superiority. But he forever lashed and anathematized the Church of England; and that was enough." The preaching of Whitefield and his fellow-laborers in America was followed by the same manifestations as the preaching of Wesley and Whitefield in England; and for like reasons the Church of England on both sides of the water looked upon it with absolute disfavor.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONNECTICUT AND RHODE ISLAND.

IN Massachusetts, the government took no cognizance of the religious agitation of the time. The course in Connecticut was different. When Whitefield came first to New England, the politico-ecclesiastical establishment created by the Synod of Saybrook, and by the legislative action adopting the scheme of that body, had been strengthened by the use of a whole generation, and a course of proceeding that disturbed the parishes had somewhat of the character of an offence against the State.

Twenty years before Whitefield's advent
1721. there was a religious revival in the town of Windham, where Mr. Samuel Whiting was minister. "In the short term of six months eighty persons were admitted to full communion in the church. It was probably nearly as much as one person to every family. But while this place was so remarkably wet with the dew of Heaven, the ground was dry all around
1727. it." In the salutary terror spread by the
Oct. 29. great earthquake, "it was to be hoped that some were savingly wrought upon." The

wide ravages, a few years later, of that terrible scourge, the scarlet fever, were not followed at once by the religious impressions that many looked for. But the influence of the movement which presently began at Northampton by the instrumentality of Edwards spread into the neighboring towns belonging to the province of Connecticut. It was felt through the whole line of settlements lower down the river, and diverged on the one side of that line as far as to New Haven and Stratford, and on the other side to Tolland and Norwich. "It was the opinion that in some towns and parishes, fifteen, twenty, and even thirty persons were in one week brought out of darkness into marvellous light."

But there was a pause, and perhaps a reaction, till Whitefield appeared upon the scene. After his first preaching at Boston, Edwards accompanied him from Northampton as far as East Windsor, in Connecticut, where Edwards's father was pastor of the church. Whitefield travelled through Suffield, Hartford, Wethersfield, Middletown, New Haven, and the towns along the Sound, preaching to crowds at every stage of his journey, which occupied only a week before he passed into New York. But it did not take long for him to make himself felt and remembered. Wherever he went, he left the people thinking and talking of nothing else but his gifts and his achievements. At Wethersfield he

1734.

1735.

1736.

1740.

Oct. 21.

was waited upon by the young ministers Wheelock and Pomeroy, who were afterwards much associated with him, and the former of whom became the first President of Dartmouth College. At New Haven he found the Assembly in session, and, no cause for uneasiness having yet appeared, he was well received by them, and was warmly complimented by the governor.

Whitefield was soon followed to Connecticut by Tennent, as he had been to Boston; and, to a still greater degree than in Boston, the effects of the labors of the disciple appear to have been more definite, and were thought to be more substantial and permanent, than those produced by the master, though his methods of address were not so captivating. "People would cry out, in the time of public worship, under a sense of their overbearing guilt and misery, and the all-consuming wrath of God, due to them for their iniquities; others would faint and swoon under the affecting views which they had of God and Christ; some would weep and sob, and there would sometimes be so much noise among the people in particular places, that it was with difficulty the preacher could be heard. In some few instances it seems that the minister has not been able to finish his discourse, there was so much crying out and disturbance."

Though some leading ministers of Connecticut took an active part in the movement, and many, especially in its early stage, regarded it

with favor, the majority were probably suspicious of it from the beginning, and, when what were regarded as extravagances and disorders on the part of its friends became more and more striking and frequent, a powerful opposition was arrayed. When Davenport first left his own fold on Long Island, it was to visit the eastern towns of Connecticut, where he did not fail to communicate his ardor to persons of a like fervent character of mind. He approved and promoted the noisy demonstrations of assemblies engaged in Divine service, adopting, among other singularities, a kind of *intoning*, which was found to act on the nerves of hearers, and which was adopted as a sort of symbol by his followers. His customary proclamation that ministers were unconverted, when they declined to be examined by him, or when, on an examination, they failed to give him satisfaction, of course made him enemies. But what especially brought him in conflict with the authorities was his encouraging exhorters who had attached themselves to him — ignorant youth and others — to address such congregations as they could anywhere collect; and this without the leave, or in defiance of the prohibition, of the ministers who were the local ecclesiastical authority. So long as the Saybrook platform was law, practices of this kind, thought the government, were not to be endured.

A General Association, convened according to

the Saybrook platform, “endeavored to
November. prevent the growing disorders among the ministers that had been ordained or licensed by the associations in the government to preach, and likewise to prevent divisions and disorders among the churches and ecclesiastical societies.” But the attempt had little success. Divers of the ministers still “took upon them, without any lawful call, to go into parishes immediately under the care of other ministers, and there to preach to and teach the people; and also sundry persons who were very illiterate and had no ecclesiastical character, or any authority whatever to preach or teach, took it upon them publicly to teach and exhort the people.” The government took up
1742. the matter, and provided by law that if
May 13. any minister should preach in a parish not his own, without an invitation from “the settled minister, and the major part of the church and society,” he should be “denied and secluded the benefit of any law made for the support and encouragement of the gospel ministry”; that if any association should do any ecclesiastical act, belonging by the Platform to the jurisdiction of a different association, all the members present and concurring in that act should be liable to the same penalty; that if any person other than a settled minister should exhort in any parish, without an invitation from its minister and the majority of its church and congregation, he should be bound over to keep the peace in the penal sum of a

hundred pounds ; and that every person, so offending, not being an inhabitant of the colony, should "be sent, as a vagrant person, by a warrant from any one Assistant or justice of the peace, from constable to constable, out of the bounds of this colony." This was immediately after the accession of Governor Law to the chief magistracy.

Davenport and his friend Benjamin Pomeroy, minister of Hebron, were arraigned before the Assembly on a charge of disturbing ^{June 1.} the town of Stratford by collecting large assemblies of people, whom, with the help of certain illiterate persons, exhorters, they misled with pernicious doctrine and inflamed to disorderly practices, going even so far as to counsel resistance to the measures for repression which had just passed into law. The excitement was so great, that, during their examination, there was an attempt to rescue them from the custody of the sheriff, which was only defeated by turning out a force of militia. Either because the complaint was not well made out against Pomeroy, or because the government judged it prudent to affect lenity in respect to an esteemed minister of their own colony, he was discharged. The decision as to Davenport was that, though his "behavior, conduct, and doctrines did, and had a natural tendency to, disturb and destroy the peace and order of this government," yet, inasmuch as it further appeared that he was "under the influence of en-

thusiastical impressions and impulses, and thereby disturbed in the rational faculties of his mind," he was "therefore to be pitied and compassionated, and not to be treated as otherwise he might be." He was taken under a guard to a vessel, to be conveyed to his home at Southhold. Pomeroy went to Colchester, where, being denied admission to the meeting-house, he preached in a grove to a large assemblage. He was complained of for the irregularity, and, by the application to him of the recent law, lost his salary for seven years.

Mr. Fish, minister of Stonington, maintained in a sermon, that "following God implied men's giving themselves wholly to him, to be governed by his commands; that it implied an imitation of his moral perfections, etc., . . . and it was inferred that true religion did not consist in ecstasies, in crying out in the time of public worship, in powerful impressions, in lively imaginations or visions of a bleeding Saviour, etc.; that though the saints might have these things, yet that they were no evidences of a gracious state." His sobriety cost him the loss of a large part of his parish. "The house was filled with outcries against the preacher. He was declared to be an opposer of the work of God, making the hearts of his children sad, and strengthening the hands of the wicked." His case was that of not a few other clergymen, and numerous separate churches were set up, which supplied their pulpits as best

they could, and changed the occupants of them with the caprice and the frequency which in the circumstances was to be expected. Their standard of competency for the function was not high. They held "that if a man had the spirit of God, it was no matter whether he had any learning at all"; and as to what was the spirit of God, their ideas were not clear or uniform.

The General Association of ministers issued a caution against the prevailing errors and ^{1742.} malpractices, and recommended "a just ^{June 15.} deference to the laws of the magistrate lately made to suppress disorders." The General Assembly was resolved and angry. A law, now of thirty-five years' standing, made "for the case of such as soberly dissent from the way of worship and ministry established by the ancient laws of this government," allowed such persons, on certain conditions, to set up and maintain a separate worship. It was now repealed, so that ^{1743.} henceforward persons dissatisfied with the ^{May 12.} regular churches, and desirous of having religious services of their own, could only obtain their wish by applying to the General Assembly, and taking oaths and obligations required in England of dissenters. The law against interloping ^{October.} preachers was made more severe. If a person, not an inhabitant, having been once expelled from the colony, should return to it, and there "preach, teach, or exhort," it was now provided that he should "be bound in the penal sum

of one hundred pounds, lawful money, to his peaceable and good behavior," and that he "will not offend again in like manner," and that he "pay down the cost of his transportation." Justices of the peace and other officers, civil and military, who were known to favor the obnoxious movement, were discharged. Prosecutions of ministers and others took place, in the issue of which it was constantly apparent that the government was embarrassed between the aim to support its own authority and the public order on the one hand, and the fear of creating sympathy with the offenders, and of compromising its religious character with ardent religionists, on the other. The College entered the lists, with a weighty conservative influence. It expelled two students for worshipping, in time of vacation, with a separatist conventicle, and for justifying themselves in the offence, when called to account for it.

When Whitefield was again expected in Connecticut, the General Association resolved that it would by no means be advisable for any of the ministers to admit him into their pulpits, or for any of the people to attend his administrations. Notwithstanding this admonition, he passed through the colony, preaching on his way, and notwithstanding the law against interloping preachers he was not molested. It was probably known that his transit would be rapid. It would have been extremely inconvenient, con-

sidering the estimation in which he was widely held on both sides of the water, for the government to engage in a dispute with him, and it is probable that no such considerable consequences were now apprehended from his presence as would have been expected at an earlier time. Not only was he no longer the same brilliant novelty, but the public attention was now intensely directed to another course of events, presently to be described, of a widely different character. A military expedition and a foreign conquest turned into a different channel the effervescence of adventurous minds. Occasional trials of strength between the authorities and dissentients continued to occur for three or four years longer. But a natural weariness succeeded on both sides ; a mutual good-nature asserted its claims ; and Connecticut, benevolent though sanguine and stubborn, settled into its ancient ways.

Rhode Island was not materially affected by the movement which so agitated the sister colonies. But though, in some points of view, Rhode Island might not seem a nutritive soil for religious products, the practices of Davenport and his friends in the towns close to her western border were not foreign to her own customs and tastes, and might even agreeably revive the memory of Gorton and others of her founders. At Westerly there had been for some years a missionary of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, who found "a spirit

of profaneness and irreligion awfully prevailing" there. When Davenport came to Stonington, which he entered with his friends "in solemn procession singing an hymn," — it was one of his habits to sing in the streets, — Mr. Parks, the missionary, went to see and hear him. He "expected no extraordinary effect, when to his surprise there was a cry all over the meeting-house ; and when he asked the cause, the answers were such that he "could not but say, 'This is the Lord's doing.'" Some of Davenport's followers came over and exhorted in West-

^{1742.} erly, and in a week or two "the number
^{Feb. 12.} hopefully converted was fifteen souls." A church was formed consisting of fourteen persons, "all English," to whom were presently added fourteen others, besides six Indians, and two negroes. But Westerly was a remote corner of Rhode Island, and it does not appear that the influence spread far into the colony on this side. From the other side it proved still less effective, though it approached in force from the quarter of Taunton and Middleborough, under the preaching of the ministers Josiah Crocker and Peter Thacher.

In the year in which Belcher was dismissed from the government of Massachusetts, Joseph
¹⁷⁴¹ Talcott, of Hartford, died, having been governor of Connecticut for seventeen successive years from the death of Governor Saltonstall. The accession of Jonathan Law, of

Milford, to the chief magistracy marks a change in the conduct of the government in relation to ecclesiastical affairs. The distinctive characteristics of the old colonies, New Haven and Connecticut, were not yet lost, and Law, born and bred in the former of them, leaned, as his Hartford predecessor had not done, to an intimate union between Church and State, and a policy of strict coercion for sectaries and innovators.

During the period of Talcott's administration the chief thing to be noticed in the history of the colony is its constant growth by the establishment of new towns. Willington, destined within the century to become noteworthy as the birthplace of one of the most eminent of American writers, began with twenty-seven inhabitants. The settlements in rapid succession of Somers, New Fairfield, East Haddam, Union, Barkhamstead, Colebrook, Hartland, Winchester, New Hartford, Torrington, Kent, Goshen, Canaan, Salisbury, and Cornwall show the thriving condition of the community which they enlarged. Yet these territorial arrangements were not always amicably effected. In Governor Andros's time a large tract about Litchfield had been improvidently granted by the General Assembly to the towns of Hartford and Windsor. When these towns proceeded to make a sale of it, the Legislature interfered, probably on the ground that the grant had by both parties been understood at the time

1726.

1730.

1732.

1733.

1734.

1737.

1738.

1739.

1687.

Jan. 26.

to be merely a device for keeping the lands out of the hands of the rapacious governor, and not as an actual transfer of the property. The towns sold the land, however, and the purchasers proceeded to survey and occupy it. It was a common interest that the settlements should be extended, and that a dispute, in which not a few persons of consequence had become interested, should be put to rest. The government enter-

1726. tained dispassionately the claim which had
May 26. been set up, and finding it to be not without plausibility and to be enforced by independent considerations of public advantage, consented to generous terms of accommodation.

1727. An order from the Privy Council and the
Sept. 18. Lords of Trade to proclaim King George the Second, called forth warm expressions of loyalty from the Legislature, which Governor Talcott summoned to hold a special session. An Address of congratulation was sent to the King, and at the same time the governor was charged to transmit to the agent of the colony in England a reply to a complaint which John Winthrop, son of the late governor, was understood to be urging there. Winthrop, considering himself to be unjustly treated by the colonial courts in respect to the division of his father's estate, had gone to England to prosecute an appeal, and especially to represent that the colonial law which allowed daughters to receive real estate in the distribution of the property of an intestate person was in vio-

lation of the law of England. The question was of the first importance, since, if decided adversely to the colony, it would unsettle the titles to landed property from the very beginning. As yet the King's Privy Council had shown itself inclined to decide that the law of Connecticut on this subject must be disallowed, and was null. The agent was now furnished with a hundred pounds sterling, "to be improved for the use of the government in making our defence against the aforesaid complaint of Mr. Winthrop." Winthrop's wife produced to the governor a record of an Act of the King in Council, overruling that ^{1728.} action of the Connecticut courts of which ^{Oct. 10.}

Winthrop had complained, and the Assembly ordered the Secretary to proceed to put Winthrop in possession of the land claimed by him, as soon as "the bounds and quantity of said land" should be ascertained,—a process which it may be presumed was expected to be a slow one. The situation was most inconvenient. No settlement of intestate estates could be made in the province with any confidence that it gave a valid title. Connecticut could not be brought to accede to the determination of the Privy Council. And at length, nearly twenty years ^{1746.} after the adverse decree of that body, the ^{May.} provincial law was sanctioned by a decision of the House of Lords, under the advice of the crown lawyers.

The Assembly, which received the unwelcome

intelligence of the action of the Privy Council on the law of inheritance, applied to Jonathan Belcher to go to England and associate himself in the agency for the colony with Dummer, who was understood to be ill in health. He went accordingly, and reached England at the time when the dispute of Governor Burnet with Massachusetts had increased the displeasure in the courtly circles against the colonies. The accounts which he sent home were such as to occasion the

^{1729.} government of Connecticut to write to
^{Oct. 9.} him in alarm: "We are unwilling to surrender our charter, for we account it the choicest part of our inheritance, and shall not, upon any terms, be persuaded to part with the same. Therefore you will avoid all occasion of hazarding of it. Particularly we are greatly concerned respecting the conduct of the Assembly of the Massachusetts, fearing it will have an ill influence upon our affairs if that should be brought into Parliament." And the agents were instructed "to use the utmost caution that we be not in the least measure involved with the Massachusetts when that matter comes into the Parliament."

When Belcher came home as governor of his

^{1730.} native colony, Francis Wilks, of London,
^{Oct. 8.} was appointed agent for Connecticut.

The colony continued to be generous to Yale College. The accustomed annual gift of a hundred pounds to that institution was first
^{Oct. 8.} doubled, then tripled, and then still further

increased; and three hundred and ten pounds in bills of credit were voted to the church in Windsor, as "satisfaction for their temporal damages in giving up Mr. Thomas Clapp to be Rector." Time, experience, and good sense had moderated religious jealousies, and "such dissenters as are commonly called Quakers," and immediately afterwards Baptists, were exempted by law from paying taxes for the support of Congregational worship, on furnishing proof that they attended a worship of their own. The Pequod Indians complained of intruders from the town of Groton on their woods and lands, and two magistrates were appointed "to be their guardians and secure their redress." Ben Uncas, the Mohegan Sachem, "declared that he doth embrace the Christian religion, which is the only instance of any of the chiefs of the natives in this colony becoming Christian, though much pains have been taken with them"; and "the Assembly, being willing to encourage so good a beginning, desired his Honor the governor to procure for the said Sachem a coat made in the English fashion, and a hat, and also a gown for the said Sachem's wife."

The government of Connecticut was administered frugally. The pay for Assistants was, for attendance on the General Assembly, "nine shillings and sixpence *per diem*,

1735.

Oct. 8.

1741.

Oct. 8.

1740.

May 8.

1729.

May 8.

Oct. 9.

1731.

May 13.

1736.

Oct. 14.

1729.

May 8.

exclusive of the Sabbath days," and fourpence a mile for travel, "going and returning"; that of deputies was seven shillings for each day's service, and threepence a mile for the expenses of the journey.

The paper currency was only kept by the prudent vigilance of the government from occasioning the same embarrassments and mischiefs as in Massachusetts. A corporation which had been created under the name of the "New London Society, united for Trade and Commerce," presumed to issue notes similar to the colonial bills of credit. Governor Talcott

1733.

Feb. 15. convoked the Assembly in a special session, and the society's recent proceeding was declared to be illegal, and punishable like forgery or counterfeiting, and its charter was repealed.

May 10.

It applied for a renewal of the charter, and for a loan of money from the colony, in order to its extrication from the embarrassments in which it was involved by this decision; but the Assembly with exemplary wisdom "resolved that such a society of merchants, whose undertakings are vastly beyond their own compass, and must depend on the government for their supplies of money, and must therefore depend on their influence on the government to obtain it, is not for the peace and health of the government."

The legal profession was not in good repute. "Whereas many persons of late had taken upon

them to be attorneys at the bar, so that quarrels and lawsuits were multiplied, and the King's good subjects disturbed," it was enacted that there should be "allowed in the colony eleven attorneys and no more"; namely, three in Hartford County, and two in each of the others. But whether it was that the law was not found to avail against the dexterity of the discountenanced profession, or for some other reason, it was repealed after a short experiment. The Assembly thought it prudent to have the governor assure the Board of Trade that they had not "by any premium encouraged any manufactory in this colony." But the alarm was no sooner over than they established liberal bounties for the production of silk and of hemp, and for manufacturing "canvas or duck," and "fine linen cloth." In cases of epidemic disease, the law gave power to two justices to authorize constables to impress nurses, as well as to provide "other necessities for the accommodation of the sick." The necessities of the war with Spain led to an improved military system. The governor was declared to be Captain-General, and the lieutenant-governor to be Lieutenant-General of the colony's forces, and the militia, in which the highest officers as yet had been but majors, was arranged in thirteen regiments, each with the three field officers of a regular regimental organization.

Acts for the further regulation of the militia,
1741. and "for the encouragement and better
May 14. supporting the schools," were passed in the
last session of Governor Talcott's service. He
Oct. 8. died in the following summer, and the As-
sembly, at its regular autumnal meeting,
chose Lieutenant-Governor Law to serve as gov-
ernor, and Roger Wolcott, of New London, as
lieutenant-governor, till the legal time for the
popular election in the spring.

In the first years of King George the Second
the history of Rhode Island was uneventful. The
colony was growing, though scarcely as fast as
1730. the rest of New England. A census,
made ten years since the last enumera-
tion, ascertained the population to consist of
fifteen thousand three hundred and two whites,
sixteen hundred and forty-eight negroes, and nine
hundred and eighty-five Indians. Nineteen hun-
dred men constituted the militia. There
1731. were five thousand tons of shipping, and
four hundred sailors. Such a population and
such a commerce demanded facilities of interior
1736. communication, and the General Assembly
October. licensed "Alexander Thorp, livery-stable
keeper, and Isaac Casno, saddler, both of Bos-
ton, ... to set up the business of keeping
stage-coaches for the transporting of goods to and
from this colony and the Massachusetts govern-
ment," and gave them an exclusive patent for
"improving two stage-coaches for the space of

seven years, ... in regard of the great charge and expense they must be at." Though most of the trade of Rhode Island passed through Boston, two vessels came every year direct from England, two from ports of Holland and Spain, and ten or twelve from the West India Islands. The value of annual exports was computed at ten thousand pounds sterling, and the ordinary yearly expenses of the government at two thousand pounds in currency. A division was ^{1729.} made of the colony into three counties, ^{June.} and to this distribution the judicial system was adjusted. Newport County was constituted of the towns of Portsmouth, Newport, Jamestown, and New Shoreham; King's County (formerly King's Province), of Westerly, and North and South Kingston; and Providence County, of Providence, Warwick, and East Greenwich. The towns of Smithfield, Scituate, and Gloucester consisted of territory set off from Providence. ^{1731.} ^{February.}

The boundary on the side of Connecticut was at length determined and marked, after some final skirmishing, the result rather of old habit than of any remaining difference of opinion or purpose. Connecticut continuing to be sluggish about running the line "pursuant to the order and determination of his Majesty and Council," Rhode Island appointed commissioners to ^{1728.} do that office with or without the co- ^{May.} operation of the sister colony. Connecticut sent

men of her own, who, after some formal disputing, of not at all the same temper as that of the disputes of earlier times, agreed in marking by monuments the line which divides the friendly contiguous States at the present day.

On the accession of the new King, the Rhode Island people sent him a loyal address of congratulation, at the same time soliciting a gift of ordnance for a work which they informed him that they had erected at Newport, — “a regular and beautiful fortification of stone, with a battery subjoined, where might be conveniently mounted

1727. sixty cannon.” Governor Cranston, dying

May. in the office which he had held for thirty successive years, was succeeded by Joseph Jenckes, of Pawtucket, who held it for five years

1732. till his death. At the peril of his popularity, Jenckes maintained correct views about the danger from the flood of paper-money. He

1731. refused to approve a bill “for emitting
June. sixty thousand pounds in public bills of credit,” passed when the amount of bills outstanding already exceeded twice that sum. He indorsed his dissent on the engrossed bill the day after the Assembly rose, which was said by the adverse party to be too late, since no valid act in legislation could take place unless while the whole Legislature was in session. A Memorial had been presented against the bill, which on their defeat the signers wished to transmit to England with a view to obtaining redress there.

By way of certifying its authenticity, the governor was induced to put it under the colony seal, and thus it was another occasion of complaint against him that he had placed the corporate authority of the colony in the attitude of censure of its own legislation. He was solicited to convoke the Assembly to consider the state of things, and when he refused to do so, the deputy-governor took the extraordinary step of calling them together.

The Assembly declared the governor's dissent to be of no effect, chiefly on the ^{Aug. 3.} ground which has been specified. The governor appealed to the sovereign, desiring to be instructed, 1. whether an Act of the Assembly, not having the governor's concurrence, was valid ; 2. whether he could safely refuse the use of the colony seal, in attestation of copies made by the secretary to be submitted to the King ; 3. whether his previous personal examination of such papers was necessary, the secretary being a sworn officer. His application was referred in England to the law-officers of the crown, Yorke and Talbot. As to the last two points their opinion confirmed the view upon which the governor had acted. As to the first, they said that by the colonial charter "no negative voice was given to the governor," nor even was "any power reserved to the crown of approving or disapproving the laws to be made," and that accordingly the General Assembly, independently of the governor's concur-

rence, was competent to make laws, and that the validity of laws so made depended on nothing else but their being, "as near as might be, agreeable to the laws of England, regard being had to the nature and constitution of the place and the people."

Governor Jenckes did not live long enough for a settlement of the question whether his popularity could bear this rude storm. He died before the next election. He was succeeded, but
1734. not till after two years, by his factious subordinate, John Wanton. During the intervening time, while the latter was continued as deputy-governor, the highest post was given to his brother, William Wanton, who died before the end of his second term of office.

A light of different radiance from the "New Lights" that had dazzled the neighboring colonies shone upon Rhode Island when George Berkeley came to Newport. At his Deanery of Derry, in Ireland, where his philosophical writings had given him an early fame, that fine genius and devout philanthropist had conceived the idea of establishing a college in the Bermuda Islands, for the preparation of Christian missionaries to the savages of America; and, resigning his Irish preferment, he came over to devote himself to the prosecution of that enterprise. Tak-
1729. ing Rhode Island in his way, he awaited
January. there the fulfilment of promises of pecuniary aid, which had been made to him by the

British Ministry. But Stanhope and Walpole found other uses for the King's money, and Berkeley's generous project was starved. He bought a residence in the neighborhood of Newport, and occupied it two or three years, writing there his "Aleiphron, or Minute Philosopher." At and after his return home, he made valuable gifts to the colleges at Cambridge ^{1731.} and New Haven. ^{Sept.} At Newport he gave for public use a collection of books which survives in the "Redwood Library," so called from a later benefactor.

At Newport a grammar school had been maintained for nearly twenty years, and at ^{1716.} Portsmouth school-houses had been built. ^{1723.} At Providence another slight indication was afforded of tendency towards a salutary social change, when a school there was encouraged by the General Assembly to the extent of allowing the teacher the privilege of collecting his flock ^{1735.} "in one of the chambers of the county ^{August.} house," on condition of his "keeping the glass in constant good repair," and "erecting a handsome sundial in the front of said house, both for ornament and use."

In the sixth year of the administration of Governor John Wanton, a century from ^{1739.} the foundation being then recently completed, John Callender, minister of the Baptist Church in Newport, published his "Historical Discourse on the Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony

of Rhode Island." There were then in Newport "seven worshipping assemblies, churches or societies," and in the other twelve towns twenty-six "distinct societies or worshipping assemblies of Christians, besides several places where there were occasional meetings in some part of the year, or at certain seasons." In the colony the Baptists had twelve congregations, the Quakers ten, the Congregationalists six, and the Episcopalians five. Between the Baptist churches there were diversities of opinion; the unity of the Quakers was of the vaguest kind; the Episcopal congregations at Westerly, East Greenwich, and North Kingston were small.

The breaking out of the Spanish war offered an opening for action to a seafaring people, familiar with the islands of the West Indies. They knew how to find there opportunities for service to the King, and for enriching themselves with plunder. The colonial governor called for volunteers to join the expedition under Admiral Vernon, at Jamaica. At Carthegena a small force from Rhode Island had its share of the sufferings that attended that disastrous enterprise.

1740. The preparation for it was the last public
May. care of Governor John Wanton. He died

July. after being placed in the chief office by seven successive annual elections. The colonies of New England all changed their governors at nearly the same time.

CHAPTER IX.

ADMINISTRATION OF SHIRLEY. — CONQUEST OF CAPE BRETON.

WILLIAM SHIRLEY, a native of the English county of Sussex, had been bred to the law, and was "a barrister of the Middle Temple." Having a family to provide for, he came to Boston to push his fortune in his profession. He brought a friendly letter of introduction to Governor Belcher, from the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State. Writing to the Duke from America that various circumstances recommended the country to him, "notwithstanding its bad money and worse politics," he solicited the places of postmaster of Boston, "computed to be worth near a hundred pounds sterling per annum," and of Attorney-General of New York. Belcher, who for a while was friendly to him, probably by reason of his good standing with the Duke, interested himself to have him well compensated as "the King's only Advocate-General in America"; and Shirley, in pressing the same suit, acknowledged his patron's kindness in a hope held out to him of being made

1731.

Aug. 14.

1732.

July 17.

Aug. 4.

1734.

Nov. 30.

Nov. 19.

collector of customs in Rhode Island. He sent
 1736. his wife to England, with an application
 July 8. from Belcher for a salary for him of "at
 least two hundred pounds from his Majesty's Ex-
 1737. chequer." The Board of Trade recom-
 May 19. mended a compliance with it, and Shirley
 Nov. 3. followed it with a suit for "the post of col-
 lector of customs, in the port of Boston, or some
 other of like nature."

By this time the relations between Belcher and
 Shirley were changed. Among other places cov-
 eted by the latter was that of clerk of the Court
 1738. of Common Pleas, which he says Belcher
 Jan. 2. told him that he intended for his own son,
 and "threatens me," he adds, "with his dis-
 pleasure, and tells me, if I succeed, he shall be
 very troublesome to me." Some of his friends,
 at least, had begun to think of him for the pro-
 motion which he afterwards attained. Samuel
 Waldo, who had been aggrieved by Belcher's
 "opposing his settlements of the eastern lands,"
 went to England to make representations against
 him. In a letter purporting to be from James
 Bowdoin, of Boston, the Duke was as-
 1738. July 27. sured that "most of the considerable men
 here wishes him all success, and hopes he will
 deliver us from this mean fellow [Belcher] that
 hath tyrannized so long over us. . . . By his
 hypocrisy and villany he hath already almost
 ruined and destroyed one of the provinces he
 reigns over [New Hampshire]." The writer urged

the appointment of Shirley in Belcher's place, and promised that the question of a stated salary would be settled "directly, should Mr. Shirley be the man."

But Shirley, for some reason, was not pleased with this officiousness in his behalf. Perhaps he thought it too bold for the time, for Belcher's position was by no means desperate as yet. "The impertinent letter," Shirley wrote to the Duke, "signed J. Bowden, of which I heard ^{1739.} this morning, was all counterfeit. J. Bow- ^{March 3.} den is a merchant of the largest estate in this province, a Frenchman by birth, who does not trouble his head with anything that relates to the government, is upon good terms with Governor Belcher, and has very little acquaintance with me." He imputes the artifice to "a gentleman in the highest station among us [meaning, probably, Belcher]. I am so thoroughly acquainted with his politics," he continues, "and knowing to some other instances of a like kind of treachery, that I dare almost risk my credit upon the truth of my suspicion. When the letter was wrote the thing itself [the succession to the government] was not in my aim or thoughts." He expressed his "uneasiness at Mr. Waldo's indiscretion in his application to your Grace in my favor. He had no commission from me to act in this matter." The Duke had proposed to make his *protégé* Chief Justice of New York, and Shirley may have thought that an im-

prudent ambition for the higher office might end in the loss of both.

An indication of the consequence to which he had attained may be seen in his assuring
1740. the Duke, when recruiting began for the Spanish war, that he should offer to the governor all the assistance in his power in raising men in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, though, he adds, "I cannot tell how this will be received from me, whom his Excellency hath for some time looked upon with a jealous, if not evil eye."

Aug. 4. He informed the minister that a person in whose behalf he had applied for a commission had been rejected by the governor, who said that "he would not by any means hear of him, because I had recommended him; otherwise he should have had a commission"; and he reported Belcher as having said, in another case of the same kind, that he would not "be plagued with every pettifogger's recommendation." Shirley plied the Duke with letters from himself and others, showing his useful activity in enlisting and fitting out troops for the war, at his own cost and that of his friends; the unskilfulness and lukewarmness of the governor in respect to that business; and the governor's unreasonable hostility to himself. Mrs. Shirley, in London,
Sept. 20. wrote to the Duke: "Mr. Shirley has suffered many affronts from the governor, but while he was obeying your Grace's commands, he did not fear Mr. Belcher's resentment." Mr. Martin

Bladen, of the Board of Trade, examined Oct. 8.
 various papers submitted to him, and reported: "It appears to me that Mr. Shirley has shown a very laudable zeal for the public, and that Governor Belcher has indulged his personal resentment against Mr. Shirley to the detriment of his Majesty's service. It would seem to me that there cannot be now any inconvenience in making an alteration in that government, and that your Grace cannot recommend to his Majesty any gentleman to succeed Mr. Belcher more capable of discharging the duty of a good governor, or that would be more acceptable to the people there, than Mr. Shirley."

At the time when his commission as 1741.
 governor arrived, Shirley was in Rhode Aug. 13.
 Island, employed by Massachusetts in managing the question about the boundary line. He had established such a reputation for character and ability, that among his adopted fellow-citizens the news of his promotion was received with general favor. In the conspicuous career on which he now entered, he proved to be a person of unquestionable capacity, but yet ambitious in a degree disproportioned to his powers. He had the welfare of the province at heart, and was attentive and diligent in the discharge of his office. As occasions arose for difference of judgment between him and the local government, he pressed his own views with a fulness of argument which was often diffuse to the degree of tediousness, but

which always showed intimate acquaintance with the subject in hand, and which was rarely indiscreet in language, and never overbearing or petulant in temper. And he had a reasonable judgment as to the time when a point at which he had aimed was to be abandoned as unattainable, and knew how to yield and retreat with dignity and good-nature.

When Shirley presented himself to produce his commission and take the oaths of office, the

General Court had been adjourned four
Aug. 17. days by his predecessor with a view to that ceremony. In his inaugural speech he called the attention of the Legislature to four subjects: 1. The defenceless condition of Castle William in Boston Harbor, which he declared to require instant attention on account of the existing war with Spain; 2. The expediency, in consideration of the unfavorable season, of a temporary embargo on the export of provisions; 3. His intention to prosecute, before the King in Council, the appeal which he had taken from the decree of the commissioners on the boundary line of Rhode Island; 4. The deplorable state of the currency, which made all business insecure, and all property of doubtful value. Governor Belcher, he said, had "very justly complained of the excessive rise of exchange between Great Britain and the province, which had then risen within a few years from sixty to more than two hundred per cent," while "since that time, within the

compass of eleven years, it had risen from two hundred and twenty to about four hundred and fifty per cent."

It was to no purpose that he exhibited this discouraging state of the public finances. The facts were as indisputable as they were appalling. There was no need of words to impress them on the Legislature. The Legislature knew them as well, and felt them as much, as the governor. But the Legislature, disabled by the deplorable improvidence of its predecessors through a course of years, was bewildered, baffled, helpless. It is easy to say that whoever, being honest, has recklessly or unfortunately contracted debt, must distress himself to pay it, and not be content with renewals of promises to pay. A community must discharge its debt by sales of its property (if it has any) and by taxation of its citizens. Massachusetts had no salable property. She taxed her people severely, as it was. But as long as, owing to past mismanagement, the best that they paid in taxes, and the best that they had to pay, was a fictitious currency constantly falling off in value, the accumulation of taxes brought the treasury no nearer to the point of solvency.

The assembled wisdom could as yet devise no means of extrication. The case seemed nearer and nearer to becoming desperate. Oct. 14.
The Houses passed a bill of supply, which, among other objectionable features, allowed the payment of taxes in certain perishable commodities. The

governor informed them that his instructions forbade him to approve such a bill. They were not prepared with anything better, and they
Oct. 16. dispersed to their homes, leaving an empty exchequer. They had promptly made a grant to the governor of two thousand pounds, which, as it was declared to be for the
Aug. 22. temporary expenses of his accession, he
Aug. 29. did not scruple to accept with assurances of gratitude. The House, displeased with its agent in England, Francis Wilks, perhaps on account of his friendliness to Belcher, expressed
Sept. 18. its dissatisfaction by a vote for his discharge, in which, however, the Council refused to concur.

An application to Shirley from the British
Sept. 23. commanders in the West Indies for recruits to their force, was referred by him to the General Court. The service did not prove popular enough to engage a sufficient number of volunteers; and it deserves recording as an illustration of the estimate put in those times upon persons not making themselves definitely useful in some way, that when the governor recommended the impressment of a sufficient number of men to meet the requisition, he added, "in which case those able-bodied men who are of little or no value to the community, though very fit for his Majesty's service, may be taken." In consequence of his representations to the King's government of the indispensable-

ness of a provision for the treasury, his in- 1742.
instructions had been so far qualified that he Jan. 15.
felt at liberty to sign a supply bill in which were
introduced some amendments conformed to his
views; and he wrote to the Duke that he
had prevailed with the General Court to Jan. 23.
protect creditors against the depreciation of bills
of credit, and to draw them in "at certain
periods." "The Act of Parliament for sup-
pressing the Land Bank scheme" had, he said,
been obeyed by the directors, "who have got
above one third of their bills in and consumed
'em to ashes, and are daily endeavoring to draw
in the remainder of 'em." Two Acts which he
had procured to have passed — one, "for the
supply of the treasury," the other "for ascertain-
ing the value of money" — he considered to be
"of more service to the country than all the Acts
of Assembly that have been made since the first
emission of bills of credit here."

Another instruction, which came at or about
the same time, revived for once more the most
material dispute of the early period of the gov-
ernment under the second charter. As the first
session under Shirley's administration drew to-
wards its close, the General Court made him a
grant of six hundred and fifty pounds in the form
which the Court had persisted in observing. He
had taken no action upon it at the time, Jan. 21.
but in their next session he informed them
that he was instructed to demand a regular salary

of a thousand pounds, and he enforced the requisition by an elaborate argument several pages in length. The House excused itself from
Jan. 22. acting in the case, on the ground that the number of its members in attendance was small.

The governor, forbearing to insist ungraciously
March 27. on the demand at the time, renewed it at
March 30. the beginning of the next session. The
April 6. House declined it in a brief, frank, and
April 9. able reply, followed up, on a repetition of it, with arguments drawn out at length, and adopted by a unanimous vote, in which they justified themselves in a refusal to make even a
April 14. limited arrangement of the kind required, and did not shrink from avowing that they meant to keep the governor dependent on them for his maintenance. This was, they said, a very fit principle of a government which was balanced by the mutual dependence of its several departments, the Council being dependent on the governor for its constitution as to members, the House being no House except under the governor's power of convoking, proroguing, and dissolving, and no legislation of the two branches being operative without the governor's approval. The governor repeated, largely and skilfully, the
April 15. reasonings and implied threats which had
April 20. become familiar on his side of the question, and twice refused the requests of the Court for a prorogation. But the approach of the time when by the charter it was necessary to

issue writs for the annual election, compelled him to desist from this kind of coercion; ^{April 23.} and he allowed them to separate, having first addressed them with a formal presentation of his case, using no disguise in respect to his purpose of influencing the popular election which was at hand. He allowed them, he said, to rise, because he was "desirous to avoid the least show of extorting that, by any method, which it was the interest of the people of this province should appear to be a free act of their duty to his Majesty."

This was more civil language than had been habitual to Dudley, Shute, Burnett, or Belcher, but it proved no more effectual to convince or persuade. ^{May 26.} The new House met.

The governor briefly proposed the question respecting his salary, referring to his previous arguments upon the subject. The House ^{June 2.} replied by a grant of two thousand three hundred and fifty pounds, in the long-accustomed form, and he signed the bill, thus bringing the controversy to a close. The governor and the Ministry had become satisfied that the province was not to be moved from the ground which on this subject it had taken, and the time when its favor was wanted for reinforcements to the army in the West Indies was not the time for persistence in presenting a cause of irritation. After a quiet session of five weeks, the Court was ^{July 2.} adjourned to the autumn.

In the interval the governor met a delegation of Indian chiefs on St. George's River, being anxious respecting the influence which might be in action upon them on the part of French missionaries, now that the relations between England and France were becoming unsettled. But he

Sept. 3. was able to report that, as far as their protestations deserved confidence, they were in a friendly and submissive temper. Again the

1743. Court made a liberal grant to the governor
June 8. (thirteen hundred and fifty pounds) in the ancient form, and he received it without objection, and, the question about the stated salary being thus dismissed, the executive and legislative departments were thenceforward on the best of terms. He continued, as was his dismal duty, to complain of the condition of currency and credit, already almost intolerably bad and growing daily worse; but he had to acquiesce in the apparent impossibility of devising measures of relief. Massachusetts was the victim, not only of her own financial mismanagement, but scarcely less of the imprudent and injurious management of her neighbors. The governor invited the Court

1744. to observe that in addition to their own
Feb. 9. depreciated paper currency, there were in circulation in Massachusetts bills of Connecticut and Rhode Island, to the amount of fifty thousand pounds and of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds respectively, and that Massachusetts had already lost, in the depreciation of

these securities, no less than a hundred and eighty thousand pounds, estimated in that currency.

In this desperate pecuniary condition it must have been with nothing short of dismay that the Court heard itself applied to by the governor to provide for the probable exigencies of a war, which he had reason to believe imminent, between England and France.

War had indeed already been declared by

April 27.
March 15.

both the European powers, between whom,

March 29.

under the pacific administration of Walpole, there had been a peace of thirty years. Intelligence of the rupture was promptly despatched to New France. Before it reached Boston, a force of nine hundred men, sent by the French

May 13.

governor of Cape Breton, surprised and captured the post at Canseau, garrisoned by eighty New England soldiers. The fort was burned, and the prisoners were taken to Louisburg. Annapolis, where the works had fallen into decay, scarcely escaped a similar fate, though Shirley succored it with a reinforcement of seventy men.

When the new Court of Elections came together, the hostile movements at the North were known in Massachusetts. The governor's invitation to adopt spirited measures was cordially met. A Joint Committee of War was raised, with

June 1.

William Pepperell, of Kittery, President of the Council, at its head. Five hundred men were impressed. Two hundred men were de-

spatched to reinforce Annapolis, which was understood to be threatened by the Indians. Powder was distributed into all the towns. A range of forts was planned, to be built between the Connecticut and the Hudson. A circumstance which gave great satisfaction was the arrival of a contribution from the King to the armament of the fort in Boston Harbor, consisting of two mortars, and twenty forty-two pound cannon. Through the rest of the year the Court, expecting events which would prescribe its action, was repeatedly convoked and adjourned, holding no fewer than four sessions in six months.

The English and French posts at the northeast of New England approached each other closely. The English settlement of Annapolis, formerly Port Royal, was near the western end of the peninsula of Nova Scotia, of which the population, of more than sixteen thousand, was almost wholly French. At the opposite extremity of Nova Scotia was the fort at Canseau, on a strait, called by the same name, which separates the mainland from the island of Cape Breton. This island, then occupied by the French, stretches half across the wide entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. On its southeastern side, close to a long roadstead called by the French the Bay of Chapeau Rouge, — a name corrupted by the English into *Gabarus Bay*, — the French government, since the peace of Utrecht more than thirty years before, had constructed and been laboriously

strengthening a formidable fortress on a point enclosing and commanding a convenient harbor. The fort was built of stone, with walls more than thirty feet high, and a ditch eighty feet wide. It had six bastions and three batteries, with platforms for a hundred and forty-eight cannon and six mortars. On an islet, which was flanked on one side by a shoal, a battery of thirty guns, twenty-eight pounders, defended the entrance of the harbor; which was also commanded from within by the Grand or Royal Battery, mounting as many guns, of the calibre of forty-two pounds. The fort was a safe rendezvous and refuge for French fleets and privateers sailing in the Western Hemisphere. It commanded the access to the St. Lawrence, and it watched and kept in alarm the English settlements all along the coast. It was a standing threat to the great business of New England seamen, which was the fishery on the Banks. At present it had a garrison of six or seven hundred regular troops, and twice as many militia.

The General Court of Massachusetts had scarcely come together in the winter, ^{1745.} when it was thrown into amazement by ^{Jan. 9.} a proposal, from the governor, of an extraordinary scheme in relation to this fortress. He prepared the way for it by requesting that it might be received under an engagement of secrecy. From prisoners taken at Canseau, and released after some detention at Louisburg, he had, he said,

received information respecting the condition of the latter place, which inspired him with the hope that it might be reduced by a sudden assault. He was told that, in the winter, snow-banks so high and firm were sometimes heaped against the outside of the walls as to admit of their being climbed over by a brave assailing party; but that there was an alternative, if circumstances should not favor the adoption of so bold a measure; he was assured that the garrison was insubordinate and ill-provisioned, and that, if the supplies which it was accustomed to receive from France every spring could be intercepted, it would easily be discouraged into a surrender. He had already informed the English Ministry of the necessity that existed for the presence of a fleet to defend Annapolis, and he had written to Commodore Warren, who was in the West Indies with some ships of war. From one of these quarters he hoped to obtain a naval force sufficient to prevent Louisburg from being relieved by sea. Accordingly he proposed to the Court to send, with all possible secrecy and despatch, four thousand provincial soldiers in transports, to rendezvous at Canseau, whence, as soon as plans for action could be satisfactorily completed, they should proceed to disembark on the shore of Chapeau Rouge Bay, and reduce the fortress by surprise or by regular approaches, according as circumstances should prove to require or permit the one proceeding or the other.

The Court received the proposal with astonishment. The disproportion of means to ends seemed to them so extreme as wellnigh to forbid that serious consideration of it which, however, could not be refused to a scheme of the Chief Magistrate. They referred it to a committee, at the head of which was William Pepperell. After two days' deliberation, the committee reported that, immensely desirable as was ^{Jan. 11.} the object proposed, the undertaking was altogether beyond the capacity of the province, and must on all reasonable grounds of calculation so result as to bring about a ruinous financial distress ; that there was no safe reliance to be placed on the report which had been brought of the insecurity of the works at Louisburg, or the demoralization of the garrison ; that in the formal movements of war the courage of new levies was no match for the discipline of regular troops ; that the province had no siege artillery, and could get none ; that its heaviest vessel carried but twenty guns ; that the whole fleet in which the soldiers, victorious or beaten, were to come back, if at all, could not maintain itself against a single French frigate ; and that even if undisturbed it would be of little use for a blockade, in seas and at a season where there was a constant alternation between furious tempests and blinding fogs. These and other considerations made the committee decide that Massachusetts was not equal to the capture of Louisburg, but that urgent represen-

tations ought to be made to the English government of the desirableness of that acquisition, and of the wisdom of devoting to it such military and naval forces as would render availing the assistance which the province was disposed liberally to afford, in the measure of its ability.

The report was accepted, as far as appears, without opposition, and the project might seem to be disposed of. The governor, however, was sanguine and persevering, while he had too much address to provoke contradiction by an appearance of assumption and impracticableness. The secret of his communication to the Legislature was said to have escaped by means of the simplicity of a Representative, who in his family devotions prayed for Divine guidance to his action on a matter of such moment. However disclosed, it spread with rapidity, exciting, as it went, an enthusiasm which made no careful calculations;

Jan. 15. tions; and it was thought to be not without encouragement from the governor,

Jan. 23. who sent two more messages upon the

subject, that a petition from merchants and fishermen of Boston, Salem, Marblehead, and other sea-coast towns, solicited a reconsideration of his plan. A second committee made a favorable report, and after a day's debate, the

Jan. 25. House signified its approbation by a majority of a single vote.

Here ended all dissent, repugnance, criticism, indifference. Henceforward the only question

was as to who could do most to further the great design. After an unusually good harvest, provisions were abundant. Enlistments were facilitated by a stagnation of business, which left numbers of seamen and others without employment. The governor solicited aid from the other English colonies as far south as to Virginia, but it came only from those of New England, except that New York lent ten small guns (carrying eight-pound shot), and New Jersey and Pennsylvania contributed some provisions and clothing. Massachusetts undertook to raise a force of three thousand two hundred and fifty men; Connecticut promised five hundred, and Rhode Island and New Hampshire three hundred each.

It was of the first importance to find a commander capable both of keeping up the enthusiasm that had been excited for the enterprise, and of conducting its operations with spirit and good judgment. The choice fell upon William Pepperell, of Kittery. He was the son of a Devonshire man of the same name, who had come first to the Isle of Shoals, where he prospered as a fisherman, and then to Kittery, where he accumulated a considerable property for those days. The son, with better but still with no distinguished advantages for education, followed in his father's steps. When he was old enough, he became his father's partner in a miscellaneous business. They bought land, carried on farming, built ships, employed fishermen, and traded

with the Southern colonies, with the West Indies, and with Europe. The younger partner, thirty-eight years old at the time of his father's death, was the only surviving son, and was made heir to the greater part of the estate.

While, in the diligent prosecution of a profitable business, he became probably the richest man in the province, he took an equal interest in public affairs, and received tokens of the public confidence. He had scarcely come of age when he was made a justice of the peace and a captain of cavalry. When thirty years old he represented

1726. Kittery in the General Court, and the next year was chosen a member of the Council.

When Governor Belcher reconstituted the eastern Court of Common Pleas, in order to get the appointment of its clerk, he placed

1730. William Pepperell at its head, who ordered a law library from London, and applied himself to the study of that science. He gave sedulous attention to the discipline of his regiment, and to military affairs in general; the protection of the eastern towns against the savages being a perpetual and urgent duty devolved especially upon him. He was so far without qualification for the capture of a fortified place, as that he had never seen a siege. But in this he was no worse off than any other New England officer. He would have to be governed by his good sense, and to devise methods as fast as he might, under the instruction of experience. His courage, discretion, probity, and

patriotism were notorious and unquestionable. His uniform success hitherto in whatever he had undertaken was an encouraging augury. The people confided in him, and were ready to trust themselves under his command; and something of what was lost by imperfect discipline would be compensated by the cheerfulness of voluntary obedience to a leader powerful through the personal good-will which adhered to him.

Pepperell entered into the scheme with serious distrust. His wisest friends were on the whole the least sanguine. Even the ardent Whitefield could give him no better encouragement than that, though the plan did not seem promising, he must "go with a single eye," and then he would find that "as was his day, so his strength would be." Whitefield is said to have furnished as a legend for the regimental colors, "Nil desperandum, Christo duce"; and, among his disciples who enlisted, one had equipped himself with a hatchet to be used in demolishing the idols in the Popish churches.

While the enlistments and other preparations were in progress, precautions were used to prevent intelligence from getting abroad. The naval force proper consisted of fourteen vessels, of which the largest, carrying twenty-four guns, was commanded by Edward Tyng, commodore of the fleet. The transports were eighty or ninety in number. While they were assembling at Nantasket, in less than two months after the

governor's first communication to the Court, a squadron sailed to blockade Louisburg and intercept supplies. A day of fasting and prayer was appointed to be kept throughout the province, and single churches made their own arrangements for the like solemnity to be observed at other times. The troops from Massachusetts were a week on their voyage to Canseau, which was the place of rendezvous. They found there the contingent from New Hampshire. That from Connecticut joined them after ten days. The men expected from Rhode Island did not appear till the campaign was over.

Arrived prosperously and secretly within fifty miles of Louisburg, the lieutenant-general (such was the rank which the commander's commission conferred) saw his not easy task confronting him close at hand. He had brought instructions drawn out with much detail, for the lawyer Shirley already entertained that overestimate of his own military genius which made his later life a disappointment. Pepperell found himself directed to do a number of things little likely to come within his power, since he could not command the elements and adjust the course of time. The weather of the early spring was yet unsettled. The rocky coast was hidden much of the time with heavy fogs. The pilots had but an imperfect knowledge of it. The invaders had no guns fit for a siege. They were utterly without

experience in operations of that kind. An inspection ascertained the arms to be "slighty" and the provisions insufficient. The enemy occupied a well-constructed work, with a powerful armament, a considerable force of men, and, for anything that was known to the contrary, competent supplies.

"Your proceedings from Canso," wrote the self-complacent governor to the general, "must be such as to time your arrival at Chapeau Rouge Bay about nine of the clock of the evening, or sooner or later, as you can best rely on the wind, weather, and darkness of the night." That done, the troops were to be forthwith disembarked, and the place, order, and manner of their landing were circumstantially prescribed. Being formed on shore, "three divisions, consisting two of six hundred men each, and one of four hundred men, are to march," so the order proceeds, "as near as they can guess to the back of a range of hills about west from the town, about one mile and a half, and here the two detachments of six hundred men each are to halt and keep a profound silence, while the other detachment of four hundred men pursue their march, following the range and under cover of the said hills round to the northwest and north, till they come to the back of the said battery, where they are also to halt till a signal agreed on be given for them to march immediately to the said battery and attack it"; and the management of the battle which is to follow

is prescribed through all its incidents with the same particularity. If the attempt at a surprise from any cause should fail, a regular investment was to be made, of which the proceedings are indicated through several pages of equally minute specification. The general did not need to be a professional soldier to be amused at the easy steps by which his superior marched on to triumph. He may be pardoned if the part of the letter the most satisfactory to him was the post-script, which ran as follows: "Upon the whole, notwithstanding the instructions you have received from me, I must leave it to you to act, upon unforeseen emergencies, according to your best discretion."

A whole month the troops were detained at Canseau, waiting for the ice to break up, by which Cape Breton continued to be surrounded. During all this time, the presence of neither the military nor the naval force was discovered from that island. The vessels had orders to cruise out of sight of land, and if occasionally a sail was seen, it passed for one of the privateers, of which often there were numbers in those seas.

The prospect was at last brightened by the joyful event of the arrival of Commodore
April 23. Warren with a ship of the line and three frigates from the West Indies. After replying to Governor Shirley that he could afford no aid to the expedition for want of orders, he had received instructions from England occasioned by the gov-

ernor's representations to the Ministry in the preceding autumn, and without loss of time set sail for Boston ; but falling in with a fishing sloop in Massachusetts Bay, and learning that the expedition had gone to sea, he took out the officers for pilots, and shifted his course for the place of rendezvous. There he was presently after joined by three or four other heavy men-of-war, making his fleet consist of five vessels of sixty guns and six frigates, besides the provincial vessels, which, agreeably to orders from England, and with Pepperell's cheerful acquiescence, Governor Shirley had transferred from the general's command to that of the commodore.

At length, agreeably to the governor's plan of coming upon the garrison by surprise, the expedition set sail at evening ; but, the ^{April 29.} wind dying away, the vessels made slow progress, and the next morning were in sight from the town. By a dexterous feint, a landing was successfully effected, in the face of a small force which came from the fort to oppose it. Colonel Vaughan, of New Hampshire, was presently sent forward with four hundred men to attack the outwork called the Grand Battery, to which the invaders looked for a supply of heavy artillery. At a little distance to the windward of the battery were some warehouses containing naval stores and a quantity of wine and brandy. These Vaughan reached by night, and set on fire. The smoke, rendered dense and pungent by pitch, tar,

and other like combustibles, and driven by a strong wind into the Grand Battery, so disturbed the French, ignorant as they were of the number of the assailants, that they abandoned the work and withdrew within the town. Approaching cautiously for a reconnoissance in the morning, Vaughan was surprised to find the place deserted, and presently a message from him reached headquarters, conceived in these gratifying terms: "May it please your Honor to be informed that by the grace of God and the courage of thirteen men I entered the Royal Battery about nine o'clock, and am waiting for a reinforcement and a flag." The cannon which the French had spiked on their retreat were drilled, and were immediately turned with annoying effect upon the town.

The work of bringing up the cannon from the transports proved difficult and laborious. They had to be drawn over a morass by men harnessed with straps across their breasts, and wading up to their knees in half-frozen mud; and as the way was in plain view from the walls, and within artillery range, the operation could ill be carried on except by night and on foggy days. Meanwhile one of those fortunate incidents took place, a succession of which occurred so opportunely. The blockading squadron intercepted and captured a French sixty-four gun ship, which was going into Louisburg to relieve the garrison with provisions and military stores. To give intelli-

gence of her fate to the French in the fort, she was towed backward and forward before the entrance of the harbor. For the greater certainty that the disheartening fact should be known, the commodore resorted to an artifice. He complained to his prisoner, the commander of the French ship, that while he and his men were receiving the most courteous treatment, the governor of Louisburg was dealing harshly with Englishmen who had fallen into his hands. The French officer accordingly consented to send in a letter of remonstrance, which answered the purpose of making known to his friends on shore what had become of him and his expected supplies. The English messenger, who carried the letter into the town with a flag, concealed the fact that he understood French, and thus had the benefit of the lamentations which in the governor's circle were uttered over the disaster.

Though from various causes the progress of the siege was slow, it was obstructed by only one seriously untoward event. This was an unsuccessful night attack of a flotilla of ^{May 26.} whale-boats, under Colonel Gorham, upon the Island Battery at the entrance of the harbor. The night was stormy; the landing was impeded by the violence of the surf beating upon the rocks, and one hundred and seventy men were drowned, killed, or taken prisoners, though the escape of the work was so narrow that a

New England officer was struck down while he had his hand upon the flagstaff. The next proceeding against this battery was the erection of another commanding it from the mainland; and, favored still by that strange fortune which by faith and habit the Puritan soldiers recognized as a favoring Providence, they found at low-water mark a sufficient number of heavy cannon for the purpose. The guns had been brought thither by the French for a similar fortification, and had been precipitately buried when they were alarmed by the invasion.

The completion of this battery, erected under the superintendence of Colonel Gridley,—the officer who, thirty years later, laid out the works on Bunker's Hill and Dorchester Heights,—seems to have brought the governor's mind to thoughts of a surrender. The contemporaneous Scottish historian Douglas, in his acrimonious criticism of the campaign, says that "the siege was carried on in a tumultuary, random manner, like a Cambridge Commencement." Certain it is, however, that things constantly moved on to the result. There was no turning back, no stop, no despondency. Day by day the lines were pushed nearer to the place. The batteries were in good and improving condition. The blockade was so complete, that only the arrival of an unexpectedly large French force could bring relief. A regular communication with home was maintained, and supplies had become ample. A

breach, believed to be practicable, had been made at one of the gates. The principal town battery towards the water was nearly ruined, and other works were badly damaged; and the Island Battery, the chief obstacle to the entrance of ships, was commanded by that recently erected. Plans were now daily canvassed in councils of war, and in correspondence between the general and the commodore, for a simultaneous assault by land and water. A vigorous cannonade of the island from the new battery dismounted some of the guns and drove the artillery-men from the rest, while the activity on board the ships and in the camp indicated preparations for a storming of the post, which was actually arranged for the third day after, — the ships to force their way into the harbor, and disembark seamen and marines, and the land forces to scale the western walls.

Thus beset, the French commander sent out a flag, desiring a suspension of arms, ^{June 15.} to treat for a capitulation. Honorable terms were allowed, the commodore acquiescing in the general's opinion that the Frenchman's wish to march out of the fort with arms and colors was "too small a point to hinder any time upon." On the same day, Brad- ^{June 17.}street, lieutenant-colonel of Pepperell's regiment, marched a detachment into the town, and the fleet came to anchor in the harbor. It was well that no delay had been caused by a discussion of the terms of surrender; for the day after the troops

were established in their new quarters brought intelligence of the arrival of a body of Indians, said to be twenty-five hundred in number, within two hours' march of the deserted camp, and the weather, which had hitherto been fine since the landing, became such as would have distressed the soldiers in their thin osnaburg tents among trenches filled with water.

Six hundred regular troops and thirteen hundred militia-men became prisoners. When the victors entered the place, they found it in a pitiable state. Nine hundred shot had been thrown into it, and six hundred shells. Not a house in the town, it was said, remained uninjured, and scarcely three, reports one letter, were inhabitable.

Ships were immediately despatched to Boston and to England with tidings of the great success. It did not fail to diffuse the liveliest joy among all of the British name. "Last Tuesday
^{July 2.} night," says the weekly newspaper, the "Boston Post-Boy," "arrived here Captain Bennett, with despatches from Lieutenant-General Pepperell and Commodore Warren, by which we have the good news of the surrender of the important city and fortress of Louisburg to our forces, after a siege of near seven weeks. On this joyful occasion, the day following was celebrated in a very grand and splendid manner, being ushered in by the ringing of the bells, and at noon by the discharge of the guns at Castle

William, the North and South Batteries, the ships in the harbor with their colors all displayed, and in the evening there was a large bonfire on the Common, where there was a large tent, and the populace entertained with plenty of wine. The whole town was beautifully illuminated, and a great quantity of curious fire-works played off. And the day was concluded with all possible rejoicing." "I heartily congratulate you," wrote Dr. Chauncy to Pepperell, "upon ^{July 4.} the news we received yesterday, about break of day, of the reduction of Cape Breton. The people of Boston, before sunrise, were as thick about the streets as on an election day, and a pleasing joy visibly sat on the countenance of every one you met with. We last night had the finest illumination I ever beheld with my eyes. I believe there was not a house in the town, in no by-lane or alley, but joy might be seen through its windows. The night also was made joyful by bonfires, fire-works, and all other external tokens of rejoicing."

There was a public thanksgiving throughout the province, on a day appointed by the governor. In his sermon on that occasion Dr. Chauncy extolled the troops. "They were not," he said, "the scum of the land, idle, worthless creatures, given to profaneness and intemperance, and debauched in their manners, but, for the generality, they were men who had upon their minds an awe of God, and who feared an oath, they were

men industrious in their callings, and well able to provide for themselves and families; in a word, they were men of life and spirit, animated with love to their King and country, and willing to venture their lives, not so much to serve themselves as to promote the public good. 'T is a rare thing for so many men of such a character to be engaged in such an enterprise. And I can't but think there was a special hand of Providence in it." And this was not merely the language of a divine. The same is the tone of all the writing that has been transmitted from the time, — in the public acts, in the newspaper paragraphs, in the letters from the camp. The hearts of all seemed too full of a religious gratitude for the happy event, to admit of being relieved by mere shouts of exultation. "God has gone out of the way of his common Providence," wrote an officer to his wife, only repeating the sentiment which possessed all around him. "Unto Almighty God, who loves to show himself, and in an eminent manner take part with right and justice against those mighty oppressors of the earth who, like an overflowing flood, would bear down all before 'em, be ascribed this great and happy conquest"; such was the language
July 22. of the newspaper just now quoted, when a fortnight had passed from the first excitement.

The rejoicings at Boston were echoed in other parts of the continent. At Portsmouth, Salem,

Newport, New York, Philadelphia, the news was greeted with salvos from the forts, dressing of the ships with flags, ringing of the bells, bonfires, illuminations, and all sorts of public and private festivities. The General Court of Massachusetts took measures for forwarding supplies of pay, provisions, and warlike stores for the garrison, and materials for reconstructing the damaged works, — an example which was followed by the governments of the other New England colonies. New York made a contribution of five thousand pounds, New Jersey of two thousand, and Pennsylvania of four thousand, the last-named province accompanying its vote with a declaration that “though the peaceable principles professed by divers members of this Assembly do not permit them to join in raising of men or provisions, arms and ammunition, yet in all suitable ways they always held it their duty to render tribute to Cæsar.”

On the arrival in England of the frigate sent out by the commodore with the intelligence, her commander received a gratuity of five hundred pounds, the Park and Tower guns were fired by order of the Lords of the Regency (the King being then abroad), and “a general joy and gladness,” says a London newspaper, “was diffused through the whole kingdom.” When Pepperell returned from Louisburg in the summer of the following year, he was conducted to his home in a sort of triumph. Coming into Boston Harbor

1746. in a frigate, under salutes from the ships
June 24. and batteries, he was received at the Castle by the governor, who conducted him to town. On the Long Wharf he was met by the Council and Representatives, who accompanied him, under the escort of the governor's battalion of Cadets, to the Council Chamber, where the House presented an Address of thanks and congratulation through their Speaker. His modest reply was, "I am heartily obliged to the honorable House for the respect they have shown me, and I hope I shall always be ready to risk my life and fortune for the good of my dear native country." After a few days he proceeded to his home in Maine, and the two weekly newspapers of the time are crowded with particulars of the tokens of respect and gratitude offered to him at Lynn, Salem, Beverly, Ipswich, Newbury, Hampton, Portsmouth, and other places on the way. The enthusiasm of the demonstration was a strange novelty in New England.

The importance of the transaction now recorded is not to be estimated by the narrowness and obscurity of the scene. The conquest saved, at the moment, Nova Scotia and its confines to the British Crown; a powerful French naval force destined for a descent in that quarter, and already on the Atlantic, received on its way, from a neutral ship, intelligence of the fall of Louisbourg, and returned, abandoning the enterprise. But the exploit had wider political relations. As

far as England was concerned, it was the great event of the war of the Austrian succession. England had no other success in that war to compare with it. As things turned out, it is not too much to say that the capture of Louisburg gave peace to Europe. To the great discontent of her American subjects, England, adopting for the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle the basis of the *status ante bellum*, bought back with the retrocession of Louisburg to France the ^{1748.} conquests of the more fortunate arms of her rival on the other side of the water. Indications of "the capacity of a people commercial and at the same time warlike" were found by Voltaire, in this adventure, — an achievement which he presents as "not of the British Ministry, but of the valor of New England traders." Erroneously ascribing the conquest of Louisburg to Warren's ships, William Pitt said in debate in Parliament, ^{1755.} "It was our navy that procured the restora- ^{Nov. 13.} tion of the barrier of Flanders in the last war, by making us masters of Cape Breton."

CHAPTER X.

ADMINISTRATION OF SHIRLEY, CONTINUED.

It was not till a year after the capture of
1746. Louisburg that Pepperell's return to Bos-
June 1. ton, described in the last chapter, took
place. Warren came with him. They had been
visited by Governor Shirley soon after the con-
quest, his special business being to reconcile
1745. those soldiers whose term of enlistment
August had expired to a longer stay at the place
for its defence. From Louisburg, whence he did
not return till the beginning of winter, he
Dec 8. wrote to the Duke that he found "a per-
Sept. 22. fect harmony subsisting between the gen-
eral and commodore," but such destitution among
the men, especially in respect to clothing, that
"there was danger of a serious mutiny, had he
not been on the spot." He had pacified them by
Sept. 17. what he called a "Declaration," in which
he assured them that satisfactory arrange-
ments had been made in respect to their provis-
ion and pay, and exhorted them in eloquent terms
not to fall into disorders which would frustrate the
heroic work they had been doing.

The late surprising success had naturally stim-

ulated the governor's ambition, both for himself and for the public. He wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, setting forth for the King's consideration his exertions and achievements, and urging arrangements for a new attempt upon Canada and a conquest of all New France; for which undertaking he proposed that Pennsylvania should be called upon for twenty-five hundred men, Virginia and Connecticut for twenty-one hundred each, Massachusetts for forty-five hundred, and New York for the same number, "not as being so considerable, but as deriving much the greatest advantage by the immediate increase of their fur trade"; though, he said, the latter province was controlled by its Dutch inhabitants, who, fearful of disturbance to this trade, desired to maintain a neutrality with the French Indians, and to "prevent the Five Nations from going into the war." The proposal was favorably received at court. The Duke sent instructions to the governors of all the English colonies north of Carolina to make a levy of troops. The colonies voted to raise eighty-two hundred men, of which number Massachusetts engaged thirty-five hundred, and Virginia one hundred. A fleet and a force of regular soldiers were to be sent from England; the troops from New England, as by the earlier plans of similar campaigns, were to make their way to Quebec by the St. Lawrence, and those from the other colonies by Lake Champlain and

July 27.

Oct. 29.

May 31.

1746.

April.

Montreal. The autumn approached, and the expected fleet had not come. The season was thought to be too far advanced for the prosecution of the enterprise against Quebec, and it was determined to employ such troops as had been collected in nothing more than an attack upon the French fort at Crown Point.

But while arrangements for this latter operation were maturing, attention was drawn to a different quarter. Intelligence came from Nova Scotia of hostile movements there of the French (who were not much fewer than twenty thousand in number), and of their Indian allies; and what was much more serious, there was information of the approach of a French fleet far more formidable than had ever appeared in the Western seas. Boston was immediately garrisoned with six or seven thousand men. Connecticut promised six thousand more, as soon as they should be needed. The forts were manned and provisioned all along the coast, and additional temporary works were erected. The alarm was not unfounded. A great expedition had been gotten up by the French Court. A fleet
Sept. of forty ships of war, besides transports, came, under the command of the Duke d'Anville, into the American waters, bringing a perfectly well-appointed army of three or four thousand veteran troops. The object was believed to be not only to protect Canada and recover Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, but to ravage the whole Atlantic seaboard of New England.

The devastation which was threatened would have been enormous. The escape from it seemed to be due to extraordinary circumstances, as fortuitous or as providential as those which had attended the conquest of Louisburg. The fleet was crippled by losses in bad weather. A reinforcement which was to have met it missed the way and went back to France. A fatal fever spread among the troops. Reports of the approach of an English fleet divided the counsels of the officers. D'Anville died suddenly, — some said of apoplexy, some by poison. D'Estournelle, his successor, infuriated by the opposition of a council of war, killed himself with his sword. On its way from Chebuctoo to Oct. 13. Annapolis, the fleet encountered a furious storm. Many vessels were wrecked. The rest bore to France the tidings of the disastrous failure. The experiment was repeated, and the second 1747. trial proved no more successful. De la Jonquière, with a powerful fleet having the same destination as that of D'Anville, in which he had lately served, fell in with Admiral Anson, and in an action which followed lost six of his May 3. armed vessels, his whole valuable convoy, a million and a half of treasure, and three or four thousand men taken prisoners.

Meanwhile, mishaps on a small scale 1746. were experienced by the English. While August. D'Anville's arrival was expected, a party of French and Indians came down from Canada

and threatened Annapolis. A force sent by Shirley proved insufficient for the relief of the place, and, in an action fought in a violent snow-storm, the Massachusetts men were beaten, with the loss of sixty killed and as many wounded. In the same month Fort Massachusetts, in what is now Williamstown, the frontier post of the province on the northwest, was taken, with its garrison of twenty-two men, by a party of French and Indians. Another occasion for serious anxiety was furnished by the state of things at Louisburg. The winter had proved severe, and the troops, with their insufficient supplies, had suffered from epidemic sickness. Shirley reported that

May 10. "between the last day of November and the beginning of April upwards of eight hundred and ninety men had died."

While the forcible collection of soldiers for her armies has not, in the later ages, been the custom of England, the right of impressing seamen for the navy has till recently been claimed and acted upon by the government. The peculiar hardship imposed on a single class of persons, of being subject, without any principle of selection or any equalizing rule, to sudden arrest, and long detention in hard service and at a distance from their homes, could never fail to be regarded by the sufferers and their friends as oppressive in the highest degree. There was no reason in law why a seafaring man should be any more secure against a press-gang on a wharf in Boston than

among the London docks. But in Boston the terrible abuse had not been familiarized by custom. Now seamen were wanted for the defence of Louisburg, and, when the number obtained by voluntary enlistment fell short, the governor proceeded legally to impress them. The Legislature entertained complaints of the hardship thus imposed, but no means of relief were at present devised.

1747.
April.

The question was presently to be tried over again in a form much more offensive to the citizens. They might bear from their own governor what would be intolerable when attempted by a rough sailor of the British service. When Warren and Pepperell came together to Boston, they left Louisburg in charge of Commodore Charles Knowles, the senior naval officer on the station. Knowles was a testy person, as sufficiently appears from his correspondence with Pepperell after this parting. By and by he, too, arrived at Boston with five or six ships, bringing Pepperell, who had been again passing some weeks at Louisburg on business of his regiment, which still remained there. At Boston a number of Knowles's men deserted, and he undertook to supply their place by an impressment. One morning his boats came to the wharves and carried away a number of mariners from the vessels moored there, and of journeymen and apprentices of the ship-building crafts. The General Court met the

1746.
June 24.

1747.
Oct. 2.

Nov. 17.

same day. Boston was in flame. The bereft families clamored for redress and revenge. A mob assembled with all sorts of arms, and surrounded with outcries the governor's house, where some of the officers of the fleet were assembled. At nightfall a crowd of people gathered around the Town House, and threw stones and other missiles through the windows of the Council Chamber. The governor attempted to address them, but they refused to be satisfied with anything short of the detention of such officers as were in town, to be hostages for the men who had been kidnapped. The governor withdrew to his house, protected by a number of militia officers and other considerable persons. A merchant vessel's boat, mistaken for one belonging to the fleet, was dragged through the streets to be set on fire before the governor's house, but, in consideration of the danger of a spread of the flames in so thickly settled a neighborhood, the managers were persuaded to take it to the Common, where they made a bonfire with it. The next day the governor ordered a parade of militia, and the mounting of a guard at night; but the drummers were silenced, and not men enough turned out to form a line. The governor now thought himself in danger, and went down to the Castle. He wrote to the commodore urging the necessity of retracing his hasty step, but Knowles refused to consider the question till his officers on shore should be released, and threatened to bombard the town.

The General Court, in a sympathy with the mutinous people which it was natural for them to feel but unbecoming to avow, had not as yet departed from the routine of its common business. But, on the third day, when the governor's absence from his place seemed Nov. 19. like a vacancy in one department of the government, and some of the more ardent among the movers declared that his withdrawal was an abdication, the Court thought that their inactivity could be justified no longer. Declining even to admit so much delay as would have been occasioned by reference to a committee, the House adopted a series of resolves, drawn up by its Speaker, Thomas Hutchinson, declaring that the "tumultuous, riotous assembling of armed seamen, servants, negroes, and others in the town of Boston tended to the destruction of all government and order"; that it was the duty of all civil and military officers to endeavor to suppress such proceedings; and that the House would "stand by and support" the executive branch of the government in the execution of this duty, and would at the same time endeavor to obtain the redress of such grievances as had occasioned the outbreak. An order of the Court for the release of the officers who were in durance was carried into effect without resistance. The inhabitants of Boston, in a town-meeting held the same day, in like manner pledged themselves to the cause of order, though in stronger language than had

been used by the Court they denounced the outrage offered to the citizens. The governor had prepared orders for troops from the neighboring towns to come in, but that critical step was rendered unnecessary by a large muster the next day of the militia of Boston, who reconducted him to his home with ceremonious respect. By the ad-

Nov. 21. vice of the Legislature, a proclamation of the governor, offering a reward for the apprehension of the ringleaders in the late disturbance, and assuring the citizens "that all due care should be taken for maintaining their just rights and liberties, and for redressing all and every grievance," was published at the head of the regiment of militia of the town of Boston, then under arms in King's Street. The commodore, uneasy, it is probable, by this time, as to the view which would be taken of his proceeding by his superiors at home, discharged most of the men whom he had impressed, and went to sea. Hutchinson had had his first experience of Boston mobs. He was not always to find them so harmless.

The parties to the fierce European conflict, having emptied their purses, were only too happy to make peace on the basis of the *state before the war*; that is, of a formal acknowledgment that they had been distressing one another to the advantage of no one of them. In the treaty of

1748. Aix-la-Chapelle, peace was bought for Great
Oct. 7. Britain at the price of the restoration of

Louisburg to France. It must be said, in partial explanation of what seems an extraordinary step, that widely conflicting representations were made to the British Ministry respecting the value of their conquest. Shirley gave them his ^{1745.} judgment that Louisburg was "the key of ^{July 10.} both the French and British northern colonies." If the French had been able to hold it, it would, he thought, have "put 'em, some time or other, upon disputing the mastery of the whole of the continent with the British crown." Warren wrote that he agreed with Pepperell in wishing to have Louisburg "established ^{Oct. 3.} as a civil government and a free port." Knowles rated its value altogether differently. His opinion was that the fortress was not worth the ^{1746.} cost of keeping it up. "The fortifica- ^{July 9.} tions," he said, were "badly designed and worse executed," and the climate was frightful. It was at the mercy of a hostile fleet, and required naval defence. "The weather destroys as fast ^{1747.} as the engineer can build. . . . Na- ^{Jan. 20.} ture seems never to have designed this a place of residence for man." He hoped "soon to see an end to the vast expense of this bewitching idol."

The surrender, nevertheless, was distaste- ^{1748.} ful in the highest degree to the colonies by ^{Oct. 7.} which the conquest had been made. How far a jealousy of their growing power, manifested by so conspicuous a demonstration, may have oper-

ated to incline the English Ministry to this mortifying measure, cannot be positively affirmed. But an opinion was entertained in some quarters, that in the British counsels the vicinity of French settlements and forces was not overlooked as a means to keep the colonies in their allegiance to Great Britain. On the other hand, it is certain that for the prudence of retaining Louisburg as a means of overawing and controlling the colonies, the ministers had the eminently good authority
1745. of Governor Shirley. He wrote to the
July 10. Duke, that if the King should be pleased to strengthen Louisburg with a garrison and a fleet, "it would, by its vicinity to the British colonies, and being the key of 'em, give the crown of Great Britain a most absolute hold and command of 'em, if ever there should come a time when they should grow restiff and disposed to shake off their dependency upon their mother country, the possibility of which," he added, "seems to me some centuries further off than it does to some gentlemen at home."

In other ways, at all events, it became apparent that the increased interest in the colonies of New England, created by their recent exploit, was not, on the part of the British government, of a grateful and friendly kind. A few years earlier a scheme of taxing the colonies had been conceived. Sir William Keith, governor of
1739. Pennsylvania, had proposed an extension, by Act of Parliament, of the system of stamp

duties to the American plantations. Sir Robert Walpole is said to have replied that he would leave that undertaking to "some successor with more courage than he had, and less a friend to commerce." The plan was revived under the feebler administration which now held the reins; but, on consideration of the difficulties involved, there was not for the present found courage to pursue it, though it had the unprecedented support of the governor of Massachusetts. Shirley wrote to the Duke of Bedford, recommending earnestly the erection of a line of forts ^{1749.} along the frontier, which he said would be a proper charge upon the colonies; and he advised that a tax should accordingly "be laid by Act of Parliament upon the colonies, without which," he added, "it will not be done." In the year of the pacification the project, so often heretofore abortive, for annulling the privileges of the colonies, was renewed by a bill brought into Parliament for the repeal of the charters. The usual opposition was made by the colonial agents, and with an easier success than heretofore; the spirit which had lately been manifested in New England was such as it may have been thought imprudent to provoke by so offensive an act of arbitrary power.

Perhaps it was an expression of the popular displeasure against Shirley for his conduct in the affair of the impressment, and perhaps it was only a seizing of the opportunity of a quiet time

to keep alive in the governor's memory the fact that he was dependent upon them for his living, and that no grants in the past implied any promise for the future, that the General Court ^{1748.} ^{November.} voted for his yearly support a sum less than usual by one third. Their explanation was that the province was too poor to do more. He disputed the fact, and argued that in twenty years Massachusetts had doubled its population, and had increased its number of towns by twenty-five. At the time of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the population had in fact grown to the number of about two hundred thousand souls, of whom one tenth part lived in Boston, at which point substantially, and not without some temporary diminution, the population of the town rested for half a century. There were now one hundred and forty towns, of which nearly one half had been founded since the provincial charter.

It was natural that, after growing into such importance, Shirley should desire to show himself in England. There were also public objects to be served there. There was trustworthy intelligence that the French were strengthening their inland line around the English settlements by new intrigues with the Indians on the eastern frontier, and by establishing posts near Crown Point, and westward along the line of lakes. The recent treaty had not defined that boundary line between New England and New France, which had so long been a standing subject in dis-

pute, and the governor desired to exert himself for a definitive settlement of it. He accordingly obtained leave of absence for a year, and ^{1749.} sailed from Boston for England, whence, a ^{Sept. 11.} few months after his arrival, he was despatched to Paris to meet a French commissioner, ^{1750.} and negotiate for a determination of the ^{April.} line.

After the defeat of the second insurrection in behalf of the Stuarts, it was said that some of the partisans of that house, non-^{1745.} juring clergymen of the Church of England, had withdrawn to America; and ostensibly to counteract the anti-loyal influence which they might exert, a scheme was projected, with the ^{1749.} especial favor of Sherlock, Bishop of London, and the Duke of Bedford, Secretary of State, for setting up an Episcopal establishment in the colonies. The English Society for Propagating the Gospel, which had the measure immediately in charge, provided against the hostility which it might be expected to encounter in the Puritan colonies by assurances that "no bishops were intended to be settled in places where the government was in the hands of dissenters, as in New England, etc., but authority to be given only to ordain clergy for such Church of England congregations as are amongst them, and to inspect into the manners and behavior of such clergy, and to confirm the members thereof." As the plan was more considered in England, such relations of it

came to light as seemed to require careful deliberation before the final step, and, other matters of more urgent interest intervening, it was for the present laid aside.

At the governor's departure, Lieutenant-Governor Spencer Phipps became chief magistrate. He was the nephew and adopted son of Sir William Phipps, and, at the death of Belcher's

1732.

friend, Lieutenant-Governor Tailer, had succeeded him in that office. Shirley left incomplete a negotiation with the eastern Indians, whose good behavior was not sufficiently secured by the pacification which had been made in Europe. Commissioners appointed by the lieutenant-governor — Thomas Hutchinson, James

1749.

Oct. 16.

Otis, and two others — met delegates of the tribes at Falmouth, and renewed the treaty made by them with Dummer a quarter of a century before. But this accommodation did not put an end to warlike operations in the country further east, which the French had no thought

of relinquishing. The English post at

Nov. 7.

Minas, near the isthmus which connects Nova Scotia with the mainland, was attacked by some natives, who, however, effected nothing more than to kill, or take prisoners, eighteen men of the garrison. The lieutenant-governor,

Dec. 18.

when applied to by the English governor of Nova Scotia for aid in avenging this outrage, agreed with the General Court in thinking that an occasion had not arisen for a costly expedition

to such a distance. But an unfortunate occurrence nearer home occasioned apprehensions of a new disturbance from the natives. At Wiscasset, in a quarrel between some Englishmen and a party of neighboring Indians, one of the latter was killed and two were wounded. The resentment for this injury spread to the settlements on the St. Lawrence, where the French ecclesiastics never failed to avail themselves of an occasion for mischief; and a party of some eighty Canadian Indians took the war-path into Maine. The government proceeded against the alleged murderers in the due forms of law. One of the accused having been acquitted on a trial in the county of York, possibly by reason of his cause having enlisted the passions of the people and of the jury, the other two were sent for their trial to the county of Middlesex, and the Indian friends of the killed and wounded men were invited to come and judge for themselves whether the legal proceedings were fair. They declared themselves satisfied, but they had no sooner returned, than the bad temper of their Canadian allies began to show itself in attacks upon some posts by the Kennebec. The governor convoked the General Court, who ordered a levy of a hundred and fifty men for the defence of the settlements. But the pernicious marauders had already withdrawn within the lines of their French protectors.

1750.

June 9.

August.

Sept. 11-

25.

Sept. 26.

In a consideration of the best method of disposing of the large number of soldiers and seamen thrown out of employment by the peace, the British government conceived the project of establishing a colony in Nova Scotia. Parliament granted forty thousand pounds towards defraying the expense of the enterprise, and four thousand

June.

immigrants with their families came to the long well-known harbor of Chebuctoo, and there established a town which received the name of Halifax, in honor of the President of the Board of Trade. Louisburg having been restored to France, Halifax was to be the magazine for the maritime defence of the northern English colonies, and for the police of the fishing-grounds. Intrenched in strong-holds at Halifax, Annapolis, and other posts less important on both shores, the English had now military occupation of the peninsula. But there was a numerous French population, always an occasion of anxiety, and destined before long to give serious trouble. The *French Neutrals*, as they were called, were required, as a condition of their residence, to swear allegiance to the British Crown; but irrepressible sympathies, religious and patriotic, united them with their countrymen in Canada, and it was no secret on either side that they would be no more loyal to their English master than their safety from time to time might require.

In the administration of Lieutenant-Governor Phipps an arrangement was completed which

retrieved the affairs of Massachusetts from a miserable confusion and embarrassment of nearly sixty years' standing. It may be convenient for the reader to be reminded in a few words of the circumstances in which the affliction of a currency of irredeemable paper money had weighed upon the colony a full half of the time from its settlement. The evil began with the large issue of provincial bills of credit applied to meet the exigencies of the first disastrous expedition against Quebec, under Sir William Phipps. The seductive idea which carried through that ill-omened measure was that it was but a simple method of anticipating the collection of taxes which could not be called in so speedily as the urgent occasion demanded. The bills retained a fair reputation for fourteen years, being, during that time, punctually redeemed as they fell due. But another expensive war followed, and sorely tempted the province again to run in debt. Bills were issued payable at the end of two years, then at the end of three years, then at more distant times. As promises to pay were multiplied, and pay-days were deferred, of course the public securities fell in value, and the hard dollars for which they were a cheap substitute disappeared from the country. The expedients of the *public bank* and the *private bank*, devised to create some trustworthy representative of wealth and medium of commerce, enlisted, until their futility was exposed by the trial, the

passions of rich and poor men, who saw their property melting away or their hard labor unremunerated. The English Ministry directed its governors to obstruct this smooth road to ruin, but to little purpose, for the only effectual method would have been to pay off in money the vast debt which the province had incurred, and this was what, with the best intentions, it was thought would have been simply impossible to do, because neither the province nor its citizens had property to be turned into money sufficient for that purpose, nor could the province borrow it, with its credit already so crippled by the condition of the debt which money was wanted to repay.

The British Ministry peremptorily instructed Governor Belcher to allow no issue of provincial bills payable later than the year which proved to be the last of his administration. The effect of this instruction, if carried out, would be

1741. that, in the year specified, the province would have to collect a tax of thirty or forty thousand pounds sterling. Thomas Hutchinson, afterwards governor, and already rising into high consideration (he was now twenty-eight

1739. years of age), proposed in the House, of which he was a member for Boston, the making in England of a loan in silver, payable in silver in equal instalments, with interest, through a series of years. The plan was too enlightened or too hazardous to find favor. The opposition insisted that the inconveniences of paper-money

were less than those of a struggle to redeem it, and that, if, under the instructions to the governor, the General Court was precluded from issuing any more of it, the prohibition did not extend to private parties. They revived, accordingly, the scheme of the Land Bank, defeated twenty-five years before. Seven or eight hundred persons, some of them being men of property, but the generality having little to lose, associated themselves for the enterprise, and obtained for it the sanction of a House of Representatives, the election of which they were thought to have effected by popular agitation. 1740.

The company proposed to operate by lending bills to the aggregate amount of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds, the borrower to secure his debt by a mortgage of land, or, for sums not exceeding a hundred pounds, by a bond with two sureties, and to repay annually five per cent of the principal sum, with three per cent interest. It was imagined that notes so secured would circulate easily as a medium of exchange. But that expectation proved groundless. The bills were distrusted, and were only taken from the bankers to the amount of fifty or sixty thousand pounds. Parliament interposed, and declared by an Act, that a law of the preceding reign, placing the business of private banking under certain restrictions, was in force in the American colonies. The Act went further, and made the directors of the company liable to any 1720.

holder of the bills for their nominal amount with interest added,—a liability which was the more burdensome to the directors, as a large portion of the bills had been issued at a discount.

This scheme having failed, as it deserved, Shirley in the second year of his government was permitted by the Ministry to consent to a law for the emission of bills of credit of the *new tenor*, as ^{1743.} they were called, receivable at the rate of ^{January.} six shillings and eightpence for an ounce of silver. The outlay of Massachusetts on the expedition to Louisburg was to the amount of two hundred and sixty-one thousand and seven hundred pounds in that currency, which was equal to about ten times as much in the old-tenor bills, and to a hundred and eighty-three thousand six hundred pounds sterling, as the exchange stood with London. It would have been the less decent for the British government to refuse to reimburse the province for this heavy expense, when for purely European objects the government had re-ceded to France the conquest of the province. William Bolla, Shirley's son-in-law, an Englishman by birth, an able and active lawyer, made Advocate-General after Shirley's promotion, was employed in urging the claim. After more than the customary delay and discouragements incident to such a business, Bolla ^{1749.} obtained an allowance of the whole amount. ^{Sept.} It came over in solid coin of gold and silver, and the people of Boston, little used to the sight

of money, saw seventeen trucks dragged up King's Street to the treasury offices, laden with two hundred and seventeen chests full of Spanish dollars, and ten trucks with a hundred casks of coined copper.

A pound sterling would now buy eleven pounds of the old-tenor currency of Massachusetts, and about thirty shillings of the new-tenor. Before the arrival of the money, its use had been wisely provided for. Nothing is more honorable in the life of Thomas Hutchinson than his resistance to all the schemes which had been devised for substituting something else for an honest payment of debts. He had successfully opposed the private-bank project. He earnestly opposed the scheme for a public bank, till he found that it must be adopted as the less of two evils. When it became known that the expenses of the province in the expedition to Cape Breton would be repaid, he saw a prospect of extrication from the wretched insolvency of more than a half-century, and, against a violent opposition, he succeeded in making his sound views prevail. More than two millions of the provincial bills of the old tenor were in circulation. At the existing rate of exchange with London, the sum to be received would be sufficient to pay nine tenths of the amount. Hutchinson urged the devotion of it to this use, and the payment of the remaining two hundred thousand pounds by the proceeds of one tax, which he said the people, with their new pros-

pect of prosperity, would be well able to bear. This done, he would have a law declaring silver bullion at the rate of six shillings and eightpence the ounce, and Spanish dollars at six shillings each, to be the legal tender of the province.

The plan, though approved by the governor, found at first but little favor with the General Court or with the public. Respect for Hutchinson, who was now Speaker, induced the House to refer it to a committee, who would favor it no further than by proposing that the author of the scheme should embody his views in a bill. The bill was at first rejected by a strong vote, but on a reconsideration it was adopted, with some amendments which conciliated opponents. The money, when it arrived, took the place of the outstanding bills, expelling them from circulation; and for twenty-five years Massachusetts had the benefit of a solid currency. The home govern-

1751. ment interposed to secure the permanence of the reform. An Act of Parliament declared null any law of a New England Assembly making bills a legal tender in private transactions, and pronounced all governors who should approve such a law incapable thenceforward of serving the King in any public office.

In the tranquil period which immediately followed the termination of the war and the adjustment of the currency, an unsuccessful attempt was made to obtain a revisal of the provincial laws, some of which were complained of as

equivocal ; others had been found to be conflicting ; and others had by common consent gone out of use. In his superior's absence, the lieutenant-governor, with the Council's approbation, recommended a revisal. But the House dissented, being apprehensive that their whole legal system would be thus brought under the royal cognizance. The House before long took a different view of the question, but the Council had now altered its mind, and the scheme fell to the ground.

In Shirley's absence an old dispute was revived between the two branches of the Legislature respecting the power to appoint the Attorney-General. When it was last moved, in Governor Burnet's time, the practical decision had been in favor of the governor's power to ^{1729.} appoint that officer. The charter authorized the governor, with the advice of his Council, to appoint officers belonging to the courts of justice. The House now, as formerly, maintained ^{1751.} that the office of Attorney-General did not fall within this description ; that, accordingly, he must be chosen by the General Court, agreeably to another provision of the charter ; and that such had actually been the practice of the government since the time of Burnet. The Council held that, though in fact their Board had of late joined with the House from year to year in the election of an Attorney-General, yet successive governors had disapproved that method, and, accordingly, it had never acquired a legal char-

acter; and that, on full deliberation, they had determined not again to be a party to what they were satisfied was an erroneous practice. The House had no remedy, when the Attorney-General, nominated by the governor and approved by the Council, was recognized by the courts.

1750. A new and severe application of the oppressive colonial system was at this time made by an Act of Parliament forbidding, under a penalty of two hundred pounds, the erection or continuance, in the American colonies, of any slitting or rolling mill for iron, of any plating-forge with a tilt-hammer, and of any furnace for making steel. There were at the time four of the prohibited manufactories in Massachusetts, — two in the town of Middleborough, one in Hanover, and one in Milton.

That fearful malady, the small-pox, spread again in Boston. Of twenty-one hundred persons who were inoculated with it, only thirty-one died. It seized, without inoculation, fifty-
1752. five hundred and fifty persons, more than a quarter part of the population of the town, and of this number proved fatal to five hundred and fourteen, or nearly one in ten.

CHAPTER XI.

ADMINISTRATION OF SHIRLEY, CONTINUED.

IN conducting at Paris the negotiation for defining the boundary of the territory which, by the name of *Acadia*, was ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the British Ministry availed itself of the experience and local knowledge of Governor Shirley. For like reasons, M. de la Galissonnière, lately governor of Canada, was employed as commissioner on the part of the French. Their laborious conferences were fruitless. There was so much good evidence on both sides respecting the senses which in the course of more than a century had been put upon the contested name, that by parties devoted to such opposite interests it was impossible that a conclusion should be reached in this manner of discussion. The question could only be settled by compromise or war. The commissioners separated, reporting to their principals the impossibility of an agreement. Shirley returned to England, and thence, with every mark of ministerial favor, was sent back to his provincial government.

1752.
May.
1753.
Aug. 6.

At Boston, after his four years' absence, he was

received with a friendly welcome. The enthusiasm excited by the great exploit of the conquest of Cape Breton was not exhausted; his treatment of the province had, on the whole, been forbearing and confiding; and his ability and public spirit were beyond dispute. If he looked at his duty with the eyes of a servant rather of the King than of the province, there was not now as much as there had been of conflict between those two sorts of obligation; nor had he shown himself disposed to press offensively the governor's or the King's prerogative. He had done in his absence one foolish act, which, besides creating in suspicious minds an apprehension that he might have been brought under influences favorable to France, tended to impair in general the respect entertained for his good sense. At Paris, when past the age of threescore, he had been attracted by the beauty of a young girl, the daughter of his landlord, and, having married her, he brought her to Boston, — child and Catholic as she was, — to take precedence in the society of the Puritan matrons of Massachusetts.

Shirley resumed his government thoroughly acquainted with the critical condition of New England and of all British America at the time, and by no means unobservant of the career which was opened to his own ambition. His observations in Paris, and the experience of his negotiations there, had deepened his conviction that the French Court entertained designs which called

for measures of counteraction on the largest scale. The brilliant success at Cape Breton, attributed to his enterprise and good management, had created both in himself and in the Ministry an exaggerated impression of his military talents. He was by many degrees the most powerful Englishman in America.

He turned his attention first to the nearest danger. He had scarcely landed when he appointed a commission, with Sir William Pepperell at its head, to secure the fidelity of the eastern tribes of Indians. The negotiation was conducted to the most successful issue which it was ever worth while to expect Sept. 20. from a treaty with these people. They renewed the professions and promises of five years before, and by so much was the time abridged in which they might afterwards pretend to forget the agreements into which they had entered.

The grasp of French power, made continuous by Indian alliances more or less definite and stable, enclosed all the possessions of England on the continent of North America. The line of French military posts and missionary stations extended from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, up the river of that name, along the great interior lakes, down the rivers Ohio, Illinois, and Mississippi, to the Gulf of Mexico. The number of French was much inferior to that of the English. For at this time Shirley estimated the population of 1754. Massachusetts alone at two hundred thou- Jan. 7.

sand souls, and that of Connecticut at two thirds as many. But for a contest the French had that great advantage of concentrated power, which has been more than once brought to the reader's notice. The King directed all their movements with the intelligent vigor of a single will. The antagonist power was dislocated and fragmentary. Some of the English colonies were bound to the parent government by only a partial allegiance; they often judged differently from that government on the question as to who ought to furnish the men, and especially the money, for carrying on a necessary war; there was no local authority to unite them in common counsels and action by superiority to them all. From some want of capacity, or want of endeavor, or dissimilarity of temperament, they failed to make fast friends of the native races, whose help was so material, and whose hostility so mischievous. While the light-hearted French soldier captivated the savages by his easy adaptation to all sorts of habits and circumstances, and the many-sided French ecclesiastic took their fancies with the stage-properties of his ritual mummary, the less sociable English always owed even that alliance with the Five Nations, which was so important a defence to them, less to any love for themselves, than to some advantages for trade which their geographical position enabled them to offer, and to the jealousy which they were able to inspire into those tribes of the designs of their more agreeable neighbors.

With the Five Nations (the Tuscaroras, fugitives from Carolina, did not come into that confederacy till later) the English had had treaties for nearly a hundred years, and they further held that by the treaties of Utrecht and of Aix-la-Chapelle the French were precluded from establishing themselves among those tribes. Yet the French had built and garrisoned forts at the eastern end of Lake Ontario; at the junction of Lake Superior and Lake Michigan, and at that of Lake Huron and Lake Erie; at the eastern extremity of the latter basin; and on both shores of the long reach of Lake Michigan; besides others nearer to their permanent settlements, as at Toronto, Crown Point, and the foot of Lake Champlain. "The French," Shirley wrote, "claim all the country lying to the westward of the Appalachian or Alleghany Mountains. . . . They seem to have advanced further towards making themselves masters of this continent within these last five or six years than they have done ever since the first beginning of their settlements upon it."

Soliciting from the Ministry a supply of two thousand stand of arms, he urged upon them the necessity of attention to the defence of Nova Scotia. "When Nova Scotia is lost, the French may be looked upon to be in the end masters of the continent." Their great embarrassment, he said, was the difficulty of sub-

1712-

1715.

1684.

1684.

1687.

1672.

1673.

1683.

1684.

1754.

April 2.

Dec. 8.

sistence. The soil of Canada did not yield enough to feed its own people. Cape Breton was scarcely better. Nova Scotia was fertile and productive. The possession of Nova Scotia would give to the French easy communi-
 1755.
 Jan. 24. cations with Canada by the Bay of Fundy on the one side, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the other, and would offer to them a conquest of New England as far as to the Merrimack. It "would open an entrance for as many troops as they should think fit to pour in from Old France," and, New England overrun, there could, he argued, be no further resistance; for "the western colonies" were always exposed and weak by reason of their holding slaves. "Nova Scotia
 March 24. abounds with safe and commodious harbors, capable of entertaining larger squadrons than the same extent of sea-coast in any other part of the world." With Nova Scotia, New Hampshire would be lost, "from whence the royal navy is almost wholly supplied with masts, yards, bowsprits, etc."

The British Ministry had not been inattentive to the ill influence on the efficient action of the colonies resulting from their independence of one another, and its attention was now turned to the application of a remedy. The Board of Trade wrote to Lieutenant-Governor DeLancey, of New York, directing him to invite the respective governments of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia to

send delegates to Albany to confer with delegates from his own province concerning a more efficient system for the common defence, and a confirmation of the friendship with their Indian allies. The omission of Rhode Island and Connecticut from the list was probably owing to their being remote from the endangered frontier. Both, however, sent commissioners, who were ac-^{1754.} credited and received. On the other hand,^{June 19.} Virginia and New Jersey were not represented. From the New England colonies, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, twenty-five delegates came together. Shirley was not present at the Congress. The members of it most considerable, and since then most famous, were Thomas Hutchinson and Benjamin Franklin of Massachusetts, the former representing his native province, the latter coming from Philadelphia, which had been his home ever since he^{1727.?} arrived at manhood.

The business with the Six Nations, which occupied several days, was satisfactorily concluded. Liberal presents were made on the one part, and liberal promises on the other. Before the Indians had gone their way, the commissioners from Massachusetts opened a new business, with which they alone had been charged by their constituents. In connection with the ministerial project for a better combination of means and resources for the common security, the General Court had called to mind the great benefit of the

New England Confederacy formed a century before; and, thoughtful of reviving and extending that arrangement, had given authority to its commissioners "to enter into articles of union and confederation for the general defence of his Majesty's subjects and interests in North America, as well in time of peace as of war." The commis-

June 24. sioners passed a unanimous vote that "a

union of all the colonies is at present absolutely necessary for their security and defence," and appointed a committee consisting of one delegate from each province represented to prepare the plan of such a union. Hutchinson and Franklin were members of the committee.

Though only Massachusetts had instructed her commissioners on this subject, it had been canvassed in other provinces in the patriotic circles,

June 8. and Franklin brought with him from Pennsylvania the sketch of a plan respecting

which he had already consulted some friends possessing influence in New York. This was

taken as the basis of a frame of general govern-

June 28. ment, which was reported by the com-

July 11. mittee to the convention, and after a

debate of two weeks was adopted by that body.

The scheme contemplated the appointment and support by the crown of a President-General over all the English colonies on the continent of North America, except Nova Scotia and Georgia. He was to have a Grand Council, "to be chosen by

the representatives of the people of the several colonies met in their respective assemblies," and to consist in the first instance of forty-eight members, of which number Massachusetts and Virginia were each to send seven, and Rhode Island two, and no province was ever to have more Counsellors than the larger of these numbers, nor fewer than the less. There was to be "a new election of the members of the Grand Council every three years," and it was to meet every year, and as much oftener as it should be convoked by a vote of its own or by a summons of the President-General. The Council was not liable to "be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued sitting longer than six weeks at one time, without their own consent, or the special command of the crown," and a quorum was to be constituted of twenty-five members, of whom there was to be "one or more from a majority of the colonies." The President was charged with the execution of the orders of the Grand Council, but had a negative upon them. With the advice of the Council he might make peace or war with the Indian tribes; agree with them respecting regulations of trade and purchases of land; grant lands in the King's name, with a reservation of quit-rents for the general treasury; make laws for new settlements, subject to the pleasure of the crown; raise armies, equip fleets, and build forts, but not impress men in any colony without the consent of its legislature; "lay and levy general duties, im-

posts, or taxes," and provide for the custody and issue of public money. All laws made for these purposes were to be "not repugnant, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England"; they were to be forthwith transmitted to the King in Council, and were to be permanently valid, if not disapproved within three years. Military officers were to be nominated by the President-General, and confirmed by the Grand Council, and civil officers to be nominated by the latter body, and confirmed by the President-General.

The plan found favor in neither of the quarters from both of which it needed to derive support in order to go into effect. "The assemblies," according to Franklin, "all thought there was too much prerogative in it, and in England it was thought too much of the democratic." The colonial legislatures all disposed of it by disapproval or by neglect, and the Board of Trade would not so much as bring it to the King's notice. A different project, entertained by the British Ministry, was for constituting a central authority, to consist of the provincial governors with some members of their Councils, and to have command of a treasury supplied by colonial taxes laid by Parliament. Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, and others, would have had two confederacies, a northern and a southern. Governor Shirley practised reserve. On the one hand he might reasonably expect to be made President-General (or more than Lord-Lieutenant) of British America,

should such an office be created. On the other hand, he could have had no sanguine expectation of that result, and he might well fear that by any promotion of it he would jeopard his favor with the Ministry. When he became acquainted with the ministerial plan, he communicated it to Franklin, who came to Boston in the autumn after the convention; and a correspondence on the subject took place between them, in the course of which Franklin urged, with some of the arguments which afterwards became common, that it would occasion discontent in the colonies to tax them by Act of Parliament, as long as they had no representation in that body.

Though for two years longer England and France were not to be avowedly at war, the conflict between their respective colonies in America had already begun at the time of the Congress at Albany. The earliest scene of it was on the northwest border of Virginia. The French and Indians scattered along the river Ohio, having maltreated some English settlers and traders in that region, and the French commander to whom Governor Dinwiddie complained having refused satisfaction, the governor erected a fort for the protection of his people at the confluence of the streams which form that river. It was garrisoned with six hundred men, and mounted eighteen pieces of cannon. A French force captured ^{1754.} it and gave it the name of Fort Duquesne. ^{April 17.} A skirmish between some of these French ^{April 28.}

and a detachment of Virginia militia first brought into notice the name of GEORGE WASHINGTON.

A few weeks later, while the Albany Congress was in session, Governor Shirley, authorized by his Legislature, proceeded at the head of five

hundred men to take measures for the defence of the eastern country, where, as he

wrote to Lord Holdernessee, Secretary of State, he was informed that the French

had been establishing themselves on the uplands between the Kennebec and the Chaudière. No hostile preparations appeared on the part of the French or their allies in that region, and the gov-

ernor returned to Boston, after building two forts on the Kennebec, within the sites

of the present towns of Augusta and Waterville, which, as he told the Legislature, occupied

the usual place of rendezvous for the Indians when they mustered for an inroad, and would command the route in that quarter to

Quebec. Arriving at the capital, he received disquieting intelligence from the west. The natives

about Stockbridge had been tampered with by French emissaries and had already com-

mitted some depredations in the English villages. But by friendly communications they were pacified, and tranquillity in that quarter was restored.

The encroachments of the French along the line of the Ohio precipitated the war for which preparation had been making on both sides.

That it should be conducted with punctilious humanity on either side was not to be expected in the circumstances. The brutal Indian would not certainly be more merciful than the civilized soldiers who led him into the field. In the long course of these wars the ferocity which is one permanent element in the French character had been conspicuously displayed, and the bloodthirstiness of Popish zeal had lent its aid to invest the assaults upon the English with all circumstances of inhumanity and horror. The people of the New England colonies — especially of Massachusetts, which was chiefly concerned — believed that they should have no more trouble with the Indians, if the French were only out of the way. And with perhaps no sanguine hope after such dismal disappointments, yet with a stern resolve to bring about that all-important consummation, they engaged once more in the costly conflict. A prodigality of money and blood was not to be shrunk from, so it should relieve their posterity from the nuisance of such neighbors. And if at this calmer time they seem to us even to have resorted to any measure involving more than the customary rigors of war, it is fit we should consider whether, however repulsive in its severity, it may not justly or naturally have been considered as due to the necessity of self-preservation.

General Braddock and Admiral Keppel, in command of the British forces, met Shirley and others of the colonial governors in council

1755. at Alexandria, when it was concluded that
April 14. the colonies were immediately threatened from four principal points, and that to these their own operations should accordingly be directed. The southernmost was Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburg, on the Ohio. About two hundred miles distant from it to the north was Fort Niagara, at the point where the water of the upper lakes discharges itself by the river of that name into Lake Ontario. This fort, with the work at Oswego, a hundred and twenty miles to the east of it, commanded that lake, and the relations of the two to Montreal, on the one side, and to Fort Duquesne, on the other, kept up the communication of Canada with the Ohio, and so with the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico. Further east and close at hand, the French menaced the New England settlements from Lake George and Lake Champlain, where they held Crown Point and Ticonderoga; while in Nova Scotia they continued to maintain a disturbing familiarity with the turbulent rout of eastern Indians.

The first scene of the great drama now to be played out was a peculiarly mournful one. Along the northwestern coast of the peninsula of Nova Scotia dwelt a people living comfortably by agriculture and fishing, descendants from the early French settlers. On the cession
1713. of Nova Scotia to Great Britain by France, by the treaty of Utrecht, they were required to take the oath of allegiance to the

British crown, which they refused to do, except with the reservation of not being compelled to bear arms against their former sovereign. This condition was for the time assented to, and they came to be known by the name of *French Neutrals*. Allowing for some dash of poetry in the account given of their character and condition by the Abbé Raynal, — from whom chiefly the recently current descriptions of them have been derived, — there appears to be no doubt that they were a virtuous, simple-minded, industrious, unambitious, religious people. They were rich enough for all their wants; they lived in equality, contentment, and brotherhood; the priest or some trusted neighbor settled whatever differences arose among them.

After the cession, the English, without disturbing the neutrals, attempted to establish some settlements in their neighborhood, but with little success. The pioneers were perpetually annoyed by the savages around them, whom they as constantly believed to be secretly stimulated and provided by the French, — a belief which was not without important confirmation when the French governor at Louisburg, on a complaint to him of the conduct of the Indians, said that it was not he or his people that stirred them up, but the Nova Scotia neutrals, who were British subjects, and for whom he was in no sort accountable. It was at the same time a substantial cause of jealousy and uneasiness that their priests were

appointed by the Bishop of Quebec; and in fact one of these priests had lately been detected in treasonable practices, and been expelled therefor from the country by the English authorities.

The French had been using the advantage of peace to hem in their rivals within the peninsula of Nova Scotia, and had fortified the isthmus which connects it with the mainland. The French within the province, with attachments notoriously, as well as naturally and blamelessly, on the side of their brethren in religion and blood, vastly outnumbered their English neighbors, their number being estimated at not much less than twenty thousand souls. Edward Cornwallis, the
1749. English governor, thought it necessary to
Aug. 1. require them to take the oath of allegiance without qualification. Deputies from the several
Sept. 6. districts replied: "The inhabitants in general, sir, over the whole extent of this country, have resolved not to take the oath which your Excellency requires of us. If your Excellency is not disposed to grant us what we take the liberty of asking, we are resolved, every one of us, to leave the country." And so the matter rested for the present.

The alarm of the new war with France came when six years more had passed. In the sequel
1755. of a correspondence between the British
May 20. commander on the spot and Shirley, now a colonel in the King's regular service as well as

governor of Massachusetts, two thousand provincial troops sailed from Boston to aid in repelling the expected French invasion of Nova Scotia. Their immediate commander was John Winslow, of Marshfield, but he was subordinate to Colonel Monekton of the British army. They took the French forts, and in the force which garrisoned the first of them that fell, they found three hundred of the so-called neutrals, — King's subjects in arms against the King. In the capitulation which followed, one of the conditions, afterwards much canvassed, was in these words: "the inhabitants to be left in the same situation as they were when we arrived, and not punished for what they have done since our being in the country."

What was next to be done? It was a period of great alarm, and fear is the most cruel of the passions. General Braddock's defeat in Virginia, just at the same time, had ^{July 9.} sent consternation through British America. Mismanagement and disaster were following Shirley's course along Lake Ontario. Baron Dieskau, lately arrived from Europe to ^{August.} take command of the French forces, was dashing up Lake Champlain and Lake George into the very heart of the strongest English colonies, while here, on nominally British territory, was a numerous disaffected people, within easy reach of Quebec, and near neighbors, on the one hand, to the fisheries on the Banks, and on the other to

those terrific Indian tribes whose tomahawks and torches had so often broken the slumbers of the peaceful border villages. They would be much more than a match for their English neighbors, when the army and fleet should be withdrawn, and would be strong enough to reduce Halifax and the other posts, and overrun the peninsula. To secure their harmlessness, in their present position, nothing less would be necessary than expensive forts and armaments, which the crown was in no wise inclined, and the New England people were in no condition, to maintain. Should they be dismissed to their countrymen in Canada, they would only go exasperated by their losses, or, at all events, under coercion from their superiors, to be so much addition to that formidable power which was already with so much difficulty kept in check.

Reasoning in this way, Lawrence, lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, and Boscawen and Mostyn, admirals on the station, determined, under their authority from the Ministry, on a course of proceeding, the severity of which it is grievous to record. They decided to remove these unhappy people from their homes, and disperse them, despoiled of their immovable property, in the more southern provinces. It was the execution of a plan which had been deliberately entertained for years. As long ago as immediately after the capture of Louisburg, Shirley wrote to the Duke that he had considered a plan for

burning the houses of some thousand ^{1745.}
 French at St. John, who desired to be ^{Sept. 22.}
 neutral, and sending them to Boston, and had
 only abandoned it in consequence of the alarm
 of the Duke d'Anville's fleet on the coast.
 Already he was sensible to the danger that ^{Dec. 23.}
 the French, "with the help of the neutrals,"
 would master Nova Scotia, and overrun New
 Hampshire and the mast-bearing country. He
 repeatedly advised a removal of the neu- ^{1746.}
 trals as the only measure which would ^{May 10.}
 give the needed security, and Knowles ^{June 18.}
 concurred with him as to the necessity of ^{Nov. 21.}
 that measure. Shirley's urgent representations
 respecting "the expediency or rather neces- ^{1754.}
 sity" of not only "dispossessing the French ^{Dec. 8.}
 of their forts in the north end of the Bay of
 Funda," but of "expelling them out of Nova
 Scotia," were renewed as time went on. The
 present exigent posture of affairs precipitated the
 adoption and execution of the scheme.

On a set day the men were summoned to
 assemble at the chief places of their several dis-
 tricts, there to learn the royal pleasure respecting
 the disposal of their people. We have a partic-
 ular account of the proceedings at Grand Pré,
 where Winslow had command, the centre of a
 settlement of nearly two thousand persons. The
 pitiless doom was announced to the men ^{1755.}
 of Grand Pré in their church, where, un- ^{Sept. 5.}
 apprehensive of any such calamity, they had been

*see the
 invasion*

brought together and surrounded. The young men were marched down first to the trans-
Sept. 10. ports, then the old, then the women and children. For want of means of transportation, they were allowed to take nothing of their property but money, clothes, and household furniture. Their lands, houses, and farming stock were adjudged, in consequence of their failure to take the oath of allegiance, to be forfeit to the King, and their buildings were burned after the embarkation, that there might be no shelter for any who should stray back. About fifteen hundred went off with Winslow's command. The whole number of persons thus miserably exiled was reported to the government as being little less than seven thousand.

It would be unreasonable to suppose any intention of useless as well as hateful inhumanity, when it is added that, in the haste and disorder of the proceeding, there occurred separations of families, whose members, in the imperfect intercourse subsisting between the colonies at that day, passed years, or their whole lives, in vainly seeking for each other. The exiles were anything but welcome in New England. Their support was an uninvited burden, and their presence, by reason of national and religious animosity, was a vexation and offence. At the beginning of winter, a thousand of them were brought to Massachusetts, as unexpected as undesired. Their removal had not been made under colonial authority, and there

had been no arrangement for their reception and maintenance. The General Court, after some delay, passed a resolve, permitting them all to be landed, and directing them to be distributed among interior towns, there to be employed in getting their living under the superintendence of the municipal magistrates. Many elderly and infirm people, and such as had been of the wealthier sort, received gratuitous support. It was proposed to them to settle in a body on some of the province lands, but they refused, expecting confidently to be restored to their homes when peace should be made. Thomas Hutchinson, now a Counsellor, interested himself in their behalf, and prepared for their signature a Memorial to the British government, praying for restoration to their homes, or a just pecuniary indemnity. This he undertook to have favorably presented at court, but on consideration they decided not to proceed with the application, apprehending that it might prejudice them with the French government.

Though their worship with their families, and even in larger assemblies, was not interfered with, they were interdicted from the presence of priests of their persuasion, and this, with their feelings, was the last aggravation of misery. Some got away to the West Indies; some to Canada, where, however, their reception greatly disappointed them; and some even as far as the Falkland Islands, by Cape Horn. In the despera-

tion of their homesickness, a number of those who had been conveyed to the southern colonies built boats, and in them crept along the coast from Carolina and Georgia as far as Massachusetts, where they were stopped in consequence of a message from the governor of Nova Scotia, who had information of their proceeding. These, a hundred in number, were, like their friends who had come earlier, dispersed among the towns.

1759.

When, four years after the catastrophe, Wolfe was before Quebec, he considered himself to have so good intelligence of a correspondence kept up between the exiles and the French authorities in Canada, that he wrote urgently to the governor of Massachusetts upon the subject. When peace at length took place, some had become reconciled to a permanent residence where they were, but most of the survivors, their movements being no longer obstructed, removed to Nova Scotia or to Canada, where their posterity exists to this day.

1755.

June.

While the forces from Massachusetts were making their descent on Nova Scotia, the Baron Dieskau, an officer who had served with reputation under Marshal Saxe, came to Quebec to assume the command of the troops. He was to have led to Lake Ontario an expedition which in his judgment promised great results, when suddenly news reached the capital that a force of English and Indians, destined for an assault on Montreal, had already reached the

portage between Lake George and the Hudson. This was in fact a force of about three thousand five hundred men, — Massachusetts and Connecticut militia, with a few from New Hampshire, — who, having been joined by some Indians at Albany, were on their way to Crown Point. The command of this army had been given by Governor Shirley to William Johnson, on account of his influence over the Indians. Johnson was by birth an Irishman; a nephew of Warren, who commanded the naval force at Louisburg. While young he had settled in the colony of New York, a little west of Schenectady, and engaged in a traffic with the natives. This, at the same time that it proved profitable to himself, led to friendly relations with them, which were cemented when he married the daughter of Brant, a Mohawk chief. Under him, Major-General Phineas Lyman, of Connecticut, commanded the New England troops; Ephraim Williams, who by his will, executed on his departure for the campaign, became the founder of Williams College, was a colonel; Stark, afterwards of Revolutionary fame, a lieutenant; and Israel Putnam, a soldier in the ranks.

The troops had reached Wood Creek, at the southern end of Lake Champlain, and were lying there encamped, so secure as not even to have thrown up intrenchments, when Dieskau came up the lake with three hundred regulars, six hundred Canadians, and as many Indians. This is

his own account of his force, which the English relations represent to have been larger. He was confident of success, having been informed, as he records in a manuscript account of the affair which has been preserved, that "the New England men were such poor soldiers that an Indian would make ten of them run." His intention was to reach the rear of the camp of the English, and attack Fort Edward, at the landing on the Hudson, where was the chief depository of their ammunition and stores. But this his Iroquois allies suddenly, and to his great vexation, refused to aid in, on some vain pretence that the fort was on English soil, while the site of the camp was French.

Thus obstructed, he had no resource but to attack the camp, which had been surprised, meanwhile, with tidings of his approach. The English began hastily to fell trees and build a breast-work, while a thousand men, under Colonel Williams, were sent to reinforce the garrison at Fort Edward. Falling into an ambuscade, this party sustained a defeat, with the loss of Colonel Williams, and of Hendrick, the chief Indian commander. Dieskau thought that they would all have been cut off, but for the treachery of his Iroquois, who, instead of keeping profound silence, as they had been ordered, fired into the air, and discovered the ambush, as the combatants approached. The survivors fought their way back to their friends, who meanwhile had made

diligent use of their time, in preparations for the expected onset. The too confident French general met a reception at the camp far different from what he had been taught to look for. The New England marksmen, behind their intrenchment of logs, thinned the ranks of the assailants with deadly aim. Two or three cannon, served with more activity than skill, discouraged the Canadians and Indians. After an obstinate conflict of four hours, beginning at noon, the French began to waver, and the New England men, issuing with shouts from their rude work, chased the discomfited enemy through the forest, laying about them with the butts of their muskets. The rout of the fugitives was made complete, when they fell in with a body of rangers which had been despatched from Fort Edward to fall upon their rear.

In reward for the services of Johnson, who was wounded and left the field at the beginning of the action, and who had very little to do with the victory, which was won by the New England troops, he was made a baronet of Great Britain, with a gratuity of five thousand pounds. The loss of the Americans was about two hundred, killed and wounded. Almost all Dieskau's regulars fell. He himself has been said in the histories to have been mortally wounded. But such was not the fact. He received five wounds, one of them very severe, but escaped with his life, was carried prisoner to England, and finally was liberated at the

peace, and returned to France, where he lived some years. Before leaving his camp at the southern end of Lake George, Johnson built there a poor wooden fortification, to which he gave the name of Fort William Henry. It became the scene of a brutal massacre two years later.

Besides the expeditions against the French on the Ohio, in Nova Scotia, and at Crown Point, the convention of governors held on Braddock's arrival had laid out a plan for the capture of Fort Niagara, at the western end of Lake Ontario. The execution of this was undertaken by Governor Shirley, whose military capacity still continued to be highly estimated by those about him and by the British government, scarcely less than by himself. His own regiment and the regiment of Sir William Pepperell (both of regular soldiers)

June 28. were employed in this expedition. On leaving Massachusetts, he was approached by the Legislature with an Address expressed in cordial terms of esteem and confidence. His destination was in the first instance to Oswego, where the river of that name enters Lake Ontario at its southeast corner. His route up the river Mohawk, and down the Oswego, was slow, and when he arrived on the shore of the lake Aug. 21. he found his stock of provisions so reduced as to make it necessary to await a supply before venturing on a further advance. He had with him about fifteen hundred troops, nearly all of

them regulars. Fearing that an attack might in his absence be made from Frontenac (Kingston), on the opposite side, he determined to leave two thirds of his force for the se-^{Sept. 18.}curity of Oswego, while with the rest, and with the necessary siege artillery, he should proceed on the lake to Niagara. Heavy rains set in, which delayed the movement for three weeks, as four hundred men were to be transported in open boats. Meanwhile the Indian guides became discouraged; sickness spread in the camp; and in a council of war it was unanimously resolved to put off the undertaking to the following year, to build works for the security of Oswego and garrison it with seven hundred men, and to withdraw the rest of the army into quarters at Albany. All was disappointment and gloom. The failure in the northwest and the great disaster before Fort Duquesne were ill-compensated by the recovery of Nova Scotia. Massachusetts again had exerted herself far beyond her financial strength. On the expedition to Crown Point alone, she had spent a liquidated sum of eighty thousand pounds, besides the cost, not stated, for the care of sick and wounded soldiers of the garrisons of the two forts by Lake George.

At Albany, on his return thither, Shirley received from the Lords Justices, the King being then on the Continent, a commission constituting him Commander-in-Chief of the forces in North America; a promotion which might seem worthy

to fill the largest measure of his ambition. He summoned the governors of all the colonies to a conference at New York, but was met there by only the governors of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. The result of their deliberations was that the campaign of the next year ought to proceed upon an enlarged scale; that no less than ten thousand troops should be employed against Crown Point, six thousand against Fort Niagara, and three thousand against Fort Duquesne; and that if so much more should prove feasible, two thousand men should cross from the upper waters of the Kennebec to those of the Chaudière, and assault or alarm Quebec. Shirley had a plan of his own for a winter expedition against Ticonderoga; but the snow on which he depended for facility of transportation did not fall, and, relinquishing the project, he returned to Massachusetts to push an application for that large pecuniary supply which was the indispensable condition of further progress in the war.

The plan of operations for the next year, which had been agreed upon by the governors, was not cordially received by the General Court of Massachusetts. The expense which it would bring upon that province was said to be of an amount altogether unmanageable. The most which the Court would consent to do was to raise the province's quota of men, if the governor would make present provision of money sufficient for the pay

of the soldiers who had been in the field the last year, and for bounties for the enlistment now contemplated. The governor acceded to the proposal so far as to lend the province thirty thousand pounds of the King's money deposited with him as Commander-in-Chief, — the loan to be reimbursed from any allowance which should be made by Parliament, or, failing such allowance, from the avails of colonial taxes to be laid and collected in the next two years. On the strength of this arrangement, the province voted to raise thirty-five hundred men for service against Crown Point, and Shirley recalled Winslow from Nova Scotia to take the command. But the service was unpopular, and enlistments went on slowly, notwithstanding the inducements of a bounty on the one hand, and the apprehension of impressment on the other; so that so late as the ^{1756.} end of summer scarcely three thousand ^{August.} men had been mustered.

The session of the General Court having ^{April 21.} terminated, Shirley returned to his camp at ^{May 13.} Albany. Here he received notice of being ^{June.} superseded as Commander-in-Chief by Colonel Webb, who was to hold that place "till the arrival of the Earl of Loudoun or General Abercrombie." ^{March 13.} "This is not owing," wrote Secretary Fox, "to any dissatisfaction with your services, but on the contrary, it is the King's intention, as a mark of his royal favor, to appoint you to be governor of Jamaica, in the room of Admiral

Knowles, who has desired leave to resign." In a few weeks Shirley returned to Massachusetts, having meanwhile received orders to repair to England. The tide which leads on to fortune had lifted him high, but had now turned. From the most recent experience, the English Ministry had come to entertain a different view of his military capacity from what was taken by the General Court of Massachusetts, who had lately extolled it in strong language, perhaps in rivalry with the Legislature of New York, whose favorite officer was Sir William Johnson. Johnson and Shirley were no longer on friendly terms, and their disagreements had reached the knowledge of the Board of Trade, with whom Johnson was in high favor. "I greatly dislike," wrote Lord Halifax, President of that Board, to Governor Hardy, of New York, "his [Shirley's] present behavior in his province"; while he wrote at the same time to Shirley: "His Majesty's ministers think it expedient, that as soon as Colonel Webb has superseded you in your military command, you should immediately return to England, in order to be consulted on several points relative to his Majesty's service, and the operations of the ensuing campaign."

When the governor took his departure, the General Court expressed their esteem for him in the most cordial and earnest language. He never again held office in Massachusetts. After

hang. 6 about the court a little while, he was made governor of the Bahama Islands. Retiring from that office, he came to establish in Roxbury a home for his old age. But he occupied 1771.
it only a year, at the end of which time April.
he died.

CHAPTER XII.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF PHIPPS AND POWNALL.

SPENCER PHIPPS, who at this critical time came again to the head of the administration of Massachusetts, was now advanced in years. He was a man of good intentions, and of experience in public business, but of no more than moderate abilities. His adoption by his uncle, Sir William Phipps, who had no child, had given him a fortune, and with it a consequence which in other circumstances would not have belonged to him. He had been lieutenant-governor twenty-four years, and had previously been several years a Counsellor.

The state of things was most discouraging and most mortifying. The population of the New England colonies alone outnumbered that of New France in the proportion of more than four to one. The English were probably as much richer than the French as they were more numerous. Yet so adverse to them had been a succession of casualties, and their position — distributed into different communities, inapt for joint action and not seldom jealous of one another — was so ineffective for war compared with the condition of

their enemies controlled by a single absolute head, that they were not only exposed as much as ever to murderous inroads upon their extended frontier, but had no little reason to fear that devastation would be carried into the heart of their country. Not New York, nor even Boston, could be said to be more secure than Montreal or Quebec.

Notwithstanding the continued hostilities in America, it was only a few months before Shirley's departure from Massachusetts that ^{1756.} the King of England declared war against ^{May 17.} France. The Earl of Loudoun was named Commander-in-Chief in Shirley's place. The plan of the year's campaign, as it had been determined in the conference of the governors at New York, was for three thousand men to be employed against Fort Duquesne, six thousand against Fort Niagara, and ten thousand against Crown Point, while two thousand were to create a diversion by approaching Quebec by the route of the Kennebec and the Chaudière. General Winslow, on taking command of the force destined for Crown Point, found it only two thirds as large as had been promised. The English General Abercrombie, temporarily commanding in chief, having brought a reinforcement of regular troops, a question arose as to the relative rank of royal and provincial officers, which delayed operations, and which was scarcely composed before ^{July 29.} Lord Loudoun came and assumed the command.

He had no sooner done so, than he received intelligence which, besides its own painful import, deranged the whole scheme of the campaign. The Marquis de Montcalm had succeeded Dieskau in command of the French troops. He led a force of five thousand men, including Indians, against Oswego, where Shirley had left, under the command of Colonel Mercer, his own regiment and Pepperell's, consisting together of fourteen hundred men. Montcalm had brought a formidable park of siege artillery. The English were short of ammunition. Their commander was killed, and the garrison capitulated.

Aug. 13. Thus the conclusion of the costly operations in that quarter had been to re-establish the power of the enemy on the upper lakes, and, what was of the most serious importance, to institute an alliance between them and the Six Nations, who had now lost their confidence in the English power. Montcalm might be expected to show himself before long on Lake Champlain, where Crown Point and Ticonderoga still remained defiant. Loudoun arrested Winslow's expedition against Crown Point, and the troops between Lake Champlain and Hudson River remained inactive till they went into winter quarters.

The following year, Lord Loudoun adopted a
1757. new plan of operations, to be carried out
January. with the help of four thousand new troops, which, in a council held at Boston, he had en-

gaged the New England governors to supply. Having information of the arrival at Halifax of a powerful fleet, and an army five thousand strong, he left New York with six thousand men, intending to use the whole ^{July 6.} force in a descent on Louisburg. The undertaking came to nothing. Learning at Halifax that there were at Louisburg seventeen line-of-battle-ships, and a force of regulars more than half as great as his own, he lost no time in returning to New York.

Montcalm had turned the English general's absence to good account. He came up Lake Champlain with a force of eight or nine thousand men, including two thousand Indians. Fort William Henry was held by a brave officer, Colonel Monro, with a force of two thousand men. General Webb, with four thousand more, lay at Fort Edward, on the Hudson, less than twenty miles off. But, despairing of effectual resistance, he afforded the unfortunate garrison no aid. Montcalm disembarked his troops without interruption, and summoned the ^{Aug. 2.} fort to surrender. This being refused, he ^{Aug. 4.} formed a regular siege, and, pushing up his artillery, so disabled the English batteries, that on the fifth day from the summons Monro capitulated, his ammunition being nearly spent. It was stipulated, with the concurrence of the Indian chiefs, that the prisoners should march out with the honors of war, under a parole not to serve against

the French for eighteen months, and that they should be protected by a guard on their way towards Fort Edward. Sensible of the danger from the savages, Montcalm tried to keep from them the means of intoxication, but they contrived to elude him, and, becoming crazed in the course of the night, they fell upon the English when at dawn they were put in motion, and began an indiscriminate massacre. The French officers defended their prisoners to the best of their power, but it was little that they could do against the drunken assassins. Most who escaped owed their safety to a precipitate flight into the woods, from which, through many hardships, they straggled to Fort Edward. Some saved themselves by a return to the French camp. In such catastrophes blame is apt to be imputed without reason. There was at the time a complaint, but it does not appear to have been sustained, that the promised guard was not furnished by the French.

The intelligence of the capture of Fort William Henry spread dismay through the northern colonies. No fewer than twenty thousand of the militia of Massachusetts were presently in arms under Pepperell's command. But Montcalm did not pursue his advantage, though it would seem that he might have hoped by a vigorous movement to push his way into the heart of New England. Webb, who watched the path, was an incompetent officer, no match for the gallant

Frenchman, and his recent display of imbecility discouraged the hope of his offering any effectual resistance at the next step. Montcalm's inactivity at this conjuncture, so alien from his general character, awakens surprise and curiosity. The explanation of it appears to be furnished in the journal, lately brought to light, of a priest who accompanied a party of his Abenaki converts to the war. He says that most of the French Indians dispersed immediately on the fall of Fort William Henry. "Twelve hundred men," he adds, "were employed in demolishing the fort, and nearly a thousand in transporting the immense stores of ammunition and supplies which we had captured. There was hardly a handful of people left to face the enemy, had he undertaken to assume the offensive." He supplies another fact,—that the Indians massacred the wounded prisoners in the hospital. "I was a witness," he says, "of this. I saw one of the savages come out of a casemate, where nothing but an insatiable thirst of blood could have taken him, so insupportable was the foul air which it exhaled. He carried in his hand a human head, from which flowed streams of blood, and which he exhibited with as much joy as if he had seized the richest trophy."

Just at the time of this disaster, Thomas Pownall, brother of the secretary of the Board of Trade, brought to Boston his commis-
Aug. 8.
sion as governor of Massachusetts. Having

come out to America as secretary to Sir Danvers Osborne, governor of New York, he had in the first place attached himself to the interests of Shirley, then Commander-in-Chief. Subsequently he deserted Shirley, and became the friend of his detractors, Lieutenant-Governor DeLancey and Sir William Johnson. He was promoted to be lieutenant-governor of New Jersey, and still held that office when he came to Boston. He superseded the Council, which by a provision of the charter was the supreme executive authority when there was a vacancy in the two higher offices. Lieutenant-Governor Phipps April 4. death. had been dead four months.

One of Pownall's first acts was to commission Pepperell as lieutenant-general of the forces of Massachusetts. That officer, with a quarter part of the militia of the province, had already been sent to Springfield with general instructions to protect the western frontier, and in particular, if the enemy should advance, to break the wheels of all wagons on the other side of Connecticut River, and to send all horses and provisions into the interior towns. But this vigilance was superfluous, while, in consequence of his losses by desertion, Montcalm was left inert upon Lake Champlain. Pownall wrote to Webb, Aug. 18. that he had been injudicious in suffering such an alarm to go abroad from his camp, and that his plans of defence, inefficient and costly, would better be changed for an aggressive move-

ment, to which he (the governor) might be relied upon to give all possible support.

Lord Loudoun had reason to be out of humor with himself, but he allowed his irritation to lead him into a quarrel with Massachusetts, his most trustworthy friend. The General Court, having learned from the governor that a Highland regiment was on its way to Boston, ordered barracks to be provided for it at the Castle. Some officers of other regiments came about the same time, and took the different course of applying to the justices to quarter them on the inhabitants in the manner prescribed by an Act of Parliament. The justices declined to do so, on the ground that the Act did not extend to the colonies. Lord Loudoun was furious. He wrote from New York that there were at his ^{Nov. 15.} disposal one regiment of regulars in Connecticut, another on Long Island, another at New York, and two in Pennsylvania, and that he would march them all to Boston, unless the requisition was immediately complied with; and his messenger was ordered to remain only forty-eight hours for a reply. The General Court, after three or four days' consideration, instead of acknowledging the Act of Parliament to be binding upon their constituents, passed an Act of their own making similar provisions for the troops. This they transmitted to the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Loudoun stormed, and insisted that the General Court had no concern with the affair. The Court

stood firm, and sent a message to the governor affirming their opinion that the Act of Parliament in question did not affect the plantations, and that, as to the customs of war which Lord Loudoun had appealed to, the civil magistrate could not recognize them except as instructed by his own Legislature. The Commander-in-Chief accepted the provision of quarters, and gave up the dispute. It would not have recommended him to the favor of his new masters at home, to nurse a quarrel with the province on whose friendship they mainly depended to carry out their comprehensive projects.

There was one unfortunate incident of the transaction. The General Court, eager to preserve concord when so much was at stake on both sides, and perhaps too carelessly trusting to their favorite Hutchinson, whose ambition and insinuation were already making him dangerous, included in their Address, prepared by him, some expressions which created embarrassment in later times. "The authority of all Acts of Parliament," they said, "which concern the colonies and extend to them, is ever acknowledged in all the courts of law, and made the rule of all judicial proceedings in the province. There is not a member of the General Court, and we know no inhabitant within the bounds of the government, that ever questioned this authority. To prevent any ill consequences which may arise from an opinion of our holding such principles,

we now utterly disavow them, as we should readily have done at any time past, if there had been occasion for it." The writer of this Address, when, several years having passed, he came to refer to it as an historian, found himself prompted to insist that these were the habitual and well-considered principles of the legislators who made the declaration. The state of things was such that, for the sake of present good-will, the Court was sorely tempted to concessions liable to prove troublesome at a later time. On the other hand, in the military necessities of Shirley's administration, the House had revived and maintained its claim, so vigorously asserted in the time of Governor Shute, to revise the actual expenditure of moneys which had been granted. They renewed the same pretension with ^{1758.} Governor Pownall, and he gave way to ^{June 25.} it, though not without reluctance, nor till after remonstrance against it, as "a breach upon the constitution of the charter, and an infringement on the rights of the crown."

In the spring Lord Loudoun came to Boston for a conference with the General Court. But the parties did not like each other, and their negotiation was abortive. He asked for a large levy of troops. They inquired, for how long; under what officers; how to be paid and supplied; where to serve; with what additional force. An angry quarrel seemed to be impending, when an express to Lord Loudoun informed him that he

was relieved as Commander-in-Chief, and that General Abercrombie was his successor. Pitt
1757. wrote to Abercrombie "in the greatest
Dec. 30. confidence," that the King wished "to repair the losses and disappointments of the last inactive and unhappy campaign."

This was the measure with which William Pitt undertook to inaugurate a better state of things in America. After the retirement of the Duke
1756. of Newcastle, Pitt became one of the Sec-
December. retaries of State, with Lord Holdernessee for his colleague, in the ministry of the Duke of Devonshire. But the King, who disliked him,
1757. did not yet understand how necessary
April. were his services, and dismissed him after four months. Pitt took no measures to avert the fall. He knew that he should rise from it the stronger, for already he was the object of the cordial confidence of the people, who did not fail to clamor loudly against the treatment he received. The King was harassed by the clumsy administration of the public business, and the Duke of Newcastle, whose overtures Pitt had hitherto rejected with civil contempt, loved office so well that at length he consented to resume it, with his vast parliamentary influence, at the price of every concession demanded by the popular favorite. The Duke became the
June 29. nominal head of the Ministry, with Pitt for one of the Secretaries of State. Lord Holdernessee was the other, from whom, as well as from

the prime minister, the great statesman had no longer any troublesome interference to apprehend.

With Pitt's accession to real power a new energy was infused into all departments of the government. His liberal and vigorous policy for the American colonies was to win confidence and so secure support; and the calamitous course of the events of the last few years was about to be turned back with a sublime impetuosity. The colonies believed him when he professed his purpose to procure for them immediate and permanent security against the French and Indian enemy; to encourage and remunerate with liberality the arduous exertions which they were making for the common cause; and to withhold the government which he conducted from any pretensions adverse to their rights. The consequence of this generous design was seen in the imposing array of twenty-eight thousand provincial troops, of which number Massachusetts contributed one quarter part. On the other hand, the presence in the colonies of twenty-two thousand regular soldiers attested that the parent country was intent on serious work. Pownall wrote to Pitt that, notwithstanding Massa-^{1758.} chusetts had to pay seventy-three thousand ^{March 26.} pounds in the present year, and a somewhat larger sum in the next following, besides the ordinary annual expense of the government, which was thirty-seven thousand five hundred

pounds sterling, "exclusive of any military operations," yet the Court had voted to borrow twenty-eight thousand pounds for the approaching campaign, and that "such was the spirit of the people that, upon the treasurer's opening his subscription, it was filled in twelve hours."

Sept. 30. Again he wrote, six months later, "that the military expeditions of the last three years had cost the province more than two hundred and forty-two thousand pounds, of which sum seventy thousand pounds had been reimbursed by the crown"; that "the tax upon estates real and personal arises in the town of Boston to thirteen shillings and two-pence in the pound"; and that it was "a certain fact that the country had been hitherto preserved by the efforts which this province had made. . . . This province ever did, ever will, and ever must take the lead when a spirited measure is expected."

But the great minister had yet to find a commander fit to serve him in America. Abercrombie was a disappointment to him. As soon after receiving his appointment as the arrangements could be leisurely made, that well-intentioned, but sluggish officer addressed himself to the recovery of the posts by Lake Champlain, and led thither more than fifteen thousand troops, three fifths of them provincials. Montcalm, with three thousand six hundred men, Canadians and French, awaited him at Ticonderoga. With his

accustomed activity and skill, the French general had intrenched himself as well as his imperfect means allowed. His exterior lines were composed of piles of timber, in front of which trees had been felled, with their sharpened branches pointing outward. An incident very unfortunate and dispiriting to the English preceded the main attack. Two small parties, French and English, surprised each other by meeting in the woods at night. The French, three hundred in number, were beaten, and one hundred and sixty of them were taken prisoners. But the young Vis-
count Howe, in command of the English ^{1758.}
^{July 6.} party, an officer greatly beloved by the provincial soldiers, fell mortally wounded in the skirmish. Massachusetts erected a monument to him in Westminster Abbey.

Two bridges in the way to the fort had been destroyed as the English approached. The British general, disconcerted and perplexed, took new courage when they were restored under the direction of a provincial colonel, and when his chief engineer, sent to reconnoitre the French works, reported them to be in feeble condition. The New England officers knew better, and would now have had him more considerate, as they would just before have had him more bold. Information that Montcalm was on the eve of receiving a large reinforcement decided the English general not to wait for cannon to force the lines, but to storm them at once with his mus-

July 8. keteers. The attack was made with desperate bravery, but against all chances of success. The English, pushing on with the bayonet, had their ranks broken among the sharpened branches of the felled trees, which made a barrier eight or nine feet in height, and, as they struggled in the net, suffered immense loss from the troops within the works, who had been ordered to reserve their fire till it could be delivered with that advantage. The carnage lasted four or five hours, during which time the English lost in killed and wounded between nineteen hundred and two thousand men, three quarters of whom were regular troops. According to the account of this brilliant exploit, preserved in the French archives, the number of French killed and wounded, respectively, was one hundred and six, and two hundred and sixty-eight, of whom fourteen killed and twenty wounded were officers.

Montcalm had gained a success due to eminent courage and conduct. His adversary managed everything amiss. The English, after their heavy loss, were still four times as numerous as the enemy, and within easy reach they had cannon which could without difficulty have cleared a way through the rude work that had intercepted them. But Abercrombie ordered a precipitate retreat, and did not stop till he had reached the head of Lake George, whence he sent his artillery and ammunition for safe-keeping to Albany.

Montcalm, astonished and not less amused by his misconduct, harassed his rear with parties of Indians, and skirmishes took place, in one of which Israel Putnam, since of Revolutionary fame, then a major of rangers, fell into the hands of the savages, who, after scalping his companions, tied him to a tree, and kindled a fire to burn him, when a French officer coming up interposed, and rescued him for a different destiny. When intelligence of this affair reached England, ^{Sept. 18.} Pitt wrote to Abercrombie that the King had heard of it "with much concern," and promoted Sir Jeffrey Amherst to supersede him in the chief command.

According to the record just now quoted of the defence of Ticonderoga, "this brilliant day was the salvation of Canada." It proved a short-lived deliverance. The tide which had rolled crushing disaster on the English was at last about to turn.

The Massachusetts Colonel Bradstreet, who had won reputation at Louisburg under Pepperell, and who seems to have been the source of whatever life and intelligence there was in the grand army of the English, prevailed on Abercrombie to permit him to attempt to retrieve the late misfortune by an expedition against Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, on the north side of Lake Ontario, just above its outlet into the St. Lawrence. The scheme had been proposed by him before Howe's death, and the cordial interest

with which it had been accepted by that lamented nobleman made it a sort of bequest from him to the provincial troops. Investing the place with three thousand men, mostly provincials, who had brought eight or ten pieces of cannon, Bradstreet

Aug. 27. compelled the garrison, after two days, to surrender at discretion.

The acquisition of the place was important, not only from its relation to the command of the lake, but from its being a depository of stores and of munitions of war for the posts at the west and south. From sixty to eighty pieces of artillery fell into the victors' hands, besides abundance of other supplies, and nine armed vessels lying in the harbor. More than a third of Bradstreet's command consisted of men of Rhode Island and Massachusetts. It suffered little from the enemy, but before its return was more than decimated by the epidemic malady of the limestone region of the lakes. The exploit contributed to the important result, which followed before long, of the reduction of Fort Duquesne by General Forbes,

Nov. 25. or rather by Colonel Washington. On the failure of supplies expected from Fort Frontenac, the Indians dispersed from Fort Duquesne, and the French, unsupported, were too few to maintain the place.

While Abercrombie was blundering and mis-carrying on Lake George, his second in command, Sir Jeffrey Amherst, with two men among his officers, James Wolfe and Isaac Barré, soon

to be renowned, the one for military, the other for civil service, was pressing the siege of Louisburg. The operations were on a different scale from those of the time when that fortress, thirteen years before, had been beset by a few inexperienced regiments of New England militia. Admiral Boscawen, with twenty ships of the line and eighteen frigates, conveyed fourteen thousand regular troops to Cape Breton. The French garrison, consisting of twenty-five hundred regular troops and six hundred militia, made an obstinate defence. It held out seven weeks, June 2- losing fifteen hundred men in killed and July 27. wounded. Wolfe was much applauded for his gallantry at the landing, and in a successful assault on an outpost. June 8. Two hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and a great amount of stores and ammunition, fell into the hands of the English. The town had been almost ruined in the bombardment. More than fifty-five hundred men, soldiers and seamen, were sent prisoners to England. The fate of Quebec was foreshadowed.

Wolfe was a man of mark after this campaign. He went to England, and there received the most flattering attention from Pitt, whose sure eye selected him as worthy to conduct the most difficult part of the decisive operations which the minister was meditating against the empire of France in America. Amherst took back Aug. 31 - his troops by sea from Louisburg to Bos- Sept. 13.

ton, whence, without delay, he marched them westwardly for a junction with Abercrombie.

The programme for the next campaign involved complicated movements, intended
1759. to bring three large English armies to a junction before Quebec. General Prideaux, in command of a force composed principally of provincials with some Indian auxiliaries, was first to secure Lake Ontario by the capture of Fort Niagara at its western extremity. Sir Jeffrey Amherst, with an army of twelve thousand men, about half of them colonial troops, was to push down Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence, taking Montreal in his way, and, having been joined by Prideaux's force from above, to form another junction before Quebec with an army of eight thousand regular troops, who, under the command of Wolfe, holding "the rank of major-general for that expedition only," were to be conveyed from Louisburg by a powerful fleet.

Prideaux was killed in some of the preliminary operations of his expedition. But, under Sir William Johnson, who succeeded to the command, the object of the movement, the capture of Fort Niagara, was effected, and in the prosecution of its further enterprise, the army moved down the lake. It was belated, however, by the tardiness of the earlier movements; and want of provisions and of the necessary shipping ultimately prevented the accomplishment of that part of the plan. A similar delay frustrated the

part which General Amherst was to have taken. Whether this was to be attributed to his own want of activity and enterprise, or to the essential difficulties of his situation, may admit of doubt; but what is certain is that Pitt, than whom no one can be supposed to have been more impatient for success, expressed confidence in his spirit and abilities, and approbation of his conduct. The French retired before him as he passed down Lake Champlain; and Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and the work at Isle-aux-Noix, further north, successively fell into his hands. But meanwhile time had worn away, and he had just got his flotilla ready for an embarkation on the St. Lawrence, when the intelligence reached him that he was no longer wanted at Quebec, and he withdrew his troops into winter quarters.

Wolfe, coming from Portsmouth to Louisburg, and thence, with the force of about eight thousand men which was awaiting him, to Quebec, found there no circumstance of encouragement whatever, except in the resources of his own genius and the valor and discipline of his troops. The place was extremely strong by nature, and though by no means the fortress that it is now, had been fortified at considerable cost. The force opposed to him was in number materially superior to his own, under a general of experience and of distinguished ability, who possessed its enthusiastic confidence. There was no

1759.

Dec. 11.

June 26.

reason to expect the seasonable arrival of the two armies from up the river, which had been intended to co-operate with his ; if anything was to be done that year, the task rested on himself. To add to other discouragements, he was in reduced health, and much of the time unable to be on horseback. He established a battery on the south side of the river, but its guns were too low to produce much effect on the steep elevation of the upper town of Quebec, of which the citadel makes part. He landed his troops on the north bank below the city, and formed there a camp, facing that of Montcalm, who had intrenched himself on the opposite side of a small tributary stream. Here, rather it would seem in impatience of inactivity

July 31.

than with any good hope of success, Wolfe ordered an assault, which miscarried. He fell into a fever, which disabled him from so much as holding a pen. When he was able to write to

Sept. 2.

England again, it was in great despondency, in which feeling the whole nation shared when the intelligence was spread. "There is," he said, "such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine."

At length his three young brigadier-generals conceived and proposed to him a plan, which he consented to, as the least hopeless of the desperate resorts of which the case admitted. The fortifications of the city were known to be weakest on the western side, where the high plateau called the Plains of Abraham connects

the promontory on which Quebec stands with the mainland, its other sides being protected by the water. The difficulty was to effect a landing, and to scale the steep ascent in the face of the defences which had been erected all along by the skilful and vigilant French general. It seemed a forlorn prospect, but it was the only one. For a feint, the ships were ordered to ascend the river, to a considerable distance above the city, as if with a design to attempt a landing there. From the fleet, four hours before the dawn of a day of early autumn, Wolfe, with his officers next in command, and about half his ^{Sept. 12.} force, dropped down the river in boats to the landing-place which he had fixed upon, beneath a steep bank. A sentinel from the shore challenged as the boats passed, but was answered by a Highland officer in French, and made to believe that it was a party of his own comrades. Enough of Wolfe's men got up in silence to overpower by a sudden onset the guard at the top of the acclivity. The first difficulty surmounted, the rest was easier. Confidence was created, and the men worked with a will. Two or three cannon were drawn up the precipice by main strength, and when the sun rose, four thousand men in battle array fronted the city from the high western plain.

Montcalm, who was at the camp below, heard the news with astonishment, but still supposed that it must be only a small marauding party. Coming in haste to the citadel, and seeing the

truth with his own eyes, he took at once an imprudent resolution, which has been explained by a story that he was goaded by a recent taunt of Vaudreuil, the governor, who was not his friend. He said that he must fight before noon, and overwhelm the rash invaders with numbers. He made his dispositions accordingly, arranging his troops in order of battle before ten o'clock. Their number, according to the best authorities, was half as large again as that of the English. But more than one third of Montcalm's force were Canadians and Indians, while that of Wolfe consisted of British regulars, in the highest condition of efficiency. On either side were only two or three pieces of cannon.

The French advanced boldly to the attack. The English stood motionless till the enemy, who allowed themselves to be broken by the unevenness of the ground and their rapid movement, were within forty yards, and then received them with one slaughtering volley of musketry along the whole line, immediately following up their advantage by a charge with the bayonet. There was no resisting the fury of their onset. One fierce shock, and the whole affair was over. The French gave way, and retreated within the city, and to their lines below it. General Wolfe received three wounds, the last of which was mortal. Before he expired, he was told that the French were routed, and gave an order for intercepting their retreat.

Monckton, his second in command, was likewise badly hurt, and the direction of affairs devolved on General Townshend. Montcalm and his lieutenant also fell in the action. The French general was carried from the field into the city, where, being told that he had but a few hours to live, he said, "So much the better; I shall not then see the surrender of Quebec." The officer on whom the command devolved applied to him for orders, but he declined giving them, saying that he must pass the little time that remained in the more important business of communion with God. Before the war closed, letters highly honorable to both parties passed between De Bougainville, one of Montcalm's officers, and William Pitt, in which the latter gave permission for an inscription commemorative of the French general to be transmitted and set up in one of the French churches of the city.

The battle had not been long finished, when De Bougainville, who, detached to prevent a landing, had gone too far up the river, came down upon the rear of the victorious English; but the time had passed for him to effect anything, and he withdrew to Three Rivers and Montreal, followed by as many of the French army without the city as remained unhurt. About one thousand French were killed and wounded, and as many taken prisoners. The English loss was nearly six hundred. General Townshend proceeded with preparations for a

siege of the city, but it capitulated at the end of five days, upon which the fleet left the St. ^{Sept. 17.} Lawrence with Townshend, who went to tell the story in England, leaving General Murray to hold Quebec. The French population of the city was reckoned at that time at ten thousand.

As things were, the conquest of Quebec involved that of Canada. The rest followed as of course, unless the city could be recovered. Early in the spring, De Lévi, who had succeeded Montcalm in the chief command, with the French army which had retired to Montreal and had been there reinforced by six hundred Canadian militia and a body of Indians, made an attempt which might well have proved successful; for hardship and sickness, occasioned by the extreme cold of the winter and a scarcity of suitable provisions, had reduced Murray's effective force to three thousand men. On nearly the same ground ^{1760.} as the field of battle of the preceding ^{April 28.} year, an engagement ensued, in which the English were worsted and driven back within their works, with the loss of a thousand men. The French general followed up his advantage, and proceeded with the regular approaches of a siege. But before there was time for anything decisive, a powerful British fleet appeared ^{June} in the river, and De Lévi withdrew to Montreal.

To that city the operations of the summer

were of course directed. Amherst, having secured the forts on Lake Champlain, marched with a force of ten thousand men, regulars and provincials, to the eastern end of Lake Ontario, where Sir William Johnson joined him with a thousand Indians, and they proceeded together down the lake and river. Before Montreal they met Murray, who on the same day arrived there with his force from Quebec; and the following day came the detachment which had been serving on Lake Champlain. De Vaudreuil, the French governor-general, was himself in Montreal, where he signed a capitulation surrendering Canada and all its dependencies to the King of Great Britain. The people thus made over to a foreign sway were eighty thousand in number.

Aug. 10.

Sept. 10.

Thus the great secretary, in the words of Grat-tan, had smitten "with one hand the house of Bourbon, while he wielded in the other the democracy of England." The French empire in America, built up through so romantic adventures, the child equally of the ancient chivalry and the ancient religion, was now no more. Its adventurous discoverers, its politic rulers, its gallant soldiers, and its priestly martyrs had illustrated it alike. It had brought the strongest contrasts of the social state, the brilliant Parisian and the Indian of the American lakes, to stand side by side. Its explorers, Cartier, Champlain, La Salle, Marquette, and others of less name, had

with their intrepid curiosity opened a new world to the knowledge of Europe. The presence of their followers might have proved a blessing to the red men, had there been no rival civilized power on this continent. For the accommodating Frenchman easily conformed his habits to theirs, and won them by his versatile talent and his inexhaustible gayety. In his negotiations he treated them as equals, not wounding their pride, as the English did, by requiring professions of subjection and allegiance. His policy towards them had greater uniformity and consistency, not being subject, as in the case of his rival, to as many different counsels as there were contiguous colonies. The religion which he offered, condescending in its ritual to a correspondence with their rude natures, found a sort of access, through their senses and imaginations, to their consciences and hearts. And, at all events, its ministers — often men of distinguished talent, culture, and address, yet so consecrated, heart and soul, to their work, that they passed years, and often lives, of hardship, privation, wearing toil, and perpetual danger in instructing and humanizing their barbarous converts — could not fail to exert the power, and do the good, which always belong to self-forgetfulness and to evidences of good-will. But the temptation to use to a hurtful end the power thus disinterestedly acquired was too great for the safety either of the leaders or the led. The distresses which these poor people had been made

the instruments of their martial and priestly guides to inflict upon their neighbors, make one of the saddest stories one can read. With intervals, and with different degrees of horror, this barbarity of Indian war under French influence had been going on more than eighty years. It did not stop at all too soon; and for putting an end to it, were that alone their merit, the names of Chatham and Wolfe should be dear to humanity.

But there was another bearing of this war and this treaty, not then generally perceived, though indistinctly apprehended by some far-sighted men, which, seen in the light of later events, attaches to them a singular importance. Very uncertain are the calculations of politics, and very mysterious are the ways of Providence. Great Britain was at vast expense to wrest the Canadas and their dependencies from her ancient enemy; and immense was the triumph through all her wide empire when the deed was done. "The morning drum-beat which circles the globe with one continuous strain of the martial airs of England" was never more exultingly laid on, than when the tidings of that conquest leaped from post to post beneath the folds of the red-cross ensign. But, in the unravelling of the web of events, the cost which Britain had been at for that conquest proved to have been only just so much expense laid out on the throwing away of the brightest jewel in her own crown. The fall

of the French empire in America was but the signal for the mutilation of the British empire. Sixteen years only passed from the fight on the Heights of Abraham to the fight on the Green at Lexington; and the later of these events, in a just construction of the case, was a logical sequence of the earlier.

King George the Second can scarcely have heard of the capitulation of Canada. But the old man—he had reached the age of seventy-

^{1760.} seven years—died in a blaze of triumph.

^{Oct. 25.} The illustrious commoner whom he had put in the place of the routine-bound line of Whig nobles had in less than four years raised the English power from deep depression to the height of greatness. The French navy was all but driven from the sea. The empire of England was established in the East Indies. The French empire in America was crushed.

Massachusetts had three hundred men in the force which captured Quebec, besides several hundred employed in the fleet. A large number of her troops were serving under General Amherst, and twenty-five hundred were in and near Louisburg, relieving regulars detached under the command of General Wolfe. The province had made these and other exertions under extraordinary discouragements.

Governor Pownall's interest with the Board of Trade having procured him the appointment of governor of South Carolina, an office attractive

in point of emolument, he took his departure for England, to proceed thence to his new government. He left in Massachusetts a good reputation. With some failure in that gravity of manners which among so sedate a people was thought to beseem his place, the conciliation which he habitually studied accomplished its amiable purpose. He was diligent and impartial in the business of administration, and in particular his plans of economy were well conceived, and carried out with important success. He had liberal ideas respecting the relation of colonies to the parent country, and did and said nothing to awaken a jealousy of arbitrary designs. And the generous policy of the British minister of course attracted good-will for the magistrate who was the channel of his communications. Both branches of the Legislature parted from the governor with affectionate Addresses of farewell. The Council complimented him on "an administration short, indeed, but active, vigorous, and filled with affairs great and important."

A few weeks before the surrender of Canada, Francis Bernard came to Massachusetts as governor. He was a graduate of the University of Oxford, and had been a practitioner in the Court of Chancery, and subsequently, for two years, governor of New Jersey, as successor to Governor Belcher.

CHAPTER XIII.

NEW HAMPSHIRE, CONNECTICUT, AND RHODE ISLAND.

BELCHER was the last governor of the two provinces of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. On his recall the latter government was conferred on Benning Wentworth, son of the late lieutenant-governor. Like his father, he had been acting in opposition to Belcher. He had been a prosperous merchant in Portsmouth, a member of the Provincial Assembly, and afterwards a Counsellor. Business growing out of an unfortunate specula-

tion in lumber carried him to London at
1740. the time of the removal of Governor Belcher. There he cultivated the friendship of Tomlinson, agent for the province, who had influence with the Court, and who, having first failed to obtain the government of New Hampshire for Colonel Dunbar, Belcher's most conspicuous rival in that province, procured the nomination for Wentworth, as on the whole the next most important member of the dominant local party. Through his English patron, and for a consideration of two thousand pounds sterling, paid to Dunbar, Wentworth also obtained the office of Surveyor of the Woods, valuable to him

at once as being lucrative, and as relieving him from the embarrassments to which the governor was exposed from interference on the part of an officious Surveyor.

Wentworth's administration began with exchanges between him and the Assembly ^{1741.} of abundant assurances of good-will and confidence, from which censures on the late administration were not wanting. He would have ^{1742.} turned his favor with the Representatives to account by engaging them to pay him a fixed salary, and to remunerate adequately the agents whom they had employed in England. They made a grant to Tomlinson of a hundred pounds. They said they should better know what they were able to do for the governor, when the population of the province should be defined by the settlement of the boundary lines; and meanwhile they promised him an annual salary of five hundred pounds. He turned Belcher's practice against Belcher's friends by appointing his own partisans to office. He attached himself to Governor Shirley, who on his part found it advantageous for the prosecution of his large schemes to stand well in a quarter whence he might derive material assistance.

The project of the expedition against Louisburg appears to have been first conceived in New Hampshire. William Vaughan, son of the former lieutenant-governor of that province, had at the time the credit of having first suggested it to

Governor Shirley. Vaughan had never been at Louisburg, but his attention to the condition of that place had been stimulated by his pecuniary interest in the fishery of the eastern seas. When the enterprise was resolved on by the General Court of Massachusetts, a result which was said to have been promoted by his appeals to the merchants, Vaughan addressed himself to the

1745.

Feb. 1.

Feb. 2.

Assembly of New Hampshire, where he found willing hearers, and a vote was passed for raising an auxiliary force of two hundred and fifty men. The question of the ways and means was less simple, for Wentworth had brought an instruction to prevent the further issue of bills of credit, except for the single purpose of repaying advances already made by the King. But the governor of Massachusetts showed a way to dispose of this scruple. Shirley wrote that he had obtained permission to deviate from a like instruction given to himself, so far as to permit an issue of bills, to be applied solely to the purposes of the war, and that Wentworth might reckon on being pardoned for the irregularity, if without express leave he should do the same thing. In a difference between the House and the Council respecting the time for the redemption of the bills by taxation, the judgment of the latter body prevailed, and bills were issued to the amount of thirteen thousand pounds, payable in annual instalments after six years. Shirley wrote to Wentworth that, but for his disability of the

gout, he should have wished to make him Commander-in-Chief. But when the governor of New Hampshire replied that there was nothing in his health to prevent his going on that service, he was informed that, in the opinion of judicious persons who had been consulted, a reversal of the existing arrangement (with Pepperell) "would be attended with great risk both with respect to the Assembly and the soldiers." The truth was, that in the time between Shirley's two communications the desired grant of money had been made by New Hampshire, and the governor's good-will was no longer worth so much.

The force of five hundred men, which in an armed sloop and transports New Hampshire sent to Louisburg, was estimated as being equal to one in eight of her men of military age. Of these a hundred and fifty were taken into the pay of Massachusetts. The rest, constituting a regiment under the command of Colonel Samuel Moore and Lieutenant-Colonel Messerve, arrived at Canseau two days before the fleet from Boston. Vaughan, holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel, but unassigned, and permitted to act where his humor led him, was busy everywhere. The regiment, whose second officer was a ship-carpenter, built sledges on which they dragged the cannon into position through the half-frozen mire. New Hampshire men took part in the defeated attempt on the island, and were detailed to the exposed service of building

May 26.

a battery at the lighthouse. When a general assault was talked of, Colonel Moore, who had been a sailor, volunteered with his regiment to take the French sixty-gun prize into the action; and when the *Vigilant* was manned in a different way, they got leave to serve as marines on board of another vessel. Vaughan esteemed his merits on this expedition to have been such as to entitle him to distinguished notice from the ministers, and he accordingly went to England, and applied to the Duke for the government of Nova Scotia.

1746. He proposed to people that peninsula,
Feb. 28. which he said he could do "with a great number of Protestants from Germany, Switzerland, England, Ireland, Scotland, New England, &c., and make it one of the most flourishing provinces in America." That suit proving ineffectual, he solicited "the Collector's post
May 16. in the Massachusetts Bay, and Surveyor-General of the Woods." But he obtained neither, and after a year's fretting experience of ministerial antechambers, he died in London,
Dec. disappointed and poor.

Great hopes were entertained by the people of New Hampshire as to the consequences of the capture of Louisburg. But the quiet of their frontier homes was not to be won there. Weary years were yet to pass before they would be safe. When Shirley projected those further operations
July. against New France, which were frustrated by the inaction of the imperial govern-

ment, New Hampshire made the contribution, so vast in proportion to her means, of an enlistment of eight hundred men, with ample provision for transportation and supplies. The report of the Duke d'Anville's being at sea ^{Sept.} created a sense of danger nearer home, and the troops were employed in constructing and garrisoning works at Portsmouth and elsewhere along the coast. Meanwhile the Indians had resumed their invasions of the settlements on the now extended border, burning, ravaging, maiming, and murdering, at the places now called Keene, Westmoreland, Charlestown, ^{1745.} Hopkinton, Boscawen, Swanzy, Hins- ^{July -} dale, Winchester, Rochester, and Concord. ^{1746.} ^{August.}

In thirteen months thirty persons were killed by the savages, and more than twenty were carried away captive. When no mischief was done, the English were distressed by the necessity of constant vigilance, and their experiences of daring and suffering exhibited all the various adventure incident to guerilla war. The contest was too unequal. The soldiers were discouraged, and preferred to enlist in the marching regiments. The province discontinued the remote gar- ^{November.} risons, and the inhabitants withdrew, abandoning their dwellings to the enemy, and burying such of their effects as they had not means to bring away.

This exposed state of the northern frontier was not disregarded in Massachusetts. Charlestown,

the uppermost post on the Connecticut, was one of those which had been deserted. Captain

1747. Phinehas Stevens, sent to occupy it with
March. thirty rangers, found the work which had been erected there in good order. He was pres-

April. ently attacked by a force of French and Indians, who with burning missiles, and with other devices, attempted for three days to set fire to the fort, but without success. The French commander invited Stevens to a parley, and proposed to convey his men, unarmed, as prisoners, to Montreal, threatening as the alternative to put them all to the sword, should they make further resistance. The fight was resumed, and after three days the assailants withdrew, two Englishmen only having been wounded and one killed. The successful maintenance of the post was a great relief, and its brave defenders were much applauded. After two years more of hostilities of this almost purposeless but distressing

character, the hollow peace patched up at
1749. Aix-la-Chapelle between the ambitious powers of Europe promised a period of repose to the harassed dwellers in the New Hampshire wilds.

When the prospect of another war was taking shape, the French, as usual, were beforehand in their preparations, and they could set their wayward Indians on the work of blood without subjecting their own King to be questioned for a breach of his engagements. The old maraudings were revived with the old ferocity. They

were partly checked when Massachusetts again sent troops to occupy Charles-^{1754.}
town, as a post commanding one of the natural lines of travel from Canada. A New Hampshire regiment, under Colonel Blanchard, did^{1755.}
good service at Lake George, against^{Sept. 8.}
Baron Dieskau; and the gallant conduct of another, under Colonel Gilman, contributed to all that was favorable in the issue of the campaign. "The danger of becoming slaves of France," wrote Wentworth to the Secretary of^{Sept. 17.}
State, "has at length raised a spirit, and it appears to be almost universal, equal to the ancient Romans. Out of the three hundred men I have raised in this province, not a man can be marked out but substantial farmers and freeholders, who engage upon no other principles but to secure freedom and happiness to their posterity."

Meanwhile the absence of these troops left the interior of the province exposed in a way by which the watchful savages did not fail to profit. From St. Francis they came down upon the Connecticut, and at Hopkinton, Keene, Charles-town, Walpole, and Hinsdale committed their customary devastations and massacres. Lord Loudoun, informed of the efficiency of^{1756.}
the rangers of New Hampshire, caused three companies of them to be organized, under the command of Robert Rogers, and the two brothers, William and John Stark, of whom the

latter was afterwards a brigadier-general in the war of the American Revolution. These rough and hardy soldiers knew nothing of winter quarters. No Indian camp was secure against them in the bitterest night or the thickest wood; no French intrenchment could depend upon its scouts for warning of their stealthy and swift approach. Troops of New Hampshire shared in the gallant defence of Fort William
1757.
Aug. 8. Henry, by Colonel Monro, and eighty of them fell in the perfidious massacre that followed. When the enemy was expected to push his advantage and come down to the settlements, New Hampshire soldiers, to the number of two hundred and fifty, were for the first time sent to hold the post at Charlestown. But they remained there undisturbed through the anxious winter, though the savages appeared in the neighborhood, where they killed two or three men, and carried off some prisoners and cattle.

1758.
April. The new confidence which was inspired when Pitt came into power stimulated New Hampshire to raise at once eight hundred troops, of whom mechanics, to the number of more than a hundred, went to Louisburg under the same officer, Colonel Meserve, who, thirteen years before, had rendered such good service at that place, and who was destined to die there at
1759. this time, of the small-pox. The rest joined Abercrombie at the West, and partook of his ill fortune. In the following summer

a New Hampshire regiment, a thousand strong, under the command of Zaccheus Lovewell, brother of John Lovewell, of Pequawket memory, served with General Amherst at the taking of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

The reader who has borne in mind the disproportionately large share which had all along fallen to New Hampshire of the miseries inflicted by the savages in their inroads on New England, will have expected to see the soldiers of that province terribly in earnest, whenever they could come hand to hand with their cunning and cruel enemy. While Wolfe was before Quebec, the ranger officer, Rogers, (now a Major,) was despatched with two hundred men from Crown Point against the Indian village of St. Francis, which he reached by a march of three weeks. Concealing his men at a little distance, he entered it in disguise, and, having made his observations, returned to lead an assault, which Oct. 3. took place just before dawn. The Indians, aroused from sleep after a riotous night, made but a feeble resistance. Many were killed under their roofs, and many in flight. The repeated horrors by the Piscataqua were partly avenged. The victors retired with a valuable booty, for St. Francis had long been a place of deposit for the spoils of the English border. The English had but one man killed in the action, and only six or seven wounded. But they were sharply pursued on their retreat towards Connecticut River. After

a dispiriting march of a week or two up the valley of the St. Francis, they dispersed on the eastern shore of Lake Memphremagog, and in small parties went on their several ways through the forest. Some came into Charlestown, weary and half famished. Others, exhausted, lay down to die on the way, as was known when, years after, their bones were found by the settlers who had reached that mountain region.

On its way to Montreal in the following year,
1760. the force under Sir Jeffrey Amherst was
July 31. joined at Crown Point by eight hundred soldiers of New Hampshire, who, for the greater despatch, had made a new road for themselves over the mountains and by Otter Creek. They were present at the capitulation of Montreal, and the consequent release of English prisoners, among whom they found a family which, while they were on the march, had been carried off from Charlestown by some Indians. To New Hampshire, even more than to any other community of New England, the conquest of Canada was an event of the most joyful significance. Her settlements had never known assured repose since their earliest day. For more than eighty years, since the fugitives from Philip's war had offered themselves as guides from the banks of the St. Lawrence to the New England towns, their lives, from childhood to the grave, had been disquieted by ever-present apprehension in the intervals when they were not made miserable by recent

distress. They had been kept poor by the interruptions and discouragements of industry, as well as by the expenses of war. While they could sustain life in their homes on coarse fare, as a community they had to live upon credit, and even that the crown, not unwisely, was reluctant to have them use with any freedom. It was an alleviation of the hardships of the time, that since the war began, the seasons in New Hampshire, as in the other colonies, had been favorable to the harvests. Different weather prevailed in the next two years, and there was a scarcity of provisions which made costly importations necessary.

The ancient question respecting the title to lands in New Hampshire had not been put to final rest in the course of transactions connected with the removal of Governor Belcher. A sum of money for which Tomlinson, acting for the Assembly, had stipulated with young Mason as the consideration for a release of his claim, had remained unpaid for six years. It was not without reason that Mason was dissatisfied with the delay, and, on returning from the expedition to Louisburg, in which he had commanded a company, he gave notice that unless he had his money forthwith he should treat with other purchasers. The Assembly did not proceed quickly enough, ^{1746.} for on the same day when they informed ^{Jan. 30.} him that they were ready to fulfil their part of the bargain, he had conveyed his interest to a company, consisting of twelve persons, who were

to hold it in fifteen shares. The company partly protected themselves against the popular displeasure provoked by this transaction, by a quit-claim grant which covered the four original towns of the province, and twelve others, now settled, which lay within the territory included in Mason's patent. The Assembly offered to the company to buy their right by refunding the purchase-money and costs. The company negotiated
^{August.} till there had been time for the public agitation to subside, and then declined the proposal. They professed to be willing to accept it, if a condition should be annexed that the lands, when acquired by the province, should be disposed of by grants of the governor and Council,—a condition to which the Assembly would not assent, insisting that the lands should be subject to their grant, so as to be secure against influences of favoritism and corruption. No agreement could be made. The company proceeded to exercise
^{1748.} their rights of proprietorship with a liberality which disarmed prejudice and apprehension. They made gratuitous grants of lands, subject only to the conditions that mills, roads, and meeting-houses should be built in every plantation, within specified times; that provision should be made for the maintenance of the ministry and of schools; and that a certain proportion of the land should be set off to themselves. The heirs of John Allen protested against this occupation, and Tomlinson's confidence was so

shaken that he advised the company, as a measure of prudence, to buy off their claim. But the company, trusting in the goodness of their title, in their own local influence, in the advantage of possession, and in their policy of combining the common interest with their own, decided that they might without risk save their money; and the result proved their wisdom. The pretensions of the claimants under Allen subsided gradually into final silence.

While the boundary line between New Hampshire and Massachusetts was under discussion, Governor Wentworth, in his writs ^{1744.} for the election of a new Assembly, included a few towns which had hitherto been understood to belong to the latter province. This occasioned a dispute between him and the House of Deputies; he maintaining the privilege to be vested in him, as a royal governor, of summoning towns to the popular branch of the Legislature at his discretion, as the king had done when it was instituted; the House maintaining, on the contrary, that towns authorized to be represented in their body had always been designated by itself. The Lords Justices (the King being on the Continent), informed of this state of things, and that the House had refused to admit the governor's members, directed him to dissolve the Assembly, and to issue new writs as before. The House persisted. They again refused to admit ^{1749.} the members elected under the governor's ^{Jan. 3.}

authority, and they chose for their Speaker a person obnoxious to him as a former friend of Governor Belcher. He refused to approve the choice, and the House maintained that in so doing he transcended his authority. Angry messages passed between the parties. For three years the Assembly was adjourned from month to month, transacting little but formal business. The province's securities declined alarmingly in value. The governor got only part of his salary. The public accounts were not adjusted. Offices, depending on appointments by the Legislature, remained vacant. The soldiers of the late war suffered for want of their pay.

The supposed contumacy of the province disturbed its friends in England. Tomlinson, though he thought that the governor had not been altogether conciliatory and discreet, wrote that the Ministry would certainly sustain him in the assertion of his prerogatives. The agent for Massachusetts pressed for reimbursement of the cost of keeping up Fort Dummer, and proposed to receive it in the form of an accession of territory from New Hampshire. That province was blamed for not availing itself of its share of the war subsidy (thirty thousand pounds sterling), as Massachusetts had done, for a resumption of specie payments. But the Assembly was not discouraged nor deterred. Some of them sent to London a complaint against the governor, thinking, should it succeed, to replace him by Sir William Pep-

perell. To complain to the King of a magistrate for obeying the King's orders was too unpromising a scheme to be pursued, and the remonstrance never went further than the hands to which it was intrusted for delivery. The completion of the three years' official term of the Legislature had brought exhaustion and soberer thought, and a new Assembly met, desirous of putting affairs upon a better footing. The governor made fair professions, and followed them by a skilful policy in the distribution of his official patronage. The House increased his salary, and ceased to vex him by their choice of a Speaker. The public accounts were adjusted. The contribution from England was judiciously invested, agreeably to a general consent; and the opposition to the governor, having no definite abuse to rally upon, was weakened, and at last disappeared. The border towns were re peopled by a return of their inhabitants dispersed by the war. The province was extended by grants and settlements along the Connecticut River, on both sides; and, in the little time till the next war began, there was a novel enjoyment in New Hampshire of quiet and prosperity.

Of all the colonies of New England, Connecticut had experienced far the least the evils of an inconvertible paper currency. So sparingly had her bills of credit been issued, and so judicious were the arrangements for their redemption, that they were little, or not at all, depreciated down

to the time of the expedition against Louisburg, though, six years before, the exertions
1739. made by the colony to meet the requisitions from England in the war against Spain required a new issue to the amount of forty-five thousand pounds. Active military preparations were made for that war. The harbor of New London, which was thought specially exposed, was fortified anew. A ship of war was
1743. equipped, and arms were distributed in
October. the frontier towns.

The Ministry, having proposed to raise four regiments in the American colonies, for service in the West Indies against Spain, required the colonies to provide transportation and supplies till their troops should join the royal forces,—a demand to which Connecticut promptly acceded.

The New England volunteers, a thousand
1741. in number, shared in the misery of Admiral
March. Vernon's disastrous expedition against Carthagená on the Spanish Main. Nine hundred of
April. them never returned.

When the expedition against Louisburg
1745. had been determined upon in Massachusetts, and application had been made to the other colonies for aid, Governor Law, of Connecticut, convoked a special meeting of the Legislature, which immediately voted to enlist
Feb. 26. and arm five hundred men, besides a hundred seamen, and take upon itself the charge of their transportation, supplies, and pay. They were

formed into a regiment, and placed under the command of Lieutenant-Governor Roger Wolcott, to whom Governor Shirley, again overlooking the claims of Wentworth, of New Hampshire, gave the place of second in command of the expedition. Three weeks after Pepperell's arrival at Canseau, Wolcott joined him ^{April 25.} there with the Connecticut contingent, bringing the army, with the New Hampshire men who had come four days earlier, up to the number of four thousand men. During the siege the colony sent a reinforcement two hundred strong, and after the troops first levied had been released at the surrender of the place, three hundred and fifty men were contributed by Connecticut to the garrison, charged with holding it till permanent arrangements should be made in England. The expense, as it was represented to the King, ^{Aug. 16.} had "run the colony extremely into debt, and reduced it to a very low ebb." Yet Connecticut raised a thousand men, ten times ^{1746.} as many as Virginia, for what proved the ^{May 8.} abortive enterprise against Quebec, in the ^{June 19.} following year. When, some months after, Governor Shirley, with Governor Clinton, of New York, projected the winter campaign against Crown Point, the General Assembly of ^{1747.} Connecticut refused its aid, on the ground ^{Jan. 28.} that various existing circumstances were so unfavorable as to make it prudent to husband for the present the resources of the colony.

At this time took place a domestic transaction as little creditable as any in the history of Connecticut. When, more than thirty years before, the northern boundary of that colony was adjusted,

Massachusetts had surrendered to it an
1713. equivalent in land for the towns of Woodstock, Suffield, Enfield, and Somers, which it was agreed should still remain within her jurisdiction, though a more accurate running of the line of latitude designated in the charter showed them to lie within the patent limits of Connecticut. The greater weight of taxation in Massachusetts, or some better cause, prompted the inhabitants of those towns to desire to be annexed to Connecticut, to which colony, they said, they had a right to belong, having been detached from it with no consent of their own, and without any royal confirmation of the proceeding. The Assembly lent a favorable ear to the representation. They resolved to make the most of the fact that the

1747. agreement had received no royal sanction,
May. and appointed a commissioner to negotiate with Massachusetts for a retrocession. Massachusetts, naturally disinclined to lose the fruits of a bargain into which, at best, she had in a manner been coerced, refused her consent to the arrangement. Connecticut directed her agent in London to present the matter to the King. The traditional practice of the King's advisers, when any question of boundaries arose between the smaller jurisdictions and the powerful colony of Massa-

chusetts, to settle it against the latter, was not departed from in the present instance. Connecticut got the disputed towns, and Connecticut, or Yale College, her assign, kept the property which Massachusetts had paid to quiet the claim that had been made for them.

The College, under the presidency of Mr. Williams, continued to rise in the public regard, of which it received substantial proof in the multiplication of endowments by the colonial government and by private benefactors. Bishop Berkeley, who became interested in it during his residence in Rhode Island, gave it money for the promotion of classical studies, and nearly a thousand volumes for its library. After thirteen years' good service, Rector Williams was compelled by feeble health to resign his place. He afterwards attained other kinds of consequence, in the characters of Speaker of the House of Representatives, Judge of the Superior Court, and colonel of one of the regiments raised for an invasion of Canada. In his academical office, he was succeeded by Mr. Clapp, minister of Windham, under whose administration the College, continuing to prosper, received from the Legislature a charter, ^{1745.} which created a perpetual corporation, to ^{May 9.} consist of the President and ten other Trustees, with power to fill their own vacancies with Protestant successors, and to hold and manage funds, to appoint governors and instructors, to lay out courses of study, to confer degrees, and in general,

without responsibility to any Board of Visitors, to do all acts necessary for carrying on an institution of learning in the higher departments.

A body of laws was adopted for the internal government of the institution, the laws of Harvard College having originally been the rule; and alphabetical and systematic catalogues of the small library were made. With funds to

1752. the amount of nearly twelve hundred

pounds sterling, raised by a lottery and granted by the Legislature, a second College building was erected, a hundred feet long and three stories high. The plan of appointing a Professor of Divinity, much promoted by the President, arose from, and in its turn stimulated, discussions respecting the claims of private conscience in religion, and the extent to which doctrinal instruction ought to enter into a scheme of academical discipline. The Rector, whose notions accorded

1754. with the ancient rigor, defended his plan in a published treatise entitled "The Religious Constitution of Colleges."

Against an opposition, which this argument did not a little to provoke, the Rector carried his point with the Trustees. Mr. Naphtali Daggett, a minister of

1756. Long Island, was made Professor of Divinity, and some affluent persons, who sym-

pathized with the movement, made contributions towards his support. A church was formed for separate worship and administration of the ordinances. The ecclesiastical policy of the Rector

already divided the opinions of friends of the College, and was offensive to large numbers of the inhabitants of the colony. At a later period these dissensions took practical shape in an attempt, defeated by the very able opposition of President Clapp, to withdraw the institution from the hands of the close corporation constituted by the charter, and bring it under the control of the Legislature, to be exercised through a Board of Visitors. At the time of the death of King George the Second, Yale College had sent out nine hundred and sixteen graduates, and had a hundred and forty-three undergraduates, while the more ancient Harvard College had but a hundred and seventy-one. The smallness of this disparity may have been partly caused by the easier terms of admission at the younger institution, and partly by its greater convenience of access from the southern and middle colonies.

The administration of Governor Law was chiefly marked by its opposition to the religious revival promoted by Whitefield and his friends. Law, dying in office, was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor Roger Wolcott, of Windsor, with Thomas Fitch in the second office. After three years' satisfactory service, Wolcott fell under the displeasure of the voters, on account of a supposed want of vigilance in protecting a Spanish vessel, which had put into New London in distress, and had there

been robbed of part of her cargo. The Spanish ambassador in London complained of the transaction. It was supposed that the colony might have to make good the loss; and from that apprehension, as well as from resentment of what was

1754. represented as official negligence, Wolcott

at the next election was superseded in the chief magistracy by Thomas Fitch, whose place as lieutenant-governor was taken by William Pitkin. Fitch was governor twelve years, at the end of which time he was superseded in consequence of his unpatriotic course in relation to the questions which had arisen with the mother country. In Wolcott's administration, the currency had so recovered a healthy condition that the Legislature felt safe in directing the Treas-

1753. urer "to issue or pay out no more of the

May 10. bills of credit of the colony on any occasion." But not two years had passed when

1755. military exigencies required a temporary

Jan. 8. and cautious recurrence to the same expedient.

June 14. It was presently after the first election of Fitch that the attempt was made in the

convention at Albany to frame that federal constitution for the colonies which has been described above. Wolcott was one of the three commissioners for Connecticut, and, with his associates, opposed the plan, as threatening to those liberties which in their mutually independent condition the colonies had hitherto enjoyed. The General

Assembly adopted their view, and instructed its agents in England to employ ^{Oct. 10.} counsel to oppose the plan before the Committee of Parliament. The Assembly thought that "the limits of the proposed plan of union were of too large extent to be in any good manner administered, considered, conducted, and defended by one President-General and Council"; and that the scheme tended "to subvert the liberties and privileges, and to discourage and lessen the industry, of his Majesty's good subjects inhabiting these colonies." If any confederacy were to be established, Connecticut desired that there should be not one only, but two, so as to leave the northern colonies unconnected except with each other. There is no doubt that her opposition to the whole scheme was entirely sincere.

In the campaign about Lake George, ^{1755.} the troops from Connecticut, three thousand or more in number, were active and serviceable. To Phineas Lyman, who commanded them, and not to William Johnson, belonged the glory of Dieskau's defeat. New York, not ^{1756.} being able to raise its complement of men, ^{May 8.} was permitted by the Assembly to enlist five companies in Connecticut. Four hundred of the French Neutrals, transported from Nova ^{Jan. 21.} Scotia, were brought to that colony, and were billeted upon the towns, to be maintained "as though they were inhabitants," the number in a party varying from nineteen apportioned to

New Haven to three assigned to Haddam. It was ordered that families should not be separated, and that the sick and aged should not be liable to removal, but should be maintained by the colony, wherever they might be. In the same year

Feb. 12.

Connecticut placed twenty-five hundred men under the command of the Earl of Loudoun, twice as many as her due proportion of the levy; and the disappointment of her people at the inefficiency and failures of that nobleman and of his successor was proportionably great. The conviction was general that, under continental officers, the expeditions which had so wofully miscarried could not have failed of complete success. The

1757.

wretched misconduct of General Webb in the next year increased the resentment and apprehensions. When William Pitt came into power, there was a revival of hope. To his assurance that the King had "nothing more at heart than to repair the losses and disappointments of the last inactive and unhappy campaign," followed by a call for twenty thousand men from New England, New York, and New Jersey, to be used in the reduction of Canada,

1758.

Connecticut promptly replied by offering, March 8. as her own share, what was at once a quarter part of that force and "a quarter part of the militia of the whole government." She was again to be disappointed and disgusted by the mismanagement and discomfiture of General Abercrombie before Ticonderoga. When an-

other requisition came for a large force of ^{1759.} troops, it was received with uneasiness, but ^{March 8.} without dismay. In three successive years Connecticut had placed in the field three thousand, twenty-five hundred, and sixty-four hundred men, a contribution nearly three times as great, in proportion to her population, as that of some other colonies; and to meet in part the expense of such a levy, her taxation had been enormous. Yet, under such exhaustion, the Assembly resolved to raise four regiments more of a thousand men each, of one of which Israel Putnam was lieutenant-colonel. General Amherst thought this force was not large enough, and on his urgent representation the Assembly tried the patriotism of ^{May 10.} its constituents by adding another thousand men, offering to each man further enlisted a bounty of seven pounds. When Quebec had been taken, but the conquest of Canada remained yet incomplete, Connecticut once more raised five thousand men for the service ^{1760.} of the year. ^{March 13.} The junction of the three English armies on the same day before Montreal, and the surrender of that city, put an end to the desperate struggle of more than three quarters of a century, and opened that new chapter in New England history to which the reader's attention is presently to be directed.

During the last twenty years before the death of King George the Second, the force of circumstances partially redeemed Rhode Island from her

old isolation to a place within the political sphere of New England. The nautical habits of her people determined that the service rendered by her in the wars with the French should be chiefly

1745. at sea. The colony raised three hundred
March 1. men for the expedition against Louisburg,

May 4. but the operation was tardy, and they did
not arrive till the place was taken. An

armed sloop belonging to the colony, with a crew of a hundred and thirty men, was joined with a Connecticut vessel in convoying the Connecticut troops, and rendered good service throughout the campaign; seamen were enlisted and im-

June 18. pressed to man the French prize, the *Vigilant*; and two private armed ships of Newport were chartered for the war by the government of Massachusetts. Other privateers captured more than twenty French vessels; and, after the fall of Louisburg, Rhode Island contributed some men to the garrison, which held it till the arrival of regular troops from Europe. In the distribution of the English subsidy to the New England colonies for this service, Rhode Island received six thousand three hundred and twenty-two pounds sterling. In the year before the conclusion of

this war the population of the colony
1748. was thirty-four thousand one hundred and twenty-eight, of whom four thousand three hundred and seventy-eight were negroes and Indians. At the beginning of the next war, at which late period Governor Shirley imagined

himself justified in writing of Rhode Isl- 1754.
 and to Secretary Robinson, "The reins Dec. 24.
 of their government prove now so loose that a
 spirit of mobbism prevails in every part of it,"
 the total population of the colony had increased
 to nearly forty thousand. There were eight
 thousand two hundred and sixty-two men 1756.
 of military age; and fifteen hundred men were
 soon serving at sea in private armed vessels. In
 the campaign at Lake George, Rhode Isl- 1755.
 and had seven hundred and fifty men. In
 the alarm occasioned by the defeat of Colonel Mon-
 ro, at Fort William Henry, one sixth part of the
 fighting men of the colony were placed under
 marching orders, but the fright passed away, and
 they did not move. When Pitt called for a gen-
 eral colonial muster, Rhode Island proposed 1758.
 to furnish a thousand men, and a part of July 8.
 them were with Abercrombie at the dis-
 astrous attack on Ticonderoga. Of the August.
 three thousand provincial troops led by
 Colonel Bradstreet against Fort Frontenac, more
 than three hundred were from Rhode Island. In
 the following year the Assembly sent to Sir Jeffrey
 Amherst at Albany a reinforcement of a 1759.
 thousand soldiers for that movement of his June.
 towards Quebec, which was completed in
 the following year by the conquest of 1760.
 Canada.

Such operations required money, or a substitute
 for it. When, in similar circumstances, intelli-

gent and sober Massachusetts was so imprudent, it does not surprise the reader to learn that Rhode Island was reckless. When the reimbursement of the expedition against Louisburg came from England, Governor Shirley urged the little colony, but in vain, to imitate the example of Massachusetts in applying it to the resumption of a solid currency. Rhode Island refused to be wise, though the consequence was that much of her considerable trade left her for Massachusetts, where now it could be safely conducted. At the
1749. time of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, exchange on England was bought and sold in Rhode Island at the rate of more than ten for one. In the following year, the paper
1750. promises to pay were in circulation to the nominal amount of a hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds.

The patent obtained from the Council for New England by the old colony of Plymouth gave to it lands extending westward to Narragansett Bay; but that patent could not convey jurisdiction, and the colony never was able to supplement it by the guaranty of a royal charter. As long as Plymouth remained a separate government, the settlements which afterwards became the towns of Tiverton, Little Compton, Bristol, Warren, and Barrington were considered as being within her limits, and were accordingly governed by her laws and represented in her administration. When Lord Clarendon's commissioners were in

New England, Rhode Island presented to them a claim to the jurisdiction of that ^{1665.} country, founded upon the charter obtained two years before from the King, which conveyed lands "extending towards the east, or eastwardly, three English miles to the east and northeast of the most eastern and northeastern parts of the aforesaid Narragansett Bay, as the said bay lieth or extendeth itself from the ocean on the south, or southwardly, unto the mouth of the river which runneth towards the town of Providence, and from thence along the eastwardly side or bank of the said river up to the falls called Pawtucket Falls, being the most westwardly line of Plymouth colony, and so, from the said falls in a straight line due north until it meet with the aforesaid line of the Massachusetts colony." The commissioners reported to the Secretary of State, that, recognizing the claim of Plymouth as being valid, they had established Narragansett Bay as the boundary between the two colonies, "till his Majesty's pleasure should be known."

No further pleasure of the King touching the question was made known, and the arrangement continued undisturbed for two generations, within which time the rights of Plymouth, whatever they were, had been transferred to Massachusetts by the charter of William and Mary. Rhode Island revived the question, and resolved ^{1733.} to present it to the King. The Board of ^{December.} Trade advised the Committee of the Privy ^{1738.} ^{May.}

Council to settle it by the arbitration of commissioners to be appointed by the King from the neighboring provinces. Accordingly five
1740. Sept. commissioners were named from each of the provinces of New York, New Jersey, and
1741. April. Nova Scotia. After some delays five of the number met in Providence, and heard arguments on both sides, Shirley, not yet governor, being of counsel for Massachusetts. The
June 30. Commissioners' decree gave to Rhode Island and the territory which has been described, rejecting her claim to about twice as much more on the north and east. Both parties were discontented, and appealed to the King; but
1746. May 28. after a full hearing of arguments an Order in Council confirmed the Commissioners' award. The towns annexed were distributed among three
1747. February. of the counties of Rhode Island, and received magistrates according to the system of that colony.

CHAPTER XIV.

ADMINISTRATION OF BERNARD.

THE arbitrary principles in which the dull and obstinate young King had been carefully trained by his German mother tended to steady the policy of the discordant ministries which in rapid succession he employed in the first years of his reign.

Just a hundred years had passed between the restoration of the Stuart dynasty to the throne of England and the accession of the third monarch of the line of Hanover. The former event inflicted on New England some of the evils which had been apprehended ever since the period of the colonization, and was working towards a consummation of the ruin, when the Revolution under the Prince of Orange brought relief to Englishmen on both sides of the water alike. At first, the despotic governor of King James the Second had seemed to possess a power secure against resistance. The colonies of New England were not even united among themselves. United, they could have offered but feeble opposition to the military and naval strength of England, organized as it had been by the great Protector and his associates, and now transferred to hostile hands. The friends of the colonists in England — the patriot party

— had been defeated, and were for the time disabled and discouraged. The conditions of the accomplishment of the early dream of ultimate independence had ceased to exist. It does not belong to the temper of Englishmen to submit to permanent servitude. But whatever hope had once been entertained of relief by separation from the misgoverned kingdom had been dispelled in the course of events that could not be recalled.

The forms of government which the elected King allowed to stand in Connecticut and Rhode Island were satisfactory to the people of those colonies. Those which he gave to Massachusetts and New Hampshire, if far from being all that could be reasonably wished, were generally acknowledged to be as good as, in the circumstances, could any way be had, and such as a free people could contentedly live under. Even regarded from the colonists' point of view, it could not be said that they embodied and perpetuated any considerable practical grievance. They respected religious liberty, and they ostensibly provided for the cisatlantic Englishman the traditional English securities for life, person, reputation, and property. Some of their provisions admitted different interpretations and applications, and out of these differences questions arose from time to time between the colonies and those who were administering the affairs of the parent country, as has been seen

in the course of this narrative. But these questions were susceptible of being dealt with by discussion and management, as questions of internal administration were dealt with in England by opposing parties. The English dissenters, for instance, aggrieved by the ecclesiastical policy of Queen Anne's reign, did not expect to right themselves by revolt, but by argument and agitation, and a judicious use of as many votes as they could command in the House of Commons. So the people of Massachusetts, if a royal governor was too officious about his prerogative, checked him by a diminution of his pay; if they thought him too extravagant in his projects, they cut down his supplies; if a law which they thought useful was disapproved in England, they tried it again with some change of phraseology, or they coaxed or annoyed the Ministry into allowing it by making, or promising, or threatening some other provision which fell within their unquestioned competency. In their occasional disagreements with the governors and the Ministry, they sometimes pleaded warmly in their public documents, as they cherished fondly in their hearts, their rights by charter, and their older and more venerable rights as Englishmen.

It was entirely supposable that an outrageous assault upon those rights should provoke them to disown, resist, and, if in their power, depose the authority which attempted so to oppress

them. But they were not in the habit of anticipating that any such occasion would arise. They expected to be able from generation to generation to maintain and right themselves by peaceable and legal methods. Charters are composed of words, and words are susceptible of different constructions, and opposing parties will construe an instrument according to their respective judgments, interests, prejudices, and passions. But when there turn out to be irreconcilable differences of construction, a party can often enforce its own by sagacious and resolute perseverance in some use of some undisputed power possessed by it. A fanciful mind might indeed conceive all sorts of dangers. As England had once claimed to dictate to the ancestors of the colonists their religious faith (a wrong which they had escaped by expatriation), so it was possible that she might claim to take their property to herself by taxation, or military imposition, or other form of spoliation. But no such intolerable claim had yet been made. Nothing had been done by the post-revolutionary sovereigns to justify disloyalty on the part of their colonial subjects. And so, from the time of the establishment of a Protestant succession to the British throne, a political separation from Great Britain was foreign to the meditations of the people of New England. Without doubt, the thought may occasionally have crossed their minds that independence might come in the course of time, but

there was no desire to precipitate, and no habit of contemplating it. As long as they could protect themselves without it, the existing state of things sufficed.

Nor was there anything in existing circumstances to encourage an aspiration for independence, had it formed itself in enthusiastic minds. Much as New England had grown between the expulsion of King James the Second and the end of the last French war, she was relatively less powerful, when compared with England, at the end of that period (when her population may have amounted to five or six hundred thousand persons), than at the beginning. Not only in the parent country would she have no friends in any aim of hers at independence; on the contrary, the English dissenting body, so closely allied with her in the seventeenth century, was to a great extent the mercantile body, and the English merchants through all the present century had for their own advantage been the great movers of the oppression of New England, through their demands for a rigid enforcement of the colonial system. Nor, had the people of New England conceived such an enterprise, could they look to any allies on this continent. They had no considerable political relations with the other continental Anglo-American colonies, except the too-often unfriendly relations with New York. They had not as much intercourse or acquaintance with Virginia or Georgia as

with Jamaica and Barbadoes. Nor was there so much as preparation for a good mutual understanding and common endeavors. The origin, religion, institutions, habits, of the people of New England — to no little extent their principles, tastes, and pursuits — were different from those of the other English plantations in America.

For New England, in such circumstances, to entertain a plan of throwing off by force her allegiance to Great Britain, would have been preposterous folly. Had the facts been different, it would not have been surprising had she conceived the scheme, so often was it brought to her notice by unfriendly imputations. As often as a New England legislature deliberated on the most convenient way of complying with a royal requisition, — especially when it hesitated to meet the wishes of a royal governor, — the governor's despatches to the Board of Trade bore vehement warnings of its disloyalty and ambition to be independent. Representations to this effect make a perpetually recurring topic in the letters of the King's officers in New England, from the time when Fletcher, King William's governor of New York, baffled in his pretension to command the militia of Connecticut, informed the Board of Trade that "they set up for a free State," to the time of Francis Bernard, ruling Massachusetts for the last King from whom she received a ruler. And all this time the colonists, meditating nothing of the kind, were only refusing to sur-

render the rights which belonged to them as communities of Englishmen and as chartered corporations.

In the course of the preparations for the last French war, some reasons for mutual jealousy between the British government and ^{1764.} its colonies had forced themselves prominently into view. The plan for a sort of colonial union for the common defence, which, proposed by Franklin, had received the general approbation of the meeting of delegates at Albany, had found less favor with the several legislatures on account of being thought to give too much power to the Ministers of the crown, while by the Ministers it was condemned and rejected for the opposite reason. To them such a union as was proposed appeared a step towards the independence which they were always imagining to be in the contemplation of the colonies. The union, had it been established, would have had to a great extent the management of the approaching war, and would have made the provinces which constituted it responsible for the heavy expenses about to be incurred. But, rather than encounter the risks which they fancied the arrangement to involve, the King's servants preferred to send across the water large forces of regular troops at the cost of the imperial treasury. If in England there was doubt and misgiving, in America there was elation, and a confidence — vague and aimless, indeed — arising from a sense of rapidly

increasing power. The English colonies on the mainland of America numbered an aggregate
1760. white population exceeding a million and a half. They had obtained some practice in military operations on a large scale ; they had done some of the best fighting of the war ; and the liberality of their several contributions to common objects had emboldened all by giving to each a first lesson of reliance on the rest.

The capture of Quebec, though it did not end the war, portended the conquest of Canada, and brought into immediate consideration the consequences which the downfall of the French-American empire would entail upon the relations between Great Britain and her North American colonies. In the year of the fall of Quebec, the

1759. West Indian island of Guadaloupe, fruitful in sugar, was taken possession of by an English fleet. There was a premature discussion in England of the conditions of the peace which both sides were desiring, and William Pulteney, Earl of Bath, nearly eighty years old, once more claimed notice in connection with public affairs by publishing a "Letter to Two Great Men," — the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt, — urging reasons for giving up Guadaloupe rather than Canada, should it be thought necessary to relinquish either to the French. He was answered in a pamphlet entitled "Remarks on the Letter to Two Great Men," which has been supposed, on no satisfactory grounds, to be a production

of Edmund Burke. One of the arguments of this writer in favor of parting with Canada was, that "the possession of it may in its consequences be dangerous," because the English colonies, no longer endangered and confined as heretofore by the close neighborhood of French enemies, "will extend themselves almost without bounds into the inland parts, and increase infinitely from all causes, becoming a numerous, hardy, independent people, possessed of a strong country, communicating little or not at all with England, living wholly on their own labor, and in process of time knowing little and inquiring little about the mother country." To this paper

Franklin, then in England as agent for ^{1760.} Pennsylvania, published a reply, under the title of "The Interest of Great Britain considered with Regard to her Colonies, and the Acquisitions of Canada and Guadaloupe." Franklin was not used to manifest emotion, but the atrocity of the reasoning which had been employed extorted from him some animated sentences. "We have seen in what manner the French and their Indians check the growth of our colonies. It is a modest word, this *check*, for the massacring of men, women, and children. The writer would, if he could, hide from himself, as well as from the public, the horror arising from such a proposal, by couching it in general terms. It is no wonder he thought it a 'subject not fit for discussion' in his letter, though he recommends it as 'a point that should

be the constant object of the Ministers' attention.'"

1758. Francis Bernard, bred a solicitor in London, came to America, as was common with the governors, in the hope of bettering his fortune. He conducted the administration of New Jersey in a manner so satisfactory to his employers, that at the end of two years he was transferred to the more important post of
1760. Aug. 2. governor of Massachusetts. He took possession of that place ungracefully. In the first
Dec. 17. of his speeches which was not merely formal, while expatiating on the successes against the French, he took occasion to congratulate the General Court on the happiness enjoyed by their constituents in their "subjection to Great Britain, without which they could not now have been a free people." The phraseology was not pleasing. The Council, in the reply which on their part was customary, owned that "to their relation to Great Britain they owed their present freedom." The House said that, on the other hand, "the whole world must be sensible of the blessings derived to Great Britain from the loyalty of the colonies in general, and from the efforts of this colony in particular, which for more than a century past has been wading in blood, and laden with the expenses of repelling the common enemy, without which efforts Great Britain at this day might have had no colonies to defend"; and they explained "the connection between the

mother country and these provinces" as being "founded on the principles of filial obedience, protection, and justice."

Bernard's first impressions of Massachusetts were highly favorable. "This people," he wrote to the Lords of Trade, "are better disposed to observe their contract with the crown than any other on the continent that I know." Nor did he soon see cause to qualify his commendation. "The distinguished loyalty and public spirit of this people have received no abatement," was his assurance to Pitt, when that minister had recommended the raising of two thirds as many troops as in the last campaign. The Assembly, he informed Lord Egremont, "very readily complied with everything I could ask of them. . . . Their resolutions were the result of a free deliberation, uninfluenced by any motives but a sense of duty to his Majesty." "There is the most perfect harmony in the government of this province. . . . This disposition does not arise from management." The Assembly had declined to send a force to serve under General Gage on the lakes. But, in the governor's judgment, "in all other things they acted with the greatest generosity and public spirit." To an instruction to see to the strict execution of the Navigation Laws, he replied that those laws were "nowhere better supported than in this province," though there

Aug. 18.

1761.
April 6.

1760.
Dec. 17.

1761.
April 16.

June 7.

Feb. 6.

Oct. 25.

had been an immemorial indulgence in allowing "Lisbon lemons and wine in small quantities to pass as ship's stores."

But before long he seems to have found occasion for a change of mind upon this subject; for, in a letter written three years afterwards to Lord

1764.

Halifax, Secretary of State, he informed

Dec. 7.

that nobleman that he had, from his "first coming to the government, particular occasion for exerting himself in defence of the Admiralty and custom-house officers. . . . I entirely defeated," he said, "the machinations of a formidable confederacy intended to annul and avoid the Laws of Trade. The disappointment was so great that my conduct upon the occasion has to this day been neither forgotten nor forgiven by the unfair traders." He had already been meditating upon radical measures for the correction of colonial disorder. "I am apprehensive,"

Nov. 9.

he wrote to the same minister, "that very soon, if it is not at present, a new arrangement of New England may be taken into consideration. . . . The division of New England into governments of suitable size and with proper boundaries is by no means a difficult task, if it was unembarrassed with the politics, prejudices, and humors of the people. . . . I will suppose that the two republics of Connecticut and Rhode Island are to be dissolved." His scheme was to compose one colony of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and as much of Con-

necticut as lies east of Connecticut River; another, of Maine and the western part of Acadia; and a third, of all the British territory further east. Whatever difficulties should prove to be in the way of such an arrangement would, he said, "arise from the bad policy of establishing republican forms of government in the British dominions. As for the religious divisions, they are become so entirely subservient to politics, that, if the state of the governments is reformed, and a perfect toleration secured, religion will never give any trouble." Each American province should, he thought, have a legislative council appointed by the King, the members to hold their office for life. "Massachusetts, united as aforesaid, will afford a fine opportunity for trying the experiment." This scheme, he informed Richard Jackson, had been suggested by ^{1763.} him to Lord Barrington "above a year ^{Aug. 2.} and a half ago."

The methods of administration of the Laws of Trade presented questions at this time of the highest importance in relation to the later progress of events.

The death of Stephen Sewall, taking ^{1760.} place in the month after the arrival of ^{Sept. 11.} Governor Bernard, vacated the office of Chief Justice of Massachusetts. It was said that Governor Shirley had promised the first vacancy which should occur on the bench of the Supreme Court to James Otis, of Barnstable, who, begin-

ning life in a mechanical employment, had afterwards studied law, and obtained considerable practice in that profession. At Sewall's death, Otis, who was now Speaker of the House, desired to take the place of one of the existing judges, who should be promoted to be Chief Justice. But Bernard had other views,
Dec. 30. and appointed Thomas Hutchinson to that high office.

The new Chief Justice, descended through a line of distinguished men from Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, the Antinomian heresiarch, had, on
1727. leaving college, engaged in commercial business. Not meeting with success in this employment, he withdrew from it with what remained of his considerable patrimony, and devoted himself thenceforward to public affairs and the studies proper for a statesman. In the crisis of the
1738. question about the currency, he was sent to England as agent for the town of Boston, and, increasing his already brilliant reputation by his management of that business, was chosen on his return to be one of the representatives of the town in the General Court. His eloquence, activity, courteous manners, superior abilities, and extensive knowledge easily gave him the lead
1747. in the House, of which he was made Speaker after a short service. He filled that place when the remuneration for the campaign against Louisburg came over, and for a time was brought into disfavor, but at length

greatly strengthened his hold on public confidence, by the course which he took in causing the money to be used in a reform of the currency. Advanced to the Council, he maintained there, against a majority, the popular side against a burdensome Excise Bill, which Shirley, contrary to his personal judgment and preference, found himself compelled by prudence to disapprove. He was made lieutenant-governor after Phipps's death, and not only continued to hold that office after he was appointed Chief Justice, but subsequently the office of Judge of Probate for Suffolk County was further added to his honors. He was undoubtedly the most conspicuous and powerful citizen of New England. Governor Pownall, during his short administration, placed less confidence in him than had been reposed by Governor Shirley; but there was no avowed estrangement between them, and the associations of dignity with which Hutchinson was invested as head of the administration in the few weeks which intervened between Pownall's recall and Bernard's succession, showed his shining qualities to advantage, and contributed to strengthen his hold on the public respect.

The resentment raised in James Otis and his yet more distinguished son by Hutchinson's elevation to be Chief Justice, was supposed by the latter to have prompted the part taken by them in the controversies which after a while ensued;

1750.

1754.

1752.

1758.

June 7.

1761.

Nov. 5.

and there is no reason for denying that their sense of personal injury may have given a degree of acrimony to the opposition on which they entered; for without doubt both were men of vehement passions. But the supposed effect is altogether out of proportion to the alleged cause. Acknowledging the merit or fearing the hostility of Speaker Otis, the governor gave to him the nomination of all the principal offices in his

1764. county, and he took to himself those of
Feb. 1. Judge of Probate, and of Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. Nor was it any merely personal or family disgust, that in other quarters raised the storm which James Otis the younger was soon to be seen directing as champion and interpreter of the wisest and calmest thinkers of New England. Nor would it appear that there was any violent private animosity to influence his public action, when, on the occasion of a valuable grant of land by the General Court

1762. to the governor, Otis used his influence to
Feb. 27. promote the measure, after the alleged cause of offence had been given, and before the governor had made the alleged overtures for a conciliation.

The first act of opposition to Governor Bernard's administration on the part of James Otis (which name will hereafter be used to designate the younger of the two, father and son, who bore it) was chiefly of importance as indicating and
// stimulating a popular feeling of discontent. A

provision in the Act of Parliament called the Sugar Act, imposing a duty of sixpence on every gallon of foreign molasses imported into a colony, gave to the informer against a smuggling operation one third of the property forfeited, to the governor one third, and one third to the King for the colony's use. The General Court of Massachusetts, not liking the law, had never called for the payment of its share of the forfeits, which in the course of time had come to amount to a considerable sum. The informers meanwhile had presented their claims for payments to themselves in consideration of private intelligence, and these claims, instead of providing for them from the total sum of the forfeits, the Court had negligently allowed to be discharged from the third part belonging to the province, or, in technical language, to the King, for the province's use. When the irregularity was brought to notice, no doubt was expressed in any quarter of the equity of a readjustment, but the method of proceeding to obtain it was not so clear. Some merchants, perhaps not unwilling to annoy the custom-house officers, presented a Memorial to the General Court, praying that the provincial treasurer should bring an action ^{1760.} against the officers for the recovery of moneys ^{Dec. 17.} illegally held by them. The House con- ^{1761.} sented to the proceeding. On the part of ^{Jan. 13.} the governor and of the Council there was opposition to it, on the grounds that, though the moneys

in question really belonged to the province, yet, as the language of the law which appropriated them gave them "to the King for the use of the province," it belonged to the King's Attorney-General to sue for their recovery, and not to the provincial treasurer; and, again, that the moneys had been paid in pursuance of a decree of the Admiralty Court, which decree the province might have opposed while it was in progress by an appeal to the Supreme Court, but, having failed to do so, had lost its remedy. But, in consideration of the popular resentment which would follow a representation that the province had been defeated by a technical nicety in a claim for its money, the objection was waived both in the Council and, under its advice, by the governor, who still feared that his acquiescence would displease the King. The suit was brought, accordingly, ^{August} by Otis, in the Supreme Court, and, to the general surprise, the jury's verdict, under the direction of the bench, was against the province.

But already Otis had in hand a far more serious business. Governor Bernard had been in Massachusetts six months, when, by a transaction which did not yet reveal its transcendent import, the great question of American liberty had been so raised as never again to be settled but by American independence.

The reform of the currency which resulted from the campaign against Cape Breton concurred with other causes to produce a commercial

activity, especially in Massachusetts, which drew increased attention, in the parent country, alike to the economical and to the political relations of the communities of which she was the chief. During the last French war, it was of great importance to England to retain the good-will of her American dependencies, and Governor Shirley, though individually inclined to prerogative principles, was careful to avoid disturbing questions as far as possible. Pownall leaned the more easily to the same policy, because his personal opinions were of a more liberal cast.

When Bernard came to the government of Massachusetts, the French war was virtually finished. The trade of Massachusetts, including that commerce with the French and Spanish islands which, though forbidden by the Navigation Laws, had been profitably pursued with the connivance of the English officers of the customs, had been materially enlarging. Eight years before Governor Bernard, Charles Paxton, a capable and energetic person, with his fortune to make, came from England as Surveyor of the port of Boston. He had recourse to an exception-
Com-
mis-
sioned
1752.
Jan. 8.
able method of executing his office. He obtained, from time to time, general search-warrants from Governor Shirley, to make scrutiny for goods imported without the payment of duties. Shirley learned from Hutchinson that he had no authority to grant such a power, and thenceforward the revenue officers applied for it to the

courts, while Stephen Sewall was Chief Justice. Sewall was said to have doubts of the legality of these *Writs of Assistance*, as they were called ; but he was persuaded or overruled, and they were repeatedly issued while he was at the head of the judiciary.

When William Pitt came into power, he was informed that a contraband trade was carried on by the Anglo-American colonies with the possessions of France and Spain in the West Indies, and, notwithstanding the assurances of Bernard to the contrary, he sent stringent orders to the

1760. revenue officers in the colonies to watch
Nov. 8. that commerce, and break it up. He had no purpose beyond that of putting a stop to feeding the enemy. But it was natural for the greedy custom-house officers, whose fees would be in proportion to their activity, to represent these orders as calling on them for a renewed diligence in prosecuting every violation of the letter of the Laws of Trade, including such irregularities as in time past had seemed rather permitted and authorized than overlooked ; and it was natural for the merchants to be apprehensive of a ruinous disturbance of their business. It was impossible that the parties should not watch each other with very unfriendly eyes.

While these feelings prevailed, the death of King George the Second brought up a practical question respecting the writs of assistance, since, by the terms of such a writ, its force expired at

the end of six months from a monarch's decease. Since as yet no clamor was heard about them, it is likely that hitherto they had been used by the officers with forbearance, and only in such strong cases as failed to excite the popular sympathy. But in the state of increased sensibility of the public mind, and probably in consequence also of their less cautious use, the question of their legality came to be canvassed, and, the more it was canvassed, the deeper it was found to strike into the relations of the colonies to the parent country, and into the fundamental principles of political freedom.

It has been thought that Governor Bernard, immediately on his arrival, was struck with the imminence and importance of the question, and that, having satisfied himself of the leaning of Hutchinson's mind, he placed that very able man at the head of the judiciary for the purpose of securing the decision which the friends of prerogative so much desired. A few months after Hutchinson's appointment, and before the ^{1761.} six months of validity of the old writs ^{February.} under the new reign had expired, a Memorial of some sixty or seventy merchants petitioned for a hearing "by themselves and counsel upon the subject of writs of assistance"; and Lechmere, Surveyor-General of the Customs, followed with a petition to be "heard on his Majesty's behalf on the same subject, and that writs of assistance may be granted to him and to his officers as

usual." At the hearing, Jeremiah Gridley, a learned lawyer, then at the head of the provincial bar, appeared for the King, while the petitioners were represented by James Otis, who had been his pupil, and by Oxenbridge Thacher, a man at that time of greater weight than Otis by reason of his longer experience and superior social position, and not less distinguished by his brilliant professional prospects and devotion to the patriotic cause.

A writ of assistance authorized officers of the customs and their deputies and assistants "in the daytime to enter and go into any house, shop, cellar, warehouse or room, or other place, and in case of resistance to break open doors, chests, trunks, and other packages, to seize and from thence to bring any kind of goods or merchandise whatsoever, prohibited and uncustomed, and to put and secure the same in his Majesty's warehouse." Gridley showed that by certain statutes of the reign of Charles the Second, the English Court of Exchequer was authorized to grant such writs, and that by certain other statutes of the reign of William and Mary, the Supreme Court of Massachusetts was, within that province, vested with all powers exercised in England by the Courts of Exchequer, Admiralty, and King's Bench, and that especially the authority to enter ships and warehouses was extended to officers in the plantations. And, as to the alleged oppressive character of such a power, he argued

that the familiar practice of "the constables' distraining for rates was more inconsistent with English rights and liberties than writs of assistance; and necessity authorizes both."

Thacher replied that he could find no ancient precedent for such a writ; that the cases of England and of the colony were different, the custom-house officers in England being officers of the Court of Exchequer, which, accordingly, could call them to account for misconduct; and that the writs were subject to abuse, by reason of their being not returnable, and being in force for an indefinite time. Otis argued more largely and profoundly. He assailed the writ as being a violation of the fundamental principle of law, which respects a man's house as his castle. He pointed out the difference between general warrants to search anywhere, at the holder's caprice, and special warrants for a particular house, on sufficient grounds of suspicion set forth on oath. Granting that there was modern precedent for the writ, he urged that all precedents were "under the control of the principles of law"; and quoted Lord Chancellor Talbot to the effect that it is "better to observe the known principles of law than any one precedent, though in the House of Lords." He complained of the security acquired for abuses of the power given by the writ through the absence of any obligation to make a return upon it, and from its being subject to be obtained by any private party to be used

for personal and corrupt purposes. And he went so far as to lay down the strong doctrines that even "an Act of Parliament against the Constitution is void; an Act against natural equity is void; and if an Act of Parliament should be made in the very words of this petition, it would be void. The executive courts must pass such Acts into disuse."

Such were, in the main, the topics of Otis's argument, as they are indicated in notes taken at the time. It is easy to understand that great enlargement and animation must have been lent to them by the admirable eloquence for which he now began to be famous. The scene was witnessed by John Adams, then a barrister in the twenty-sixth year of his age, who, when past eighty, remembered and described it with enthusiasm. It is certain that the memory of the aged Ex-President was so far at fault as to transfer some sentiments expressed on later occasions of Otis's life to the speech ascribed to him on this occasion; but the venerable chronicler could not be mistaken as to the excitement produced by it in the public mind of New England, in the excitable state to which it had been brought by recent occurrences and discussions.

After the argument, the Chief Justice said that the court was not satisfied of the legality of general writs of assistance, and would suspend its judgment till it should have had time to obtain information respecting the practice in England.

The case came up again in the autumn of the same year, Thacher and Otis appearing again for the merchants, and the junior ^{1761.} Nov. 18. counsel for the crown being now Mr. Auchmuty, who was soon after made Advocate-General in the place of Otis, the latter having resigned the office when he assumed the popular side in this case. Thacher said that, for sixty years after the alleged sanction of the writ by an Act of Parliament, the court had received no application for it, which was a presumption against its legality; that the issuing of the writ must be either obligatory on the court, or else discretionary; that "the Act itself and its consequences" showed that it "could not be intended" to be obligatory; nor could it be intended to be discretionary, "for it can't be in the power of any judge at discretion to determine that I shall have my house broken open or not (as says Justice Holt, 'There can be no discretionary power whether a man shall be hanged')"; that the writ could be issued only by the Court of Exchequer, which the Supreme Court of Massachusetts was not, but, on the contrary, had "in the most solemn manner disclaimed the authority of that court"; that what might be safe for the King's Court of Exchequer to do was not safe for the courts of Massachusetts, because the officers of the customs in England were sworn by and accountable to the Barons, and "under their check, and that so much that for misbehavior they might punish with corporal

punishment." Gridley and Auchmuty pleaded that "the court could not regard consequences, but must follow law"; that there could be no argument of non-user when there had been one case of use, and this writ had been executed over and over again in Massachusetts. "Let a warrant," said Otis, "come from whence it will improperly, it is to be refused, and the higher the power granting it, the more dangerous." "It is worthy of consideration whether this writ was constitutional even in England. And I think it plainly appears it was not; much less here, since it was not there invented till after our constitution and settlement."

The writ was granted, agreeably to a unanimous opinion of the justices. It continued
1761. Nov. 18. to be freely granted and used down to the time of that later stage in the dispute when the Act of Parliament, called the "Boston Port Bill," closing the town of Boston as a port of entry, put all the questions respecting commercial restriction there on a different footing. The legality of writs of assistance was no longer matter of doubt. That they were legal, that English law formally and deliberately committed this outrage on Englishmen in the colonies,—this constituted in itself the essence of the wrong. Henceforward there was no question between the colonies and the tide-waiters, whether the latter had exceeded their legitimate authority. They had not exceeded it. They had used oppressive power conferred on them by the Parliament of

England. The Parliament, not they, was responsible. With the Parliament, thenceforward, was to be the quarrel.

At the next session of the General Court, ^{1762.}
 an Act was passed which, after a preamble ^{Feb. 22.}
 declaring the desire of the Court, "that the officers of his Majesty's customs in this province may be assisted in the due execution of their office, for the securing of his Majesty's dues and for the prevention of fraud," went on to provide for the issue of a special writ of assistance by any court or justice, on the oath of any custom-house officer to the effect that he had credible information of a breach of the Acts of Trade, accompanied with specifications of the name of the informer and the place of deposit of smuggled goods. The governor took the opinion of the judges upon the question whether this Act would not deprive the Supreme Court of the power as a Court of Exchequer, affirmed by their late decree. They unanimously replied that such would be its operation, and the governor accordingly disposed of it by his negative. He wrote to the ^{April 13.}
 Lords of Trade that "the bill was the last effort of the confederacy against the custom-house and Laws of Trade. . . . I gave it a more solemn condemnation than it deserved. This . . . reduced the popular cry to a murmur only, which soon ceased, and I believe there is now a total end to this troublesome altercation about the custom-house officers." So sanguine were the governor's erroneous calculations.

CHAPTER XV.

ADMINISTRATION OF BERNARD, CONTINUED.

RECENT occurrences had by no means relieved the uneasy position occupied by Massachusetts in relation to the parent country. The discontent felt by the British Ministry at the refractory disposition which seemed to them to possess the colonies, and especially the apprehensions, which had been gaining strength, of an ambition on their part to throw off their dependence, were of course heightened by what the late war had made manifest of their spirit and resources, and by the notoriety of their rapid advance in numbers and power. They had acquired experience in arms; they had become habituated to strenuous exertion and unsparing sacrifices for objects common to them all; and, in the campaigns which arrayed them side by side, they had made some advance to a mutual good understanding, and to an obliteration of the prejudices incident to the diversities in their origin and the occasional conflicts of their past history. It might well seem to the Ministry that the present was the time to settle whatever questions were in issue as to colonial administration, because the other party, en-

larging its power with every year, would have to be dealt with at less advantage the longer the dispute was postponed.

The same considerations aroused the vigilance and fortified the courage of the colonies. They did not want independence. Alike positively and honestly they declared that they did not want it, as often as the ambition was imputed to them. They were more than acquiescent in the existing state of things, as long as they could succeed, as for the most part they had done, in having the government administered conformably to their interests and their judgment. But the patriots of New England knew that the King's Ministry recognized a crisis in their mutual relations. They knew that the Ministers understood the reasons which recommended speedy action; and this was equivalent to knowing that opposition to the ministerial plans of usurpation must be prompt if it was to be successful. Nor were they blind to the improvement in their own prospects, should they, as appeared all but certain, be secured by the terms of the approaching peace against that succession of distressing invasions by which their French neighbors, through nearly a century, had drained their resources and retarded their growth, and should no adverse influences supervene from a different quarter.

In this state of mutual jealousy, — each side disposed to expect attempts at encroachment from the other, — a cordial co-operation between

the governor and the General Court of Massachusetts was not to be looked for. Yet both parties appear to have been careful to avoid placing themselves at disadvantage by any appearance of passionate or needless opposition. The governor

^{1761.}
^{May 29.} advised the Legislature to disregard and discountenance attempts to awaken popular jealousies. "Lay aside," he said to them, "all divisions and distinctions whatever. . . . Give no attention to declamations tending to promote a suspicion of the civil rights of the people being in danger. Such harangues might suit well in the reigns of Charles and James, but in the times of the Georges they are groundless and unjust"; to which counsel they gave a civil reply to the effect that it should have its weight, though they saw no indication of such a temper.

A question presented itself which was not of political significance, but which incidentally assumed that character by reason of its increasing the unfriendliness between Otis and Hutchinson and their respective followers. A calling in of treasury notes made necessary a legal determination as to the currency in which they should be paid. Silver was the only legal tender, but its relation of value to gold in England, enabling it to be shipped to that country with greater profit, threatened to strip the province of the only currency in which debts could be discharged. To dispose of the difficulty, the House of Representatives, under the lead of Otis, proposed to make gold a legal

tender. Hutchinson, sustained by the Council, resisted that measure, and a long Nov. 18. altercation took place between the two parties. The arrangement finally adopted was sub- 1762. stantially what the House desired, and Jan. 27. that body expressed its satisfaction with the governor by making him a present of the Feb. 27. island of Mount Desert. There seemed to be an approach to harmony, which the governor was disposed to complete. Massachusetts, though, it is true, not till after much debate, consented to raise three thousand men to reinforce the expedition projected by the Ministry against the French island of Martinique; and when an intervention on the part of Spain postponed the expected peace with France, the General Court raised thirty-two hundred men, and added a liberal bounty to encourage the enlistment of a regiment of regular troops.

But the causes of dissension were deeper than personal distrusts or animosities. The popular resentment against the judges on account of their decision of the question of writs of assistance expressed itself when the General Court reduced the usual annual grant to them, and especially when a large deduction was made from that of Hutchinson, their chief. Another token of the same feeling was the introduction into the House of a bill to exclude Judges of the Supreme Court from seats in either branch of the Legislature. The abstract reasons for that measure were good,

the Legislature being still, for some purposes, a judicial court. But all Massachusetts precedents were against it, and it was evidently prompted by hostility to one person, the lieutenant-governor. He had not yet wholly lost his former estimation, and the bill was rejected in the House by a small majority of votes.

New as Otis was to public life, his action in respect to writs of assistance had suddenly raised him to great distinction and favor. Three months after his first argument on that question, ^{1761.} he appeared for the first time, as one of ^{May 27.} the four members from Boston, in the House of Representatives. Before this Court, through the whole history of Massachusetts, it is believed that only two persons of the legal profession had ever been members of the House. Otis favored the grant of land to the governor, to whom, however, a transaction of the same political year brought him into prominent and acrimonious opposition. The slightness of the cause which provoked it, when considered apart

^{1762.} from the principle involved, illustrates well the habit of reasoning and the temper of the time. On a rumor that the French had made a descent on Newfoundland, the towns of Salem and Marblehead, interested in the fishery, presented a petition to the governor in Council, praying that an armed sloop belonging to the province might be despatched for the protection of their vessels. With the Council's approval, the gov-

ernor enlarged the sloop's crew with a small number of men, to whom he paid a bounty by warrants on the treasury. When the General Court met, after laying before them a ^{Sept. 8.} requisition of Sir Jeffrey Amherst for six hundred men, he informed them of the transaction, the cost of which had amounted to between three and four hundred pounds.

The House resented this proceeding with warmth. Otis led in the debate. He first placed himself in a position of advantage by professing himself ready to meet the requisition for troops with the utmost liberality. "This province," he said, "has upon all occasions been distinguished by its loyalty, and readiness to contribute its most strenuous efforts for his Majesty's service. I hope this spirit will ever remain as an indelible characteristic of this people. . . . Our own immediate interest, as well as the general cause of our King and country, requires that we should contribute the last penny and the last drop of blood, rather than, by any backwardness of ours, his Majesty's measures should be embarrassed. . . . I am therefore clearly for raising the men, if General Amherst should not inform us, by the return of the next mail, that he shall have no occasion for them." And, without referring to the other subject presented in the message, he moved to refer the message to a committee of five members. The committee was raised accordingly, and Otis was appointed a member of it, next after the Speaker.

The governor, in a second message, recurred to the matter of the province sloop, and ✓
Sept. 13. advised the House to consider whether it would not be well to keep up her increased armament. Then the smothered wrath broke out. The House raised a committee, with Otis for its chairman, to consider the message. The
Sept. 15. committee reported a form of remonstrance addressed to the governor, declaring that ✓ it was unnecessary to keep up the increased establishment for the vessel, and desiring him to reduce it to that appointed by the General Court. And they added the following strong language:—

“Justice to ourselves and to our constituents obliges us to remonstrate against the method of making or increasing establishments by the governor and Council.

“It is in effect taking from the House their most darling privilege, the right of originating all taxes.

“It is, in short, annihilating one branch of the Legislature. And when once the Representatives of a people give up this privilege, the government — will very soon become arbitrary.

“No necessity, therefore, can be sufficient to justify a House of Representatives in giving up such a privilege; for it would be of little consequence to the people whether they were subject to George or Louis, the King of Great Britain or the French King, if both were arbitrary, as

both would be if both could levy taxes without Parliament.

“Had this been the first instance of the kind, we might not have troubled your Excellency about it; but, lest the matter should grow into precedent, we earnestly beseech your Excellency, as you regard the peace and welfare of the province, that no measures of this nature be taken for the future, let the advice of the Council be what it may.”

The remonstrance was presented to the governor, who the same day returned it to the Speaker, with a letter in which he said: “The King’s name, dignity, and cause are so improperly treated, that I am obliged to desire you to recommend earnestly to the House, that it may not be entered upon the minutes in the terms it now stands.” Some Representatives probably thought, on reflection, that in the reference to the King they had gone too far for a loyal courtesy. Others may probably have considered that the offensive language had already served its use, which was for popular effect. The words were accordingly suppressed, and the remonstrance went up again in this amended form.

The governor replied with an argument against the justice of the imputation of having done what tended to “take from the ^{Sept. 18.} House the right of originating taxes,” to “annihilate one branch of the Legislature,” and to “make the government arbitrary.” He urged

that, in view of exigencies regarding the public safety, and liable to arise when the Legislature was not in session, it was necessary that the executive department should have some discretionary power; and that when the expense of a contemplated service was small, it would be absurd to maintain that, in order to obtain legal authority for it, there must be a convocation of the Legislature at a much greater cost. And he insisted that what had been done "was an act which the governor with the Council had a right to do; it was a legal and constitutional exercise of the powers vested in them; it was an exertion of the executive power of the government, distinct from that of the Legislature." Having sent in this paper, he immediately prorogued the Court, but not till the House had raised a committee, consisting of the Speaker (Thomas Cushing), Otis, and another member, to prepare a reply during the recess.

Otis could not wait so long as till the Court should meet again. Without loss of time he prepared and published with his name a pamphlet of fifty pages, entitled "A Vindication of the Conduct of the House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, more particularly in the last Session." He maintained that the punctiliousness of the House as to the recent action of the governor was justified by its being a repetition of earlier irregularities of the same sort, which had been too easily passed

over ; and he argued at length that it was of momentous importance that the House should exercise the prerogative, belonging to it by reason and by the charter, to keep the disposal of money in its own hands, and should resist the establishment of every precedent which might tend to bring that prerogative into question. With large illustrations from Locke's writings, he laid down a series of political maxims, of which the following made the first half : " 1. God made all men naturally equal. 2. The ideas of earthly superiority, pre-eminence, and grandeur are educational, at least acquired, not innate. 3. Kings were (and plantation governors should be) made for the good of the people, and not the people for them. 4. No government has a right to make hobby-horses, asses, and slaves of the subject, nature having made sufficient of the two former for all the lawful purposes of man, from the harmless peasant in the field to the most refined politician in the cabinet, but none of the last, which infallibly proves they are unnecessary. 5. Though most governments are *de facto* arbitrary, and consequently the curse and scandal of human nature, yet none are *de jure* arbitrary." He argued that that part of the language used by the House to which most exception had been taken, was no more than the frank and decent expression of a sentiment which every freeman must entertain. He ridiculed the sensibility which had been wounded by it. " The whole amount of this dan-

gerous proposition may at least in one view be reduced to this, namely, it is of little importance what a King's Christian name is." He urged in warm language the rightfulness and the expediency of an outspoken and bold resistance to every sort and degree of usurped power. "The province can be in no danger from a House of Representatives daring to speak plain English when they are complaining of a grievance. . . . The Parliament of Great Britain have, as the last resort, been known to appeal to Heaven and the longest sword; but God forbid that there ever should be occasion for anything of that kind again."

A religious question had its place in the agitations of the time. The "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,"
 1749. which had been established in England under Episcopal auspices, had of late been assuming a new activity, and had extended its missionary operations into the already well-provided villages of New England. "We are apprehensive," wrote Jonathan Mayhew, minister
 1762. of the West Church in Boston, to his dissenting friend, Thomas Hollis, in London, "that there is a scheme forming for sending a bishop into this part of the country, and that our governor, a true Churchman, is deeply in the plot." The following year, East Apthorp, minister of a congregation of the Church of England in the New England Cambridge, published "Considera-

tions respecting the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," in which he was understood to foreshadow plans of ecclesiastical usurpation. The treatise was answered by Mayhew in "Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel"; and a controversy took place in which the champions appeared so unequally matched that the defence of the church was presently assumed by Dr. Secker, then lately created Archbishop of Canterbury. Thomas Hollis, who had the best means of information, thought that the danger of renewed episcopal usurpation was imminent. To the sense of this danger in Massachusetts was probably owing the dismissal of Bollan, the province's agent in ^{April 20.} London, and the substitution for him of ^{April 23.} Jasper Mauduit, a less able man, but a dissenter. An abortive scheme, favored by the governor, for establishing a new college at Northampton, was understood to have a design hostile to the ecclesiastical establishments of the province. The General Court incorporated a "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge among the Indians in North America," which, in consequence of remonstrances from the clergy, was disallowed by the King. "If any one," wrote John Adams, in later years, "supposes this controversy to have no influence on the great subsequent question, he is grossly ignorant. It spread an universal alarm against the authority of Parlia-

ment. It excited a general and just apprehension that bishops and dioceses and churches and priests and tithes were to be imposed on us by Parliament. It was known that neither the King nor the Ministry nor archbishops could appoint bishops in America without an Act of Parliament, and if Parliament could tax us, they could establish the Church of England here, with all its creeds, articles, tests, ceremonies, and tithes, and prohibit all other churches as conventicles and schism-shops. How then can it ever be said the writings of Mayhew against introducing and establishing episcopacy were not important in support of the cause of civil and religious liberty, and against the claims of arbitrary power in the British Parliament?"

Of the stipulations in the treaty of peace concluded at Paris between France and England, ^{1763.} those which were of particular interest to ^{Feb. 10.} New England related to the fisheries and to the surrender of New France. As to the former, it was determined that the French should have 'a right to take fish on the Banks of Newfoundland, and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence more than three leagues from the coast, with the privilege of drying and curing on specified parts of the islands. Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and all the islands in the river and gulf of St. Lawrence became possessions of Great Britain. By the King's letters-patent, Quebec and Newfoundland, as well as Nova Scotia, received governments correspond-

ing to the governments of the royal provinces earlier constituted in North America. They were respectively to have governors appointed by the King, and legislatures consisting of two branches, namely, a Council and a House of Representatives of the people.

The General Court of Massachusetts sent an Address to the King, congratulating him on a peace so honorable to his counsels and arms, expressing their gratitude for the ^{May 30.} consideration which had been given in it to their interest, and promising their endeavors on all occasions to merit his favor and contribute to the glory and prosperity of his reign. "It has been our unhappiness," they said, "for more than a century past, to get our bread at the peril of our lives, by reason of the sword of the wilderness. But the scene is most gloriously changed. Now there is safety to those who go out and to those who come in, for there is none to make us afraid." And in a courteous message to the governor, they acknowledged his services during the war, and assured him of their desire, in the new state of things, to co-operate with him cordially in measures for the just and tranquil administration of the province.

Governor Pownall was right when he argued in Parliament, at a time a little ^{1765.} later, but from considerations present to his mind from his earliest acquaintance with the colonies, that there were questions of colonial administra-

tion which would not bear to have their settlement delayed. It was unavoidable that the Ministry should be impressed with the importance of proceeding with as little delay as possible to determine with precision the mutual relations of the parties, and silence such pretensions of the colonies as the parent country could not consent to admit. Among other details, a matter of instant practical importance connected itself with the theory of colonial dependence and subordination. The recent war had been waged at an enormous expense, a fact which had been made use of to undermine the power and popularity of Pitt, and which Grenville was in the habit of adducing against him with annoying effect. Seventy millions of pounds sterling had been added to the debt of Great Britain. Was it not equitable that the North American colonists, as subjects of Great Britain, should pay their proportion of it, especially when the argument might be plausibly maintained that part of it had been incurred in their defence?

And, if they ought to make such a contribution, should they be depended upon to make it of their own accord, by grants of their respective legislatures, or might a better uniformity and efficiency be equitably and constitutionally secured by the hitherto untried method of imposing taxes upon them by the authority of the imperial Parliament? The Ministers did not want to reduce their army; it provided occupation and a living

for numbers of their friends; to keep it up seemed to them prudent in view of possible future contingencies; and it would be convenient if an establishment of twenty thousand men could, without cost to the British treasury, be maintained in America ready for use whenever they might be wanted, and be posted meanwhile where they would be a constant reminder to provincial malecontents that the power of Britain was not safely to be defied. A further possible use, which was in contemplation, for an American revenue was in appropriations by the crown for the maintenance of civil officers, so as to make them independent of the colonial legislatures, and more at liberty to serve the crown in measures unwelcome to the colonies.

It could not be alleged that the method hitherto pursued for obtaining money from a colony for the King's service had proved ineffectual. The colonies confidently maintained that as often as his wishes had been conveyed to them through his Secretary of State, their assemblies had complied with such applications liberally, and to the very extent of their means; and that this was well understood on both sides, was evinced by the fact that, as the war drew to a close, Parliament voted to the colonies for their reimbursement a sum exceeding a million of pounds sterling. Besides losing no fewer than thirty thousand men in the field, they had spent not less than three millions of pounds, of which a sixth part had

been contributed by Massachusetts, and a proportion not very much inferior by Connecticut.

If the project of taxing the American colonies by Act of Parliament was not a novelty, it had always been approached with misgivings, and different considerations of prudence had at different times caused it to be dismissed. During the war, and especially as peace approached, and the condition of things which would follow it came into a clearer view, the plan occasioned much speculation and dispute. It was understood that at this time agents were employed by the Ministry in different parts of the provinces, to ascertain their material resources, and further to make observations on their condition and sentiments with a view to such a remodelling of their governments as would bring them into greater subordination to the crown. The governor of

June 3.

Massachusetts communicated to the General Court an instruction which had reached him from the Board of Trade, to have a census taken of the number of inhabitants. The Court delayed action upon it, some of the members professing scruples as to its falling under a similar condemnation to the sin of King David when he undertook to number Israel.

When the policy of drawing a revenue from America had been resolved upon, the methods to be used in collecting it remained to be determined. Charles Townshend, at the head of the Board of Trade, proposed important changes in

the regulations of intercolonial commerce. Hitherto the duties on goods imported from the French and Spanish islands into the continental colonies had been so high as to be prohibitory. But in the absence of entries of such goods at the custom-houses, there had been all along an active illicit traffic, if that traffic is to be called illicit which was notorious and avowed, and at which the revenue officers constantly and openly connived. For generations they had practised this indulgence in New England without apprehension of being called to account by their superiors; for the effect of it was not prejudicial, but highly advantageous, to the business of the mother country, since by the lumber, fish, and live stock which they sent to Cuba and Guadaloupe, the New England people got sugar and molasses, which furnished them with money to pay for English manufactures. It was now determined to reduce the duty to such a rate as it was thought the trade would bear, and then to collect it rigorously. And while this measure of a diminished duty was maturing, orders were issued to navy officers on the American station, instructing them to detain and li-
April.
bel all vessels found violating any provision of the Navigation Acts,—orders which placed a power susceptible of great abuse in hands by no means fit to exercise it, while there was no provision for redress except by the tardy and expensive method of an appeal to the supreme

authorities in England. This order, says the historian Minot, "is said to have caused a greater alarm in the country than the taking of Fort William Henry," the disaster which five years before seemed to lay New England open to unlimited devastations of the French and Indians. It was apprehended that in Massachusetts the annual loss to be sustained from the discontinuance of the fishery would be not less than a hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds; while the vessels employed in it, worth a hundred thousand pounds, would be rendered nearly useless, and there would be a further loss of property amounting to scarcely less than a quarter as much as the worth of the various articles of equipment and forms of industry used in the prosecution of the business. Five thousand seamen would be thrown out of employment, and the lucrative trade with Spain and Portugal in fish and other commodities would all be broken up.

To questions addressed to himself by the Lords
of Trade, the governor replied that "a list
Sept. 5. of the shipping, from ten tons upwards, belonging to the several towns in the province, was taken by order of the General Court in 1761, and the returns amounted to 57,000 tons; but this was undoubtedly imperfect. The shipping of Boston," he wrote, "has decreased of late," — a decline which he attributed partly to "illicit trade carried on in Rhode Island, Connecticut, &c." Molasses, brought from the West Indies in large

quantities, he said, was in Massachusetts distilled into rum, which was shipped to Newfoundland, exchanged in Maryland and Virginia for corn and pork, "used in the prosecution of the fisheries, and some part (perhaps too much) consumed by the inland inhabitants. I cannot help," he added, "recommending the promotion of the molasses distillery in this province. The inhabitants of the trading towns, men, women, and children, have their whole supply of clothing from Great Britain. Most of the women of other towns also have the principal thence; the men have more or less. The poor laboring people of the country towns wear their common clothes principally of coarse homespun linens and woollens." Men's shoes were mostly of domestic manufacture; "women's partly only. Most of the furniture of the houses in the trading towns is of British manufacture," as well as all the hardware in use, except that of "cast metal or hollow ware there is enough made for the inhabitants," and some to export. "The Laws of Trade are better supported in this province than in most others of America. Writs of assistance are now granted in as effectual a form as in England." The population he estimated (but too low, probably, by a fifth) at two hundred thousand, of which number two thousand two hundred and twenty were slaves, very few were free negroes and mulattoes, and of Indians "not many hundred. The people here are very much tired of negro ser-

vants." War, disease, and removals, especially of late to New Hampshire, had kept down the population. "The charter is duly carried into execution. . . . The royal rights are never openly invaded. The utmost that is done is to dispute what are royal rights. . . . It was an unfortunate error, in forming this government, to leave the Council to be elected by the representatives of the people." He would have the counsellors appointed by the King for life, and "some title, such as Baron or Baronet, annexed" to the office. "The people in general," he wrote, "are as well inclined to his Majesty's government, and as well satisfied with their subordination to Great Britain, as any colony in America." But he Sept. 15. strongly recommended that provision should be made for the support of the provincial government, such as should free it from dependence on grants of the General Court. He Sept. 22. wrote in the same month in which the Lords of the Treasury applied to the commissioners of the Stamp Duties for the draft of a bill to extend those duties to the colonies.

CHAPTER XVI.

ADMINISTRATION OF BERNARD, CONTINUED.

By their agent in England the General Court of Massachusetts were informed of what they had to expect in reference to restrictions on trade with the French and Spanish sugar islands in the West Indies. The importance of the question which arose was thought to entitle it to be managed by a person of more ability than was attributed to Mr. Mauduit; and such was still the position of lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, notwithstanding his recent decline in the popular favor, that, with scarcely any opposition in either branch of the Court, he was chosen to go ^{1764.} to England as special agent in charge of ^{January.} the business. The governor doubted whether a person invested with such high trusts in the province could properly be spared from them without the royal permission. Oxenbridge Thacher, who had been absent from the House at the time of Hutchinson's appointment, and who already, with other leading patriots, distrusted his honesty, took advantage of the delay thus interposed to revive the question, and, urging the lieutenant-governor's attachment to prerogative, and the impropriety

of employing a crown officer as a representative of the province, he succeeded in obtaining a revocation of the action of the House. The Council refused to concur in this last proceeding, but to no effect, as the House could not be prevailed upon to join in instructions to the agent.

At this time the governor made James Otis, the elder, Chief Justice of the Court of
Feb. 1. Common Pleas, and Judge of Probate for his county. Perhaps he hoped by these favors to disarm the opposition of that magistrate, and the more powerful opposition of his son. However this may have been, James Otis, junior, was kept in the van of the existing conflict.

The citizens of Boston, assembled in
May 24. town-meeting when intelligence of the
April 5. passing of the Sugar Act had just arrived, raised a committee, consisting of five persons, to prepare instructions for their Representatives in the General Court, which was about to assemble. The Representatives were Thomas Cushing (Speaker of the last House), Royal Tyler, James Otis, and Oxenbridge Thacher. The preparation of these instructions by Samuel Adams may be in some sort considered to mark his entrance on public life. He was the son of a tradesman of Boston, who had represented that town in the General Court, where he had been active in opposition to Governor Shute, and had been
1747. rejected by Governor Shirley when elected to be a Counsellor. Samuel Adams, after com-

pleting the course of education at Harvard College, had at first designed to devote ^{1740.} himself to the clerical profession, but from this plan he was diverted by a growing interest in the political agitations of the period. For a little while he studied law, and was then engaged for a few months in a merchant's counting-house, from which employment he passed to be a partner of his father, who was a brewer. He succeeded to the business at his father's death, but it ^{1748.} did not prosper, and he became one of the ^{1763.} selectmen and one of the tax-collectors of Boston, the latter being a paid office. From early manhood he had been a frequent writer in the newspapers on subjects of political interest; he had industriously cultivated the arts of popular impression, and the friendship of political movers in all conditions; and, in the large circle to which his acquaintance now extended, he exerted the great influence due to talent, experience, assiduity, and patriotic zeal. He was now forty-two years old.

The "Instructions" were conceived in a moderate tone, and related mostly to general topics. They advised legislation for vacating, till a re-election, the seats of members of the House who should become crown officers; a reconsideration of the laws of excise; frugality in the public expenses; a liberal stipend for the judges; and a careful attention to the resources of material prosperity, especially to the course of trade,

which already "labored under great discouragements," and was threatened with new burdens, the unjust and hurtful character of which ought immediately and urgently to be represented in Great Britain. But the following paragraphs were especially significant and effective as a popular appeal:—

"What still heightens our apprehensions is that these unexpected proceedings may be preparatory to new taxations upon us. For, if our trade may be taxed, why not our lands? Why not the produce of our lands, and everything we possess or make use of? This, we apprehend, annihilates our charter-right to govern and tax ourselves. It strikes at our British privileges, which, as we have never forfeited them, we hold in common with our fellow-subjects who are natives of Britain. If taxes are laid upon us in any shape without our having a legal representation where they are laid, are we not reduced from the character of free subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves?

"We therefore earnestly recommend it to you to use your utmost endeavours to obtain in the General Assembly all necessary instruction and advice to our agent at this most critical juncture; that—while he is setting forth the unshaken loyalty of this province and this town, its unrivalled exertion in supporting his Majesty's government and rights in this part of his dominions, its acknowledged dependence upon and subordination

to Great Britain, and the ready submission of its merchants to all just and necessary regulations of trade—he may be able in the most humble and pressing manner to remonstrate for us all those rights and privileges which justly belong to us either by charter or birth.

“As his Majesty’s other northern American colonies are embarked with us in this most important bottom, we further desire you to use your endeavours that their weight may be added to that of this province; that, by the united application of all who are aggrieved, all may happily obtain redress.”

Following out the purpose of the last paragraph but one of these Instructions, Otis, as chairman of a committee of the next House of Representatives, reported, two ^{June 13.} days before the end of the session, a letter of rebuke to the agent in England for the timid character of his communications with the Ministry. “You hope,” the committee wrote, quoting the agent’s language, “‘there will be found a general disposition to serve the colonies, and not to distress them.’ The sudden passing of the Sugar Act, and continuing a heavy duty on that branch of our commerce, we are far from thinking a proof that your hope had any solid foundation. No agent of this province has power to make express concessions in any case without express orders. And the silence of the province should have been imputed to any cause, even to

despair, rather than be construed into a tacit cession of their rights."

Along with this letter the Representatives voted to send to Manduit a "Brief State of the Rights of the British Colonies drawn up by one of the House." This paper, which without doubt was the work of Otis, contains what is to a considerable extent an abstract of the argument in his larger treatise soon after published. After some preliminary considerations to establish that "the Colonies having been by their charters declared natural subjects and intrusted with the power of making their own laws, not repugnant to the laws of England," the question is stated as being "not upon the general power or right of the Parliament, but whether it is not circumscribed within some equitable and reasonable bounds. The judges of England have declared that Acts of Parliament against natural equity are void, that Acts of Parliament against the fundamental principles of the British Constitution are void." "It is evidently the interest and ought to be the care of those intrusted with the administration of government to see that every part of the British Empire enjoys to the full the rights they are entitled to by the laws." And the argument is urged that restrictions on the commerce of New England with the sugar islands are not, and could not be, productive to Great Britain, but on the contrary must be detrimental to the business of that country.

Otis had composed a treatise, which was presently published in Boston, and reprinted in London, with the title "The Rights of the British Colonies asserted and proved." This work, however daring and vigorous in some respects, can scarcely be considered in others as an expression of the highest tone of opposition to ministerial pretensions that had yet been reached. As Otis's views stood at present, he conceded to Parliament a legal competency to adopt measures which at the same time he agreed with his fellow-citizens in regarding as inequitable and tyrannous. His theory carried him far in admissions of the authority of "that august body, the Parliament of Great Britain, ... the supreme legislature of the Kingdom and its dominions." He "lays it down as a first principle that all the British colonies are subject to and dependent on Great Britain, and that therefore, as over subordinate governments, the Parliament of Great Britain has an undoubted power and lawful authority to make Acts for the general good, that shall and ought to be equally binding as upon the subjects of Great Britain within the realm." Nay, more; he held that subjects in a British colony have no security against oppression by Parliament, except in the Parliament's sense of justice. "We must and ought to yield obedience to an Act of Parliament, though onerous, till repealed." "There would be an end of all government, if one or a number of subjects or subordinate provinces should take upon them so far to judge of

the justice of an Act of Parliament as to refuse obedience to it." In an extreme case of oppression, indeed, he considered that the sufferer was entitled to an extraordinary remedy, but still a remedy within the normal course of administration. "If the reasons that can be given against an Act are such as plainly demonstrate that it is against natural equity, the executive courts will adjudge such Act void. It may be questioned by some, though I make no doubt of it, whether they are not obliged by their oaths to adjudge such an Act void."

Otis vehemently disclaimed for the colonies all ambition for independence. Referring to Pownall's work, entitled "Colonial Administration," he said: "It is a high mistake in this author, to bring so heavy a charge as high treason against some of the colonists, by representing them 'as claiming in fact or in deed the same full, free, independent, unrestrained power and legislative within their several corporations, and under the King's commission and under their respective charters, as the government and legislature of Great Britain holds by its constitution and under the Great Charter. No such claim was ever thought of by any of the colonies.'" "Could the choice of independency be offered the colonies, or subjection to Great Britain upon any terms above absolute slavery, I am convinced they would accept the latter."

He was not satisfied to rest the reasonableness

of an immunity of the colonists from taxation by Parliament on the ground of their charters, though these, he insisted, had been dearly purchased. Nor was he content to set forth the liberality with which Massachusetts had always, by her unconstrained grants, taken part in the public burdens, though "the province of the Massachusetts," he says, "I believe has expended more men and money in war since a few families first landed in Plymouth, in proportion to their ability, than the three kingdoms together. The same, I believe, may be truly affirmed of many of the other colonies, though the Massachusetts has undoubtedly had the heaviest burden." He recurred to first principles, and treated with great boldness the profound question of the origin and foundation of government. "Our forefathers thought they were earning a sure inheritance for their posterity. Could they imagine it would ever be thought just to deprive them or theirs of their charter privileges? Should this ever be the case, there are, thank God! natural, inherent, and inseparable rights as men and as citizens, that would remain after the so-much-wished-for catastrophe, and which, whatever became of charters, can never be abolished *de jure*, if *de facto*, till the general conflagration." "The good of the governed is the end of government, and the governed are the ultimate governors. Supreme absolute power is originally and ultimately in the people, and they never did in fact

freely, nor can they rightfully, make an absolute unlimited renunciation of this divine right. It is ever, in the nature of the thing, given in trust, and on condition, the performance of which no mortal can dispense with ; namely, that the person or persons on whom the sovereignty is conferred by the people shall incessantly consult their good." "The form of government is by nature and by right so far left to the individuals of each society, that they may alter it from a simple democracy, or government of all over all, to any other form they please."

Otis specified certain "first principles of law and justice," as being "the great barriers of a free state, and of the British Constitution in particular." Among them was this, that "the supreme power cannot take from any man any part of his property, without his consent in person or by representation ; taxes are not to be laid on the people, but by their consent in person or by deputation." "To be free from all taxes, but what he consents to in person, or by his representative, — this right, if it could be traced no higher than Magna Charta, is part of the common law, part of a British subject's birthright, and as inherent and perpetual as the duty of allegiance, both which have been brought to these colonies, and have been hitherto held sacred and inviolable." "What one civil right is worth a rush, after a man's property is subject to be taken from him at pleasure, without his consent ? If a man

is not his own assessor, in person or by deputy, his liberty is gone."

"A representation in Parliament from the several colonies can't be thought an unreasonable thing, nor, if asked, could it be called an immodest request." But such an arrangement would not be the best. Though, in order to justify Parliament in taxing the colonies, the colonies ought to be represented in Parliament, it was better for both parties that in that body there should be neither colonial representation nor colonial taxation. "No representation of the colonies in Parliament alone would be equivalent to a subordinate legislative among themselves, nor so well answer the ends of increasing their prosperity and the commerce of Great Britain. It would be impossible for the Parliament to judge so well of their abilities to bear taxes, impositions on trade, and other duties and burdens, or of the local laws that might be really needful, as the legislative here.

"The sum of my argument," said the writer, in conclusion, "is that civil government is of God; that the administrators of it were originally the whole people; that they might have devolved it on whom they pleased; that this devolution is fiduciary for the good of the whole; that, by the British Constitution, this devolution is on the King, Lords, and Commons, the supreme sacred and uncontrollable legislative power, not only in the realm, but through the dominions;

that by the abdication [of King James] the original compact was broken to pieces; that by the Revolution it was renewed and more firmly established, and the rights and liberties of the subject in all parts of the dominions more fully explained and confirmed; that in consequence of this establishment, and the acts of succession and union, his Majesty, George the Third, is rightful king and sovereign, and, with his Parliament, the supreme legislative of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging; that this constitution is the most free one, and by far the best, now existing on earth; that by this constitution every man in the dominions is a free man; that no parts of his Majesty's dominions can be taxed without their consent; that every part has a right to be represented in the supreme or some subordinate legislature; that the refusal of this would seem to be a contradiction in practice to the theory of the constitution; that the colonies are subordinate dominions, and are now in such a state as to make it best for the good of the whole that they should not only be continued in the enjoyment of subordinate legislation, but be also represented in some proportion to their number and estates in the grand legislature of the nation; that this would firmly unite all parts of the British Empire in the greatest peace and prosperity, and render it invulnerable and perpetual."

It seems that this argument was not, on the

whole, satisfactory to the House, since the only use which they voted to make of it was to send it in the abridged form to the agent in England, with a message that it was the work of a member of the House, and that it was "to be improved as he might judge proper."

Another particular of the course in which the Instructions to the Boston Representatives were followed out was of greater interest at the time, and led to consequences of the utmost importance. The House appointed a committee to correspond with the Assemblies of the ^{1764.} several Anglo-American colonies, with a ^{June 14.} view to the common action of each for the protection of all. The contrivance of this machinery of *Committees of Correspondence*, which played a material part in the transactions which followed, has been referred with high probability to Samuel Adams. If it was his, what it indicates is his forwardness in promoting union as a means of strength. The particular method — that of correspondence, and of committees to carry it on — would naturally suggest itself to any mind, as soon as the desirableness of joint action had become sufficiently apparent.

In the existing temper of the General Court, the governor was uneasy as long as it was in session, and he hastened to prorogue it till the autumn. When it again met, one of the ^{Oct. 18.} first acts of the House was to adopt, on the motion of Oxenbridge Thacher, a petition to

Parliament for a repeal of the Sugar Act. The Council, not liking the language employed by the other branch, refused its concurrence. A conference resulted in an agreement to send to the House of Commons a petition, the preparation of which was intrusted to Hutchinson, so great were still the fascination of his brilliant powers and the weight of his prescriptive influence. He produced a Memorial with which all parties professed themselves satisfied, except in respect to one word. He had argued against the obnoxious tax on the ground of the *privileges* of the colony. The House substituted the word *rights*. The Council refused to accept the alteration. At length the word *liberties* was agreed upon. "The opposers of the Address in the House," says Hutchinson, in his History, "labored for the assertion of an exclusive right in the assemblies of the colonies to impose duties and taxes on the inhabitants in all cases whatever. The Council supposed such an Address would never be received by the House of Commons, and therefore thought it more prudent to consider the exemption from taxes an indulgence, which Parliament had always shown to the colonies, in leaving to the respective legislatures those powers which otherwise would have been exercised by Parliament."

The petition was in the moderate strain which might have been expected from its authorship.

Nov. 3. The two Houses next sent a joint Address

to the governor, complaining that the late Act of Parliament encroached on their "civil rights," and deprived them of "privileges" enjoyed by Englishmen at home. They prayed "that their ancient privileges might be continued." But they owned it to be their duty "to yield obedience to the Act while it continued unrepealed."

In a pamphlet entitled "The Sentiments of a British American," Oxenbridge Thacher also argued against the Sugar Act. The ^{Sept.} colonies, he maintained, having "had their share of efficiency in the late successes" of the mother country, and having "indeed contributed to the advancing and increasing its grandeur from their first beginnings," had "reason to expect that their interest should be considered and attended to; that their rights, if they had any, should be preserved to them; and that they should have no reason to complain that they had been lavish of their blood and treasure in the late war only to bind the shackles of slavery on themselves and their children." "The colonies are not the mere property of the mother state; they have the same rights as other British subjects." "It is esteemed an essential British right, that no person shall be subject to any tax but what in person or by his representative he hath a voice in laying." The late Act of Parliament "for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America" is "a grievance," because it levies taxes on the colonists "without the consent of

their representatives." " Besides, the colonies have ever supported a subordinate government among themselves." " They have always been taxed by their own representatives and in their respective legislatures, and have supported an entire domestic government among themselves. Is it just, then, they should be doubly taxed; that they should be obliged to bear the whole charges of their domestic government, and should be as subject to the taxes of the British Parliament as those who have no domestic government to support?" It could not be maintained that the war just closed "was undertaken for the security of the colonies, and that they ought therefore to be taxed, to pay the charge thereby incurred": for the security of the colonies against the French was as important to Great Britain as to themselves; the colonies contributed their full proportion of men and money to the war; and they "were no particular gainers by these acquisitions," none of the conquered territory being annexed to them, while Great Britain "gained immensely" by "the command of the whole American fur-trade and the increased demand for their woollen manufactures from their numerous new subjects in a country too cold to keep sheep."

The extraordinary power given by the late Act to courts of Admiralty was set forth in this treatise as a special subject for complaint. In those courts, in which there was no protection in

a trial by jury, "the colonists were put under a quite different law from all the rest of the King's subjects." In the colonial courts of Admiralty, the judge had a commission of five per cent on the value of all property seized and condemned. "What chance does the subject stand for his right upon the best claim, when the judge, condemning, is to have an hundred, or perhaps five hundred pounds, and, acquitting, less than twenty shillings?" The revenue officer, making a seizure, might have his case tried "in any court of Admiralty for the particular colony, or in any court of Admiralty to be appointed over all America, at his pleasure"; so that a question as to property "ever so lawfully and duly imported might be carried for trial to a court a thousand miles away, and the defendant have to go thither at an oppressive expense, and, before he could have a trial, be obliged to find sureties in a place where his character and property were unknown."

The empowering of commanders of the King's ships to seize and libel was represented as "another great hardship on the colonies. The knowledge of all the statutes relating to the customs, of the prohibitions on exports and imports, and of various intricate cases arising on them, requires a good lawyer. How can this science ever be expected from men educated in a totally different way; brought up upon the boisterous element, and knowing no law aboard their ships but their own will?" And whereas hitherto offi-

cers seizing goods did so at their peril, and, if they failed of obtaining a forfeiture on the trial, were liable for damages, the recent law removed this check on their caprice and violence, by authorizing them to "charge the revenue with the cost, with the consent of four of the commissioners of the customs."

It was further to "be observed, that the interest of Great Britain is greatly affected by these new regulations." Apart from the considerations that such inequitable legislation tended to impair the affection entertained for her by her colonies, and to make a precedent for future usurpations on the rights of British-born subjects, its immediate injurious effect on her own commerce was enough to condemn it. "The greatest part of the trade of Great Britain is with her colonies. The greatest part of the profits of the trade of the colonies, at least on the continent, centres in Great Britain. The colonists are perpetually demanding the linen, woollen, and other manufactures of Great Britain. And, while they can pay with any proper remittances, their demands will be perpetually increasing. Great Britain, besides, is the mart which supplieth the colonies with all the produce of the other countries in Europe which the colonists use." But how to provide for the remittances, without which this vast trade must be annihilated? "As the colonists have no gold or silver mines in them, it is certain that all the

remittances they make must be from their trade." "One grand source of these remittances is the fishery, which by the duty of threepence a gallon on molasses, must entirely be at an end. That branch can never bear the high duties imposed, nor subsist without the molasses which the trade to the foreign islands furnisheth." The fishery broken down, and with it the resource for remittances to England, either, "1. the colonies will universally go into such manufactures as they are capable of doing within themselves, or else, 2. they will do without them, and, being reduced to mere necessaries, will be clothed like their predecessors, the Indians, with the skins of beasts, and sink into like barbarism; either of which habits of theirs would result in a vast loss to the wealth of England, and to the means of living of merchants, manufacturers, artisans, and laborers, for nothing but a protection (which in fact would not be obtained), to the gains of the few planters in the English sugar islands, whose importunity had proved so mischievously powerful in Parliament. Doth not this resemble the conduct of the good wife in the fable, who killed her hen that every day laid her a golden egg?" The writer concludes with the expression of "his most ardent wishes that the happy island of Great Britain may grow in wealth, in power, and glory to yet greater degrees; that her colonies, now happily extended, may grow in filial affection and dutiful submission to her, their mother; and

that she in return may never forget her parental affections."

So business-like, so calm and friendly, was the tone in which the man, not behind the foremost at this time in the confidence of the patriots of Massachusetts, made his last plea for the rights of his fellow-citizens. He lived but a few months longer, though long enough to see the cause of justice and liberty outraged and disgraced by some of those acts of unreasoning violence which opposition to it too often provokes.

Hitherto, and for a considerable time longer, while the abstract right of the colonies to be exempt from taxation by a Parliament in which they were not, and practically could not be, represented had been steadily and emphatically affirmed, there had been hesitancy and vacillation as to the extent of the application of that doctrine. In respect to the legitimacy of pecuniary levies, a distinction continued to be made between taxes, strictly so called, and moneys paid at the custom-houses, the latter being deemed liable to be rightfully exacted by Parliament, as falling under the head of regulations of commerce for the whole empire; which regulations, as having no local restriction, needed to be made, and might justly be made, by one supreme authority. Regulations of this kind, though emanating from a competent jurisdiction, might from time to time be hurtful on the whole, or especially onerous and oppressive in their bearing

on some class or classes of subjects of the crown ; and then the arguments against them would be of the same description as arguments against any injudicious or mischievous law, addressed to any legislative body which was thought to have acted erroneously within its legitimate sphere of action.

And such was the main argument of the important treatise which has just been described, as well as mostly the strain of other arguments of the time. But the writers were not unaware that the case of the other form of taxation might next be nakedly presented, and that, if it should be, their protest, less embarrassed as to the principles from which they should have to reason, would be more awakening to the public mind. If the colonies suffered from an absurd system of duties on imported goods, that perhaps could not be shown to be anything worse than perverse severity on the part of Parliament. But if Parliament should undertake to lay an internal tax on the colonies, then Parliament would pretend to an authority in no wise belonging to it. Such an attempt would be sheer usurpation. External taxes, as they were called, might be argued against without offence, on grounds of expediency and equity, as long as the Englishman's right of petition should not be denied ; to argue against them with deference and moderation was the course of good judgment, as long as there was a chance for a hearing ; and, if argument against them should prevail, it might be presumed that more hazardous schemes

would be abandoned. But if the event should prove different, and the harsher measures should be taken, then the opposition which would become necessary could be conducted with the more advantage, if all unnecessary provocation were for the present abstained from. In respect to the Sugar Act, the circumstance which took it out of the category of a mere regulation of commerce, and made it more assailable on the generally recognized principles, was that it was avowedly a tax for the relief of the imperial Exchequer. Its title expressly sets forth the design of raising a revenue "towards defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America." And it was further fairly interpreted in the light of the March. fact that, the month before it was passed, the House of Commons, without a division, had adopted a Resolve "that Parliament hath a right to tax the colonies." The principle was one of vital importance. Its possible applications might be extended to cover a vast field of Parliamentary action.

When the agent of Massachusetts in London sent information of the passing of the stringent 1763. Sugar Act, he added that Mr. George April 27. Grenville, who had within the year become Prime Minister, combining the two offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, was contemplating the extraction of a revenue from the colonies, to be collected by

means of stamps to be used in the transactions of business. Mr. Grenville had been looking round for means to relieve the people of England from the burden of what he thought the extravagant expense of the late French war, and at the same time to maintain a considerable military force. Having pondered a ^{1764.} _{March 10.} scheme for raising money from the American colonies, he prepared the way for carrying it into execution by bringing the House of Commons to a Resolve that "it might be proper to charge certain stamp duties" upon them. He sent for the colonial agents, and informed them that, if they could point out any other way of obtaining money from their constituents which would be more agreeable to them, he would give it consideration. But none of them had instructions to any such effect.

A system of stamp duties already existed in England. The revenue to be obtained by means of its extension to America would not, according to the calculation of one of Grenville's friends, exceed a hundred thousand pounds a year. It was said that he frankly gave out that at present he expected only to establish the principle, to be applied subsequently on a larger scale. A declaration of that design was superfluous. It proclaimed itself.

CHAPTER XVII.

NEW HAMPSHIRE, RHODE ISLAND, AND CONNECTICUT.

WHEN the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle vainly promised tranquillity along the northern border of New England, attention was turned to that portion of the inviting country west of the river Connecticut which was still vacant of inhabitants. The governor of New Hampshire informed the governor of New York that he ^{1749.} ^{Nov. 17.} was instructed to make grants of such lands there as lay within his jurisdiction; and, to the end of avoiding mutual interference, he desired to be acquainted with the extent of the claims of New York in the debatable region. Meanwhile, taking for granted that New York could maintain no title to a boundary further eastward than was made by a protraction of the line of longitude twenty miles east of Hudson River, which separated that province from Connecticut and Massachusetts, Governor Wentworth ^{1750.} ^{June 3.} made a grant of the parcel of land, since called Bennington, which lies six miles north of the northern boundary of Massachusetts, and somewhat more than twenty miles east of the Hudson; and within four years more, as

he informed Lord Halifax, he had "granted ^{1754.} thirty-three townships" in that quarter. ^{April 8.} The governor of New York protested against this assignment, objecting that, by the patent of King Charles the Second to his brother, New York extended "from the west side of Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay," and that, though later arrangements had pushed the boundary of Massachusetts and Connecticut as far west as to a line drawn north and south at a distance of twenty miles from the river Hudson, yet nothing had occurred to afford any foundation for such a claim on the part of New Hampshire, the original grant of which province embraced no lands distant more than sixty miles from the sea.

The dispute, referred to the King for decision, remained unsettled when war again broke out. The campaign on and about Lake George and Lake Champlain brought the intervening country into notice, and caused numerous applications for it when peace again approached. Governor Wentworth had a survey made of lands extending sixty miles along the Connecticut, and ^{1761.} caused towns six miles square to be laid out in three tiers on both sides of that river. Of these, stimulated by an arrangement which reserved for his own property five hundred acres in each township, he at once made sixty grants on the west side of the river and eighteen on ^{1763.} the east side. Two years later the num-

ber of the grants west of the river amounted to one hundred and thirty-eight, the western boundary, after passing the head waters of the Hudson, being continued by a line running northwardly twenty miles east of Lake Champlain.

The attraction of the newly granted lands, enhanced by the new peace along the border, drew into them numbers of settlers from Massachusetts

and Connecticut. The governor of New
Dec. 28.

York issued a proclamation, claiming jurisdiction over the country north of Massachusetts and west of the river Connecticut. Governor Wentworth made a counter-proclamation,

1764. and ordered his officers to arrest persons
March 13. obstructing the administration of New Hampshire within the controverted limits. Wentworth wrote to Lord Halifax that, down to this year, he "met with no opposition from New York; but now a number of armed men, attended by the patroon and High Sheriff of Albany, seized upon and carried off from Pownall a justice of the peace, a captain of militia, a deputy sheriff, who was executing a legal process, ... with one other principal inhabitant." The matter came before the Board of Trade, and through them before the Privy Council, who decided in favor of New York. But there was an ambiguity in the language of the Council's decree, which was interpreted by one party as meaning that the disputed territory always had belonged of right to New York, and that accordingly the convey-

ances by the governor of New Hampshire were void and of no effect, the other party construing the decree to mean merely that the lands were hereafter to be under the jurisdiction of New York, leaving the property undisturbed as belonging to the parties to whom the authorities of New Hampshire had conveyed it. The royal control over the territory ceased before the dispute was determined. The *New Hampshire Grants* (as they were called) west of the Connecticut, with the addition of as much territory, adjoining on the north, as lay east of Lake Champlain, came to constitute the State of Vermont, and ultimately the fourteenth State of the American Union. 1777.

To this troubled time belong the preliminary arrangements for that seminary of learning which was to complete a provision for the higher education in all the four colonies of New England. As in the other cases, the first movers in the plan were ministers of religion. The Congregational ministers of New Hampshire had addressed a petition to the governor, 1758. praying for a charter for "an Academy or College within the province, without prejudice to any other such seminary in neighboring provinces." The governor took no interest in the scheme, but Eleazer Wheelock, who had been a prominent actor ever since his association with Whitefield, took it up with characteristic enthusiasm, associating it with an earlier enterprise of 1762.

his own. At Lebanon, in Connecticut, where he was minister, he had a school supported by charitable contributions, at which he taught a number of natives, and with them some English youth. The advantage of transferring his institution to a place where it could be maintained at less expense influenced him to listen favorably to proposals addressed to him from New Hampshire; and ultimately a college named for the Earl of Dartmouth, one of its benefactors, was set up, with twenty-four pupils, at the town of Hanover, one of Wentworth's recent grants on the Connecticut. The lecture-rooms first used were in log-houses. The first class of graduates numbered four members.

The question as to writs of assistance does not seem to have created excitement in New Hampshire. In that colony the writ was granted by the Superior Court, as soon as application was made for it. Neither in Connecticut nor in Rhode Island does it appear to have been applied for, till seven or eight years after the question of its legality had been determined in Massachusetts. Rhode Island, however, gave special offence by violations of the Revenue Laws. In explanation of the facts complained of, Stephen Hopkins, who had now been governor five years, wrote to Pitt that his colony had by its privateers taken many French prisoners, and had sent them by flags of truce to the West Indies, and that perhaps under this cover there had been some

illicit trade; but that the Legislature had resolved, though it was a harsh measure, "to put a total stop to all intercourse with the French for the future." Bernard did not view the proceedings in the same light. "These practices," he wrote to Pownall, "will never be put an ^{1761.} end to till Rhode Island is reduced to the ^{May 9.} subjection of the British Empire, of which at present it is no more a part than the Bahama Islands when they were inhabited by the buccaneers."

With the increase of her wealth and of her communications with the neighboring provinces, the peculiarity of Rhode Island had undergone sensible modification. The establishment, however, within her limits, of a seminary for the higher instruction was due to strangers. Morgan Edwards, a Welshman by birth, who had been three years established in Philadelphia as minister of a Baptist church, engaged the co-operation of some of his professional associates, and others of their faith, for the founding of a college to give a better education to their ministry. The vicinity and support of a numerous community of Baptists being a reasonable consideration in determining the site, the institution, since so useful and eminent, now known as Brown University, was first seated at Warren, in Rhode Island, whence, after six years, it was removed to Providence. The first President was James Manning, who had been active in soliciting the requisite

pecuniary contributions from private benefactors.

February The colony, instituting at the origin a frugal policy, from which it has not since departed, gave nothing but exemption from taxes, and a charter. By this the government of the institution was vested in two Boards; namely, that of the President and Fellows, twelve in number, of whom two thirds were required to be Baptists, and that consisting of thirty-six Trustees, of whom twenty-two were to be of the same denomination. At the first Commencement, 1769. seven young men were admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Intelligence from England of the proposed revision of the Sugar Act caused the General Assembly of Rhode Island to be convened. 1764. Jan. 24. Instructions were sent by it to the agent to exert himself, "in conjunction with the agents of the northern colonies," to obstruct the consummation of the scheme; the governor was desired to contribute his endeavors in a letter to the Board of Trade; and an elaborate remonstrance was despatched to that body, setting forth the hardship and inexpediency of the contemplated legislation. "The colony of Rhode Island," it was therein represented, "includes not a much larger extent of territory than about thirty miles square, and of this a great part is a barren soil, not worth the expense of cultivation. The number of souls in it amount to forty-eight thousand, of which the two seaport towns

of Newport and Providence contain near one third. The colony hath no staple commodity for exportation, and does not raise provisions sufficient for its own consumption. The quantity of British manufactures and other goods of every kind imported from Great Britain, and annually consumed in this colony, amount at least to a hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. The only articles produced in the colony, suitable for a remittance to Europe, consist of some flax and oil, and some few ships built for sale, the whole amounting to about five thousand pounds sterling per annum." The annual difference between five thousand pounds and the hundred and twenty thousand due in England had to be made up by the gains of commerce. For this commerce, that is, for exportation elsewhere than to Europe, Rhode Island had "some lumber, cheese, and horses," which, with fish "of an inferior quality," were in demand in the West India Islands. In the year preceding that of this remonstrance, "there were one hundred and eighty-four sail of vessels bound on foreign voyages, that is, to Europe, Africa, and the West Indies; and three hundred and fifty-two sail of vessels employed in the coasting trade, that is, between Georgia and Newfoundland inclusive; which, with the fishing-vessels, were navigated by at least twenty-two hundred seamen. Of these foreign vessels, about one hundred and fifty are annually employed in the

West India trade, which import into this colony about fourteen thousand hogsheads of molasses, whereof "a quantity not exceeding twenty-five hundred hogsheads come from all the English islands together," even the principal of those islands, Jamaica, affording in some years no supply whatever. The molasses thus imported into Rhode Island paid for the English manufactured goods imported into that colony, being partly sold for that purpose in the neighboring colonies, and partly distilled into rum, which was sent to the coast of Africa, where, superseding the use of French brandy, it was "sold for slaves, gold-dust, elephants' teeth, camwood, &c." Some of these articles were sent direct to Europe, while the slaves were disposed of "in the English islands, in Carolina and Virginia, for bills of exchange" on London. A duty upon foreign molasses might "amount to a prohibition." While, on the one hand, the English islands of the West Indies were unable to supply anything like the quantity of molasses wanted in Rhode Island alone, on the other hand they furnished a very limited market for the exportable products of New England.

From these facts it was argued that restrictions on the trade in question, without benefiting the English planters of the West Indies, would distress the colony, which was already in reduced circumstances, laboring under a debt of nearly seventy thousand pounds for the expenses

of the late war alone. "Upwards of thirty distilleries, erected at a vast expense, ... for want of molasses must be shut up, to the ruin of many families, and of our trade in general, particularly of that to the coast of Africa. Two thirds of our vessels will become useless, and perish upon our hands ; our mechanics, and those who depend upon the merchant for employment, must seek for subsistence elsewhere ; a nursery of seamen, at this time consisting of twenty-two hundred in this colony only, will be in a manner destroyed ; and, as an end will be put to our commerce, the merchants cannot import any more British manufactures, nor will the people be able to pay for those they have already received." From this argument, clear and forcible as it is, and skilfully composed for the immediate end in view, the reader does not gather that there was as yet a comprehension in Rhode Island of the magnitude, or even of the nature, of the great question of right which had arisen.

There was, however, among the rulers and the people of that colony a different way of looking at the subject from what this grave and forbearing paper expressed. Governor Bernard presently after wrote to the Secretary of the Board of Trade, that the governor of ^{Feb. 10.} Rhode Island, under an order of the Assembly, had refused to administer the oath of office to a person appointed by the Surveyor-General to be Comptroller of the Revenue at Newport, and

that a vessel seized at Providence for smuggling had been boarded, rescued, and taken to sea by "a parcel of people with blackened faces." On

this occasion, if Bernard's report to Lord
Dec. 14.

Halifax was well founded, "the governor of Rhode Island said publicly, that the Parliament of Great Britain had no more right to make laws for them than they had for the Mohawks."

It is more likely that what the governor, Stephen Hopkins, did say was, that Parliament had no more right to tax his constituents than his constituents had to tax the Mohawks. At this time he emerged from a cloud of local cabals which for years had obscured his merit, to take thenceforward a salutary lead of the public opinion and action of his colony. In the month next after the transmission by Massachusetts of her circular letter to the other colonies, Rhode Island appointed a committee consisting of her governor

and two other persons, to consult with
July 30.

other colonial committees respecting measures for procuring a repeal of the Sugar Act, for hindering the passage of the projected Stamp Act, "and, generally, for the prevention of all such taxes, duties, or impositions, that may be proposed to be assessed upon the colonists, which may be inconsistent with their rights and privileges as British subjects." While this Assembly was sitting at South Kingstown, there occurred a riot at Newport, which further manifested the

temper of the people. A party from a King's ship which was engaged in the revenue service in Newport Harbor arrested a deserter on shore. A mob rescued him, and treated roughly the officer in command of the party.

On the report of the committee appointed in the summer, the Assembly addressed a petition to the King, and further indicated ^{November.} their sense on the pending questions, by arranging to furnish their agent in London with copies of a pamphlet entitled "The Rights of the Colonies examined," a production of Governor Hopkins. The petition, which in its tone and character was strictly what was indicated by the name, having set forth briefly the same considerations as had been urged in the "Remonstrance" six months before, proceeded to object to the Stamp Act which was understood to be in contemplation, that it would be a violation of "just and long-enjoyed rights. We have hitherto possessed," wrote the Assembly, "as we thought according to right, equal freedom with your Majesty's subjects in Britain, whose essential privilege it is to be governed only by laws to which themselves have some way consented, and not to be compelled to part with their property, but as it is called for by the authority of such laws." And they expressed the object of their application in the following clear and concise terms: "We do therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty that our freedom and all our just rights may be con-

tinued to us inviolate; that our trade may be restored to its former condition, and no further limited, restrained, and burdened than becomes necessary for the general good of all your Majesty's subjects; that the courts of Vice-Admiralty may not be vested with more extensive powers in the colonies than are given them by law in Great Britain; that the colonists may not be taxed but by the consent of their own representatives, as your Majesty's other free subjects are." And the petition closed with the assurance, "Whatever may be determined concerning them, the governor and company of Rhode Island will unalterably remain your Majesty's most loyal, most dutiful, and most obedient subjects."

After a survey of the condition of colonies at different ages of the world, to the end of showing that it had been the practice of nations to allow to colonists the same rights as those enjoyed by native subjects, the treatise of Governor Hopkins proceeded to present the same threefold subject of complaint as was set forth in the petition. "The British Ministry," he says, "whether induced by a jealousy of the colonies, by false informations, or by some alteration in the system of political government, we have no information;—whatever hath been the motive, this we are sure of, the Parliament, at their last session, passed an Act limiting, restricting, and burdening the trade of these colonies much more than ever had been done before; as also for greatly enlarging the

power and jurisdiction of the courts of Admiralty in the colonies; and also came to a resolution that it might be necessary to establish stamp duties, and other internal taxes to be collected within them." He explicitly recognizes the current distinction between internal and external taxes, and, in respect to the latter class, admits the legitimate authority of Parliament to make regulations of commerce affecting alike all portions of the Empire, and the colonies with the rest. Against two of the alleged ministerial encroachments, therefore, he argues as being only abusive and oppressive, and grievous exercises of constitutional power,—the Sugar Act, as threatening the colonies with commerical ruin; the new Admiralty regulations, as cruelly wrongful to parties pursued by the King's officers into the Admiralty courts. But when it proceeds to discuss the projected Stamp Act, the argument moves on a higher plane. "The resolution of the House of Commons asserting their right to establish stamp duties and internal taxes, to be collected in the colonies without their own consent, hath much more, and for much more reason, alarmed the British subjects in America, than anything that had ever been done before. They who are taxed at pleasure by others cannot possibly have any property, can have nothing to be called their own; they who have no property can have no freedom, but are indeed reduced to the most abject slavery."

After the conquest of Canada, Governor Fitch, of Connecticut, found himself justified in reporting to the British Minister respecting trade with the French, "I have not been able to discover anything of that kind among us." Requisitions continued to be made upon the colony for troops, especially to build, repair, and make communications between the forts erected to secure the occupation of the conquered country. In the spring following the capitulation, Connecticut raised two regiments of eleven hundred and fifty men each. On the breaking out of war with Spain, an expedition was despatched against Havana, in which were twenty-three hundred provincial troops under the command of General Lyman, of Connecticut, Israel Putnam being one of his lieutenant-colonels. Of a thousand soldiers from that province, only a few scores returned, the rest having fallen victims to the unhealthy climate. During the whole course of the war, Connecticut had rendered services the most generous, energetic, and efficient.

According to a report of the governor to the Lords of Trade, the population of the colony in the last year of the war amounted to "a hundred and forty-one thousand whites, and four thousand five hundred and ninety blacks, or thereabouts." Of Indians there were "about nine hundred and thirty, considerable part whereof dwelt in English families." There were thirteen

regiments of militia, mustering twenty thousand two hundred and sixty-four men. Six hundred and fifty-one seamen navigated a hundred and fourteen vessels, which had an aggregate measurement of three thousand five hundred and twenty-seven tons. Exports, probably amounting annually to a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, consisted of meats, flour, live-stock, and lumber, to the West Indies, whence were brought back rum, sugar, molasses, and salt. Meat and grain were also sent "to the neighboring governments, especially to Boston and New York, from which ports were mainly received British manufactures," though the people were beginning to import directly for themselves. The value of British manufactured goods imported in a year was "probably a hundred thousand pounds sterling or more." Home-made clothing was "mostly of the coarser sort for laborers and servants." The ordinary revenue derived from taxes on lands, polls, and personal property (the receipts from duties being inconsiderable) amounted to about four thousand pounds sterling, of which sum "about one-eighth part was appropriated to the support of schools for education of children and youth."

Connecticut shared in the excitement produced by the passing of the Sugar Act and the menace of the Stamp Act. The General Assembly raised a committee, consisting of three members besides the governor, "to collect and set

1764.
May.

in the most advantageous light all such arguments and objections as might justly and reasonably be advanced against creating and collecting a revenue in America, ... and especially against effecting the same by stamp duties." The committee executed their task by the composition of "a certain book or pamphlet, entitled 'Reasons why the British Colonies in America should not be charged with internal Taxes, &c.'" This treatise the General

October.

Court voted to transmit to their agent in England, "to be made use of to the purpose aforesaid." And they instructed the governor to address to the Parliament a Memorial "against said bill for a stamp duty, or any other bill for an internal tax." Jared Ingersoll was now on his voyage to England, to be associated with Jackson in the agency for the province.

Agreeably to a circular letter addressed to all the colonies by Lord Halifax, Secretary of State for the Southern Department, Governor Fitch had furnished a schedule of particulars desired by the Ministry as "materials and guides for the framing of the said Act," availing himself, however, of the opportunity to repeat his remonstrance against the dangerous scheme. When Ingersoll reached London, Mr. Whately, Secretary of the Treasury, showed him the draft of the Stamp Act, which was already prepared, and it was said that Ingersoll prevailed to introduce into it some amendments, one of which served to put off the time for its going into effect.

The project of that Act was pursued with inconsiderate obstinacy, though it encountered a spirited debate when it was brought into the House of Commons. Mr. Grenville expounded its provisions in a long, dispassionate, and plausible argument. He was answered by Alderman Beckford, Jackson (Franklin's friend), Colonel Barré, and others. Charles Townshend, replying to Barré, asked, "And now will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence until they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms,—will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden under which we lie?" This language called out Barré in that burst of eloquence, familiar ever since in the declamations of American school-boys, beginning, "They 'planted by your care'! No! your oppressions planted them in America." Francis Dana, afterwards Chief Justice of Massachusetts, and Jared Ingersoll, agent for Connecticut in London, heard the speech, and both sent home reports and commendations of it. The bill was pending in the House between three and four weeks, at the end of which time it was passed, the largest number of votes which had been given against it in any stage of its progress not having amounted to fifty. It was concurred in by the House of Lords, where it appears to have met no resistance, and in due course re-

1765.

Feb. 6.

Feb. 27.

March 8.

March 22. received the royal assent. No apprehension of consequences counselled a pause.

The Stamp Act—as it has ever since been called by eminence—provided in sixty-three sections for the payment, by British subjects in America to the English Exchequer, of specified sums, greater and less, in consideration of obtaining validity for each of the common transactions of business. Deeds, bonds, notes, indentures, insurance policies, leases, contracts of sale, were to have no legal value, and were not capable of being enforced by courts of justice, unless they were written on stamped paper bought of the officers of the crown. Without stamped wills testamentary dispositions would be void. Without stamped receipts debts could not be acquitted. Vessels at sea, without clearances written on stamped paper, were liable to seizure and confiscation if they fell in with a King's ship. Only stamped newspapers might be exposed for sale. Without stamped certificates marriages could not be lawfully contracted. Unstamped writs and executions had no force or meaning. In short, the American citizen must be daily paying money into the British Treasury at its stamp office, or, in respect to much of the protection which society undertakes to afford, he was an outlaw.

CHAPTER XVIII.

IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES OF THE STAMP ACT.

THE change in the colonial policy of the British government, distinctly expressed by the Stamp Act, was equally wrongful and imprudent. The novel severity in the Acts of Trade, though so onerous as to provoke extreme resentment, did not present the strongest case of violation of right. There was at least a semblance of reason in the distinction which in the colonies had hitherto been recognized between internal taxes on the one hand, and, on the other, regulations of commerce, which, as embracing the whole Empire, and designed to adjust to each other the interests of every part, needed to be made by the imperial government, and which a part of the Empire should not complain of, simply because of any unequal pressure upon itself. In the early stage of the controversy, the complaint was not so much that in imposing burdens upon trade an abstract right had been infringed, as that the particular system of duties was adverse to the prosperity of the colonies and the parent country alike, and that the methods for enforcing it were offensive and arbitrary;—that especially it was

contrary to natural justice and to the rights of Englishmen, which were the same in every dependency of the crown as in the heart of the Kingdom, that a custom-house officer should have power to compel a claimant to try his case without a jury; and not only this, but to try it before a court of the officer's selection in some distant place, where the claimant would be at a disadvantage in conducting his defence, and in obtaining the securities which the law made it imperative for him to furnish.

The Stamp Act, being simply an internal tax, presented the fundamental question of right in a form cleared from all subtleties and qualifications. According to immemorial English maxims, a tax was a voluntary grant of the Commons to the sovereign. It required, therefore, to be made by the owners of the property granted, or, what was the same thing, by their authorized representatives. The colonists said: The people of England and Scotland, in Parliament assembled, have a right to give away their own money to the King, but they have no right to give away ours. Representation and taxation go together. Let us send members to Parliament, and it will be just that we should be bound by the joint vote of Knights and Burgesses in that Legislature, as other parts of the realm will be bound by votes in which we shall share. The scheme of a representation in Parliament was accordingly canvassed on both sides of the water. But it

found favor on neither, by reason of considerations of the inconveniences incident to the plan from distance and other causes. And so the question remained whether Englishmen in America could rightfully or constitutionally be taxed—that is, have their money given away—by their fellow-subjects within the four seas.

If natural right, and English maxims corresponding to it, denied such a power to Parliament, was any un-English liability imposed by the terms of those charters from the King, under which the colonists in New England managed their affairs? On the contrary, the royal charters, on no other money consideration except that of “the fifth part of all gold and silver ore and precious stones obtained in any of the lands and provinces,” had constituted legislative bodies with power “to impose and levy proportionable and reasonable assessments, rates, and taxes upon estates and persons for the defence and support of government and the protection and preservation of the inhabitants.”

When the Ministry maintained that England had put herself to heavy charge for the defence of the colonies in the late war, of which it was just that they should bear a part, the colonists rightly replied that the interests and objects of that war had been English as much as theirs; that they had borne in it their full proportion of expense, and much more than their full propor-

tion, as had been proved by the act of the English government itself, which had already sent them large sums for reimbursement; that, at all events, whatever it was just they should pay they were willing to pay, but it must be by their own action. If the King wanted money from them, let him so inform them, as he had hitherto done in every period of their history, by requisition through his Secretary of State; for neither they nor their ancestors had ever been inattentive to such requisitions, but, on the contrary, had always met them with loyal liberality, and there was no reason to doubt that either they or their descendants would ever show less alacrity. If it was their money that the Ministry had occasion for, it was of them that the Ministry should ask it, and not of the Knights and Burgesses of Kent or Lothian, who had not inherited nor earned it, and had no right to dispose of it.

If this attempt at usurpation would at all times have been unrighteous, never was an attempt at usurpation more untimely. In the trial of nearly a century, the independence of British America has now proved most auspicious to its greatness. But nothing of the sort was anticipated, or, at all events, was generally looked for, when events were rapidly tending towards that consummation. Notwithstanding that the Ministers of the crown had been watched with jealousy, and that the supercilious conduct of the British

officers had often given offence, it is probable that the people of New England had never been so affectionately loyal as just before the close of the French war. They shared in the enthusiasm for the fair-spoken and well-conducted young King, the first of his line who had been "born a Briton." The overthrow of the hostile power at the north relieved them from a burden of fears and griefs which had tormented them for nearly a hundred years. Since the Revolution which placed William of Orange upon the British throne, they had been undisturbed by serious apprehension of encroachments on their religious liberty. Substantially they had long had their way in respect to their internal administrations. Connecticut and Rhode Island were almost republican by charter, and in Massachusetts the royal governors had been discouraged from repeating the annoyance of asking for stated salaries for themselves and the judges. Theoretically the Trade and Navigation Laws were oppressive, but the oppression had been almost unfelt, for their strict enforcement was so manifestly adverse to the prosperity of both parties in the commerce between the colonies and the mother country, that they had wellnigh sunk into a dead letter, and the daily evasion or rather disregard of them was recognized and respectable. Against any possible menace of foreign hostility, New England reposed in safety under the assured protection of Great Britain, a protection never so in-

fallible as now. While command of the commerce of an industrious and rapidly growing people was enriching England, the benefit was reflected on the thriving colonies. Governors came from England to Massachusetts with no great power to harm her, — so vigorously did the vigilant legislation of past times restrain them, — and with motives to treat her well, for, always generous when she was not forced into a defensive attitude, she held in her discretion their means of living. The people were content with their condition, and coveted no change. They were proud of the mother country, and loved her well. A new era of prosperity seemed to be opening before them. Such was the time chosen by Mr. George Grenville for his crucial experiment.

It should occasion no surprise that at this extreme crisis we find hesitation, and more or less appearance of timidity, on the part of the colonists. While the professions of loyalty which through two or three generations had been repeated with constantly increasing strength were altogether sincere, and the sentiment of loyalty was tender and cordial, the sense of injury which was awakened by the cruel and contemptuous legislation of the parent country had to pass through the stage of sorrow before it reached that of anger. The idea, too, when good-will and reason failed, of obtaining justice from England by force or menace, was one hard to approach.

Under the brilliant administration of William Pitt, the greatness of England had risen to an imposing height. Her fleets and armies had broken the power of France in both hemispheres. She had extended her dominion in Africa and the West Indies, and founded a vast empire in the East. What were the two hundred and eighty thousand people of Massachusetts, what were the six hundred thousand people of New England, that they should think of a conflict with her, if she should choose to push them to the wall? They had no allies. France they hated with a traditional animosity, not only as being Englishmen themselves, but as having recorded against her a long score of peculiar wrongs; and France had already as much on her hands as she was equal to. Other English colonists besides themselves were wronged by the recent English legislation. But the people of those colonies were almost strangers to them, and were scarcely their equals in power and resources, even if, which was far from being the case, they had been prepared for some joint action with one another. The cultivated, orderly, scrupulous Puritan of Massachusetts and Connecticut was not yet prepared to place confidence in the people of the less fortunate colonies. Guided by his still imperfect knowledge of his neighbors, he was not yet ready to regard without a degree of contemptuous distrust the rough Dutch fur-trader of New York, whom more than once he had had to

keep from Indian alliances by suggestions of the strong hand; the mixture of moon-stricken Quakers and South-German boors in Pennsylvania; the lazy, swaggering cavalier (so called) who raised Virginia tobacco; the English "ill-livers," unequally yoked with the untaught though devout Huguenot artisans of Carolina; or the gaol-birds said to be transported to Georgia by Oglethorpe's humane arrangement; while the obloquy was amply retorted by the judgment, current in all those colonies, of the New-Englander's sour and narrow bigotry. Before long, as he came to know more of his neighbors, he found cause to rate them far differently; but his prejudices, and equally the counter-prejudices softened in other parts of the country only by the sense of a community of suffering from English injustice, — these things stood formidably in the way of heartiness and energy in united action.

The second Revolution in New England brought into play the same fears, the same ambitions, the same weaknesses, the same passions, as that which preceded and that which followed it, each at nearly a century's distance. In the third, leading men, while declaring themselves dissatisfied with the proslavery domination, trembled before the inconveniences of opposing it, or hoped for advantages to themselves from acquiescence in it. In the first, Dudley, professing friendship for his country, became the abject tool of the Stuart despotism. In the second, Hutchin-

son, with like professions, and probably more than equal self-deception, could not sacrifice his hopes of fortune and title to the stern obligations of patriotic service. The stage which the dispute between England and her American dependencies had reached while Bernard was in Boston was that in which a vacillating and equivocal action must be expected to appear. Not only did the magnitude of the threatened struggle discourage selfish men, and reduce them to self-humiliation and imbecility, but there was really for honest minds an uncertainty in determining the point at which submission and conciliation should be deemed hopeless as means of relief. It is at such times that plausible pretenders to patriotism find a hearing, and a chance to disgrace and disable the community then most exposed to their arts.

Thus, on the appearance of a new form of usurpation, when Thacher, Otis, and others propounded the principles of colonial liberty which were violated, they met to a wide extent a ready response in the public mind. But as the danger came nearer, and with it the practical question as to the means of escape or resistance, a cordial unanimity was unavoidably interrupted. Before there could be union of judgment which might dictate proceedings of an uncompromising character, there was needful a pause for reflection; and, as long as it lasted, there must be an abstinence from such strong measures as would not admit of being retraced. The deferential tone

of the petition of the General Court of Massachusetts to Parliament, in the summer in
 1764. which the decision of the latter body on the
 June. question of an unequivocal policy of internal taxation was advancing, does not much perplex one who has observed the too common course of such bodies when brought into positions of dangerous responsibility. The popular branch of the Legislature, much the larger in numbers, adopted a spirited Address to the King, and sent it up to the Council for the concurrence of that body. Hutchinson was a Counsellor, and the most experienced and most able man on that Board. Professing, like his associates, not to like the legislation complained of, he set himself to persuade them that the way to avoid it was not by making a parade of rights invaded, but by being discreet and respectful in a marked degree. And by parliamentary devices, in which he was skilful, and by an insinuating pertinacity, he prevailed to have the proposed Address to the King superseded by a petition to Parliament, in which the chief topic urged was that of the ill effects of the legislation objected to on the prosperity of English trade. This style of argument had the unfortunate result which is apt to follow from it. It misled the British Ministers as to the temper of the colony, and emboldened them in proceeding with their violent scheme.

As the time approached for the consummation of the despotic measures which were apprehended,

one of the methods devised for resenting and evading them was that of an agreement among merchants and others to abstain from the importation and purchase of English manufactured goods; and, as part of this plan, the use of mourning apparel was generally discontinued. To help the home manufacture of woollen cloth, another agreement was made to abstain from the eating of lamb's flesh. Intelligence of the actual passing of the Stamp Act reached Boston just before the annual spring meeting of the General Court. The Act was to take effect on the first day of the eighth month from its enactment. The friends of prerogative were confident that the Act would execute itself, and that opposition to it, making the opponent the victim of his own perverseness, would be impotent, and would speedily content itself, and wear itself out, with complaint. And, on the other hand, there appeared as yet no concert in opposition, nor was any method proposed by which opposition might be made availing.

The governor, in his speech at the opening of the spring session, referred to the Act no more expressly than by saying that "in an empire extended and diversified as that of Great Britain, there must be a supreme legislature to which all other powers must be subordinate. It is our happiness," he vexatiously added, "that our supreme legislature is the sanctuary of liberty and justice, and that the

1765.

May.

Nov. 1.

May.

prince who presides over it realizes the idea of a patriot King. Surely, then, we should submit our opinions to the determinations of so august a body, and acquiesce, in a perfect confidence that the rights of the members of the British Empire will ever be safe in the hands of the conservators of the liberty of the whole." The House, deviating from its practice on such occasions, made him no reply. A reply in such terms as the existing imperfect degree of concert admitted of might have embarrassed future deliberation and action. The House proceeded with an all-important measure which the prevailing indignation authorized and stimulated. In proceedings to obtain relief from the hard legislation of England, how far might Massachusetts hope for aid from other communities wronged by it like herself? And if their resentments were like her own, might endeavors for redress be rendered more hopeful by a comparison of judgments and a combination of influence and strength? On the motion of James Otis,

June 6. the Court took the judicious step of directing letters to be sent to the other colonial assemblies, inviting them to appoint delegates to meet in the fourth following month "to consult together on the present circumstances of the colonies, and the difficulties to which they are and must be reduced by the operation of the Acts of Parliament for laying duties and taxes on the colonies; and to consider of a general and united,

dutiful, loyal, and humble representation of their condition to his Majesty and the Parliament, and to implore relief." "It was impossible,"

July 8.

Bernard wrote to the Lords of Trade, "to oppose this measure to any good purpose, and therefore the friends of government took the lead in it, and have kept it in their hands. Two of the three [the delegates appointed by Massachusetts] are fast friends to government, and prudent and discreet men, such as I am assured will never consent to any undutiful or improper applications to the government of Great Britain. It is the general opinion that nothing will be done in consequence of this intended Congress, but I hope I may promise myself that this province will act no indecent part therein." The court which commissioned these delegates was still in session when news came from Virginia that the great southern colony had passed a series of spirited Resolves affirming the immunity ^{May 28.} of that colony from taxation by Parliament, — intelligence of the utmost importance in encouraging everywhere the disposition of resistance.

So imperfectly understood, even in high quarters, and even on the scene of the grievance, was the state of sentiment in New England at this time, that Andrew Oliver, Secretary of Massachusetts, did not hesitate to accept the office of Distributor of Stamps for that province, and by the advice of Dr. Franklin, then in England, the same charge was undertaken for Connecticut by

Jared Ingersoll, recently the colony's agent. The popular rage, which had been rising during the summer, broke out when the appointment of distributors of the stamps became known, and when

Aug. 6. Ingersoll arrived from England in Boston, where he had conferences with Oliver.

At dawn, a few days after, an effigy representing

Aug. 14. Oliver, and decorated with devices typical of Lord Bute, was discovered hanging

on a tree, afterwards called the *Liberty Tree*, at the corner of Orange Street and Essex Street.

Chief Justice Hutchinson ordered the sheriff to go with a sufficient force and take it away.

The sheriff proceeded to the spot, but was assured that it would be removed at evening, and

was dissuaded from doing his office. The governor convened his Council, who advised him not

to interfere, lest he should convert a foolish pleasantry into a serious quarrel. It must be pre-

sumed that they guessed nothing of what was intended. The mob were in crazy earnest. At

nightfall they took down the image, and, laying it on a bier, carried it, followed by a long pro-

cession, through the great lower room of the Town House, beneath the chamber in which the

Council were in session. Marching down King

(State) Street, they proceeded to a building lately erected by Mr. Oliver, — for the custody of

stamps, as was said, — which they presently razed to the ground. Thence they went to his

dwelling, where they broke windows, furniture,

and fences, and did other damage. Hutchinson, Oliver's brother-in-law, with some other friends, was at the house, and had been authorized by the governor to call out the militia, if he saw cause. He preferred to use persuasion, but this was done without effect, and it was only by flight through a crowd, which treated him roughly, that he reached his own home. The governor, who was passing some weeks of the summer at the Castle, wrote thence, the next day, to Lord ^{Aug. 15.}

Halifax: "It is said that there were fifty gentlemen actors in this scene, disguised with trousers and jackets on. The common talk of the town is that all the power of Great Britain shall not oblige them to submit to the Stamp Act; that they will die upon the place first. I cannot command a file of men that can be depended upon."

Oliver, thoroughly frightened, authorized a friend, in writing, to say that he abdicated the office of Distributor of Stamps, and would send his resignation to England by the first vessel; but this was not thought satisfactory till the declaration had been repeated in the evening to a crowd assembled around a bonfire.

The governor, with the advice of his Council, offered a reward for the detection of the rioters. But this produced no discovery. Some of the Council would have had a military watch for the coming night, but they were overruled, and the security of the town was left to the ordinary

town magistrates. Some of the counsellors expressed their opinion that the Stamp Act could never be executed. When evening came, the crowd which had assembled about the bonfire went on to the lieutenant-governor's, and shouted for him to come out, and purge himself from any share in the concoction of the odious law. He had barred his doors and windows, and kept quiet, till, on an assurance from one of the townsmen that he had been seen in the afternoon going to his country-house at Milton, they broke a few windows and departed. The governor

Aug. 22. wrote again to the Secretary of the Board of Trade: "They publicly declare that the Castle shall not protect the stamps. Some say it will be stormed by thousands of people. I consider myself as a prisoner at large, being wholly in the power of the people. It is given out among the people that, let the force from England be ever so great, it will be sufficiently opposed. It is my belief that, if there had been one regiment in the barracks of the Castle, this insurrection had never happened. But I don't know that that force would subdue it now."

The popular fury against Hutchinson was not spent. According to his own opinion, the immediate occasions for the next outburst of it were a sermon by Dr. Mayhew on the text, "I would that they were even cut off which trouble you," and the odium excited by his having taken

a deposition of the Judge of the Admiralty, concerning certain transactions of illicit trade. A mob collected in an evening, and made a bonfire in King Street. Thence they moved to the houses of the Registrar of the Admiralty and the Comptroller of the Customs, which they broke into, and made free use of the contents of the cellars. Next they proceeded in a body to Hutchinson's house, which was in a different part of the town, near North Square. He had sent away his family, and was resolved himself to remain ; but one of his daughters returned, and prevailed on him to leave the house, just before the mob entered. They burst the doors and windows, and, pouring in, proceeded to the work of utter devastation. By morning, everything in the house — furniture, papers, pictures, plate — was demolished or carried away, and nothing remained but the brick walls, and upon them the work of destruction had already begun when the dawn of day arrested it. Many valuable papers, public and private, collected by Hutchinson for the purposes of his History, were irrecoverably lost. Some were rescued the next day from the mire into which they had been trodden. Magistrates and officers of the militia were among the crowd that looked on, but, as it appears, were disinclined or afraid to interfere.

The next morning, at a town-meeting in Faneuil Hall, a unanimous vote was passed, condemning these outrageous proceedings, and

calling on the selectmen and justices to take all precautions against a recurrence of the like. The governor came up to town, and summoned a meeting of the Council, by whose advice he offered a large reward for the detection of the rioters. The sheriff seized a person known to have been active among them, but was induced to release him by the remonstrances of some considerable persons among the bystanders, who professed to dread any provocation to further disorder. A few other suspected culprits were committed to gaol, but were rescued by a party, who entered the house of the keeper by night, and obtained his keys by threats of violence. The Supreme Court was to begin a session on the day after the sack of Hutchinson's house. When his robed associates took their seats on the bench, he joined them in the plain dress in which he had awaited the assault the evening before. Instead of charging the grand jury, as usual, he made a speech to the crowd collected in the court-room on the criminality and danger of such transactions as had just occurred; and the session in Boston was adjourned for six weeks. In other parts of the province to which the Court proceeded, the grand juries everywhere took occasion to present addresses condemning the violences committed in the town. The governor wrote home that the popular voice was in favor of the first of them, but that the assault on Hutchinson's house was generally disapproved.

Aug. 31.

As, after Oliver's resignation, there was no authorized custodian of the stamped paper which was now on its way, the governor resolved to receive it himself, and keep it at the Castle; at the same time giving public notice that he had no purpose, as he had no right, to open any of the parcels, but that he felt bound to keep them in safety, lest any accident which might befall them should incur the royal displeasure against the town or province, and make them answerable for an indemnity. What was to be done after the day when, by the terms of the Act, stamps would become necessary to the validity of business transactions and legal documents, was a question earnestly canvassed. Some people were of the opinion that business would have to cease, and the courts to be closed. Others advised to take the risk of continuing all transactions as heretofore, in disregard of the hated law. What was clear was, that, after what had taken place in Massachusetts, no one could at present be so foolhardy as to attempt to distribute the stamped paper, even if in any quarter there should be a disposition to use it.

The intelligence brought from other provinces showed that in them, too, the same state of things existed. The stamps intended for New Hampshire came to Boston, but George Messerve, who had been appointed to distribute them, and who a little before had come from England ^{Sept. 9.} to Portsmouth, had scarcely landed when he was

frightened into a resignation, and Governor Bernard took the unclaimed property into his care.

Oct. 5. "The Stamp Act," wrote Wentworth to

Secretary Conway, "has been universally opposed," and the Stamp Distributors "have been compelled by the mob" to engage not to execute their office. The militiamen "principally are the mob, so that experience has shown that it is in vain to beat to arms." "It is impossible for me to point out, or even to conceive, what is necessary to be done to cure the *insania* which runs through the continent." Augustus Johnson, At-

Aug. 24. torney-General of Rhode Island, who had

been designated as Stamp Distributor for that colony, made haste to publish his determination not "to execute his office against the will of our sovereign lord, the people." His promptness did not save him from indignity and danger. His effigy, and those of two other persons charged with unpatriotic proclivities, after being

Aug. 27. dragged about on a hurdle at Newport, were hanged and burned. The houses of all three were plundered, and they fled for safety, as did most or all of the revenue officers, to an English man-of-war, which was lying in the harbor.

In Connecticut, Governor Fitch was for submitting to the law, but was terrified into acquiescence. Jonathan Trumbull, then of the Council, afterwards governor, would hear of no concession. Ingersoll persisted for a while in the purpose of executing his office of Distributor. From his

home at New Haven he set out for Hartford, professedly to ask the advice of the colonial Assembly which was in session there. ^{Sept. 19.} On his way he was met at Wethersfield by a crowd of several hundreds of persons on horseback, who peremptorily, but without other violence, required him to resign his trust. A parley which followed, and which at last was carried on with heat, ended in his signing a form of resignation which had been prepared. He was conducted by the cavalcade to Hartford, where he read his resignation in the hearing of the Assembly.

Transactions which have been described above were some of the rude symptoms of a fierce popular discontent. It was not by movements of this nature that the English government was to be made to recede from its position. Their tendency rather was to alarm friends of order, to the degree of detaching them from the popular cause. But the cause was too substantial to be ruined by folly on the part of misguided friends. It was taken up by steadier, more skilful, and more vigorous hands.

The General Court of Massachusetts, which met five weeks before the Act was to go ^{Sept. 25.} into effect, was addressed by the governor with an earnestness corresponding to the solemnity of the situation. He bespoke their condemnation of the late disorders in Boston, and of the current protestations of a purpose to resist

the authority of Parliament, whose authority, he urged, could not be disputed, though, without doubt, it was liable to be exercised imprudently. He reminded them of the danger of a factious opposition, and especially of the probability that it would obstruct, rather than advance, attempts for the repeal of the obnoxious law. And he advised them to win the King's approval by not waiting for his requisition before they should make good by a liberal grant the losses occasioned by the recent popular outbreaks.

Sept. 28.

After three days he prorogued the Court, which had made him no reply. Looking forward

Sept. 7.

to this meeting, he had written to the Secretary of the Board of Trade: "Every one tells me I shall not be able to engage them to assist me in carrying the Stamp Act into execution. However, I intend to try, and shall cry aloud, and spare not. If I do not succeed, there is an end of all government on the first of November. . . . The people at present are actually mad, — no man in Bedlam more so." At this session Samuel Adams first held a seat in the General Court, having been elected as a Representative of the town of Boston, in the place of Oxenbridge Thacher, just deceased.

At the time proposed in the circular letter of the General Court of Massachusetts, delegates from nine Anglo-American colonies

Oct. 7.

came together in New York. Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia were not represented,

their assemblies having had no meeting since the invitation from Massachusetts was transmitted. But the Speaker of the House of Representatives of Georgia, after consulting most of the members individually, sent a message of approval and encouragement. A committee from New York came without the regular credentials for the same reason, but had no difficulty in being admitted to the deliberations. The Assembly of New Jersey had been persuaded by the governor, Franklin's natural son, who was devoted to the court, to send a refusal to the summons from Massachusetts; but, encouraged or coerced by a popular outcry, the Speaker called the members of the House together, and they elected delegates. New Hampshire, influenced by Governor Wentworth, held herself aloof from the measure.

The Congress was thus composed of twenty-seven members, of which number New York sent four, Rhode Island and Delaware two each, and each of six other colonies three delegates. The Congress organized itself by adopting the rule that each colony, large or small, should have one vote, and by choosing Timothy Ruggles of Massachusetts to be its President. The session lasted eighteen days, and resulted in the preparation and publication of three papers, to which all the delegates who considered themselves as having formal authority affixed their signatures, except Ruggles of Massachusetts and Ogden of New Jersey, who

excused themselves on the ground that the first use made of the papers should be to submit them to the several colonial assemblies for their judgment. The delegates from Connecticut and South Carolina considered themselves to be present under a similarly restricted commission; and the delegates from New York properly said that it became them to forbear, as not strictly representing any constituency. The associates of Ruggles in the Massachusetts delegation were James Otis and Oliver Partridge. It indicates the desire in Massachusetts to devise some means of amicable settlement, or to practise such deference towards the disaffected and the lukewarm as might ultimately engage their co-operation, that Ruggles and Partridge were sent on this errand; for even as early as this time neither of them had any earnest sympathy with the popular sentiment, and in the progress of the patriotic movement both early fell away from it. On his return to Massachusetts, Ruggles was called before the House, and agreeably to its vote, received a reprimand from the Speaker for his conduct at the Congress.

The manifestoes (so to call them) which were the fruit of the discussions of this Congress, and which to some extent determined the principles and tenor of later action, were a "Declaration of the Rights and Grievances of the Colonists in America"; an Address to the King; a Memorial to the House of Lords; and a Petition to the

House of Commons. The tone of all of them was loyal. The "Declaration," in the form of fourteen Resolves, affirmed that it was "inseparably essential to the freedom of a people and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed upon them but with their own consent given personally, or by their representatives"; that "the inherent and invaluable right of every British subject in these colonies" to trial by jury was invaded by the recent Acts of Parliament, "extending the jurisdiction of the courts of Admiralty beyond its ancient limits"; and that the custom duties lately imposed were "extremely burdensome and grievous, and, from the scarcity of specie, the payment of them absolutely impracticable," while it would make the colonists "unable to purchase the manufactures of Great Britain." In the most respectful strain, and with abundant professions of loyal devotion, the Address to the King presented the same topics, and besought his protection for "those two essential principles, the right of your faithful subjects freely to grant to your Majesty such aids as are required for the support of your government over them and other public exigencies, and trial by their peers. By the one they are secured from unreasonable impositions, and by the other from arbitrary decisions of the executive power." The Memorial to the Lords, admitting for the King's colonial subjects "a due subordination to that august body, the British Parliament," asserted a title "to

all the inherent rights and liberties of the natives of Great Britain"; represented the Stamp Act and the late extension of Admiralty jurisdiction as encroachments on those rights and liberties; and entreated the Lords to "pursue measures for redressing their present, and preventing future grievances, thereby promoting the united interest of Great Britain and America." The Petition to the Commons, while it also protested against the late Acts as unconstitutional and usurping, enlarged chiefly on the argument that "the execution of them would be attended with consequences very injurious to the commercial interest of Great Britain and her colonies, and must terminate in the eventual ruin of the latter." Both Houses of Parliament were solicited to hear counsel in support of the applications thus made to them.

Perhaps in this Congress the prudence of New England was distrusted, for her delegates were not put forward, except in the selection of the prerogative-loving Ruggles to preside. In the Committee on the Address to the King, Johnson of Connecticut, and James Otis in the Committee on the Petition to the House of Commons, held respectively the second place. No colony of New England was represented in the Committee on the Memorial to the House of Lords. Nothing could be more dispassionate or inoffensive than the language of these papers. But they affirmed with great explicitness and solemnity, as the re-

sult of conference and deliberation, the doctrine that Englishmen in Parliament had no right nor competency to tax Englishmen in America. That prolific doctrine flourished, and thenceforward its fruits ripened fast.

No notice was taken of the Address to the King, though it was laid before him by Secretary Conway. The question of receiving the Petition to the House of Commons was debated in that body, William and Edmund Burke favor-^{1763.} ing its reception, but without success.^{Jan. 27.} The uses served by the First General Congress of the Anglo-American colonies were these: The uniting principle of the immunity of all those colonies alike from British taxation was recognized and promulgated. Leading men among them formed an acquaintance with each other, the basis of a mutual respect and confidence extending to their several constituencies. The possibility of joint counsels had been ascertained, and a machinery for them had been tried with success. An encouraging preparation had been made for such joint action as the menacing future might prove to require.

CHAPTER XIX.

LAST TEN YEARS OF COLONIAL DEPENDENCE.

By the Congress at New York it had been ascertained that, in the judgment more or less formally pronounced of thirteen colonies, taxation of them by the British Parliament was an intolerable usurpation, and that united and organized resistance to it was possible. With the establishment of these two facts, enclosing as they did the pregnant germ of a comprehensive national system, the politics of the New England colonies lost much of their separate identity. Though continuing to act with and upon each other, those communities had henceforward not much more connection together than with the rest of English North America, so that their later history becomes part of the history of the Revolution in the United Colonies, and of the independent United States. But a cursory outline of later events in New England, as they proceeded from the protest against the Stamp Act to the armed rising against the parent country, may seem a fit conclusion of this work.

Just at the time of the passing of the Stamp

Act, the King had a monitory, though not severe attack of that disease which at three subsequent periods incapacitated him for the royal functions. On his recovery, it was thought prudent to take measures for a regency, to exercise the powers of the crown in case of a recurrence of the same occasion, or of the sovereign's death while the heir apparent was a child. It was determined that, at the pleasure of the King, a regency should be named including "the Queen or any other person of the royal family usually residing in Great Britain." Under this description, the King thought that his mother, the Princess Dowager of Wales, was eligible. Mr. Grenville and his colleagues judged that the Princess, not being in the order of succession to the throne, could not be esteemed one of the royal family. The King felt hurt, his mother was enraged, and her intriguing friends saw their advantage. The Prime Minister, who had no personal popularity, was outvoted in the House of Commons. The King was impatient to be rid of him. He tried to make terms with Pitt for the formation of a government. But Pitt had too much sense of past ill-treatment, and too fixed a determination to rule in reality if he accepted office, to be won except upon absolute conditions. The result was that a Ministry was formed, with the young Marquess of Rockingham at its head, the
1765.
representative of a great Whig connec- July 13.
tion, a man without shining qualities, but of in-

tegrity, of good intentions, and of experience, for his years, in public business.

Lord Rockingham had no pride to gratify by adherence to the colonial policy of his predecessor, and, if he did not see the injustice, he clearly perceived the extreme inconvenience, of persist-

Dec. 17. ence in it. He met Parliament with state-
Dec. 19. ments of the action of the Congress at

New York, and of the utter failure of the Stamp Act in America. He and General Conway, now a Secretary, had both opposed the Act, but, on the other hand, in their new position, they were responsible for the dignity of the realm. Mr. Grenville, from his seat in the House, flamed with indignation against the philo-American agi-

1766. tators. Pitt came from his sick-chamber

Jan. 14. into the House of Commons. "As to the late Ministry" [the Ministry of Grenville, his wife's brother], he said, "every capital measure they have taken has been entirely wrong." "This Kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies." Grenville delivered an elaborate defence of the Stamp Act. Pitt fell upon him fiercely. "The gentleman tells us that America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest." He advised "that the Stamp Act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immedi-

ately : at the same time let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and made to extend to every kind of legislation whatsoever." The power of taxing he had carefully distinguished from that of legislating. "Taxation is no part of the governing or legislating power."

Franklin, who had but just come to London as agent for Pennsylvania, was examined by the House of Commons respecting the effects produced by the Stamp Act on his countrymen, and their sentiments and purposes concerning it. Lord Rockingham might perhaps have consented to Pitt's distinction between legislation and taxation, but Murray (afterwards Lord Mansfield), then Attorney-General, would not admit it, and the majority in Parliament could not be brought up to that point. What was called a Declaratory Act was passed, affirm-
Feb. 8-13.
ing the authority of Parliament over the colonies in all cases whatsoever. This done, the repeal of the Stamp Act, moved by Mr. Conway, still encountered a determined opposition. After a sharp debate between Grenville on one side and Pitt and Conway on the other, the repeal
March 7.
was carried through the House of Com-
March 18.
mons by two hundred and seventy-five votes against one hundred and sixty-seven. The Lords, in the sequel of a hot discussion, gave it a majority of thirty-four.

Meanwhile the obnoxious Act had utterly failed of execution. As no stamps were on sale in New England, it was unavoidable for business to come to a stop, or to go on without the use of them. Custom-house officers consented to give unstamped clearances to vessels whose owners were willing to take the risk of their seizure at sea. The courts of Massachusetts met at their appointed times, and continued all actions to their next terms. Six weeks after the day when the Act should have gone into effect, the town of

^{1765.} Boston sent a petition to the governor in
^{Dec. 16.} Council, praying that such directions might be given to the courts as that there should be no further delay of justice. Gridley, Otis, and John Adams appeared as counsel for the town. The Council decided "that the subject-matter of this memorial is not proper for the determination of this Board," and remitted it to the decision

^{Dec. 26.} of the judicial courts. Several courts of Probate and of the Common Pleas yielded to the emergency of the case and the clamor of the people, and forbore to enforce on litigants the use of stamped paper. The Supreme Court, under Hutchinson's arrogant influence, still held out. When the Legislature met, the

^{1766.}
^{Jan. 19.} House passed a Resolve, "that the shutting up of the courts of justice has a manifest tendency to dissolve the bands of civil society," and that all officers of government "ought to proceed in the discharge of their

several functions as usual." But the Council had scruples as to going out of its province, and, a speedy repeal of the Act being now confidently anticipated, the Supreme Court, by a continuance of suits before it, kept the question as to its final action in suspense. In the other provinces of New England, the Parliamentary imposition was equally disregarded by the general consent, and, after a slight delay in some quarters, with the acquiescence of public officers.

The relief and delight occasioned in America by the intelligence of the repeal of the Stamp Act were increased by further action of the home government in relaxing the revenue regulations which had caused offence. The Declaratory Act gave not much concern. It was regarded but as brute thunder, in the sound of which the government desired to retreat with decency from its awkward position, and not as a significant menace of any further wrong.

Lord Rockingham's Ministry was embarrassed, and at length demoralized and decomposed.

After no little negotiation, Pitt (made Earl of Chatham) consented to form a Ministry, in which, however, the Duke of Grafton took the post of first Lord of the Treasury, usually held by the head of the Cabinet. Pitt's health, both of body and mind, was now impaired, and before long became miserably broken. Except in the first few months, his public service at this time, extending through more than two years, was

July.

but nominal, except as it was an occasion of constant embarrassment and annoyance to his associates in office. It was at a time of his imbecile seclusion from affairs, that his mercurial Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, — the same statesman who had before patronized the Stamp Act so effectively, — embraced the occasion to set America again in a flame. He carried through an Act of Parliament imposing duties on paper, glass, painters' colors, and tea imported into the colonies. The hope was that the distinction, generally admitted hitherto, between internal taxation and regulations of commerce, would protect this measure against the resistance which had assailed the Stamp Act. But, as if on purpose to relinquish for the Ministry the benefit of this distinction, and relieve the colonial statesmen from the effects of their imprudence in formerly making it prominent, the preamble of the Act asserted its purpose to be "the support of civil government," and the more effectual administration of the colonies; and by a special clause the crown was authorized to establish salaries, pensions, and other allowances in its North American possessions, while, by another, provision was made that money collected in the provincial custom-houses, and not required by the provincial civil list, should be subject to the disposal of the home government. The new duties were to become payable in the fifth month after the passing of the Act;

and just before that time, three commissioners, constituted under another Act with powers supposed to be adequate to secure the collection of the duties, arrived in Boston.

The ill-humor which these measures revived in Massachusetts had found expression just before under a slighter provocation. Mr. Grenville's government had obtained a law ^{1765.} requiring the colonial assemblies to furnish quarters, with fuel and candles, for the King's troops serving among them. An artillery company, coming from New York to Boston, was ^{1767.} quartered in the Castle, and there provided for by the governor's order. At its next session, the House inquired of the governor by what authority this had been done. He justified himself by referring to the Act of Parliament, which he interpreted as requiring the action which he had taken. They replied that that Act gave him no authority whatever; that what it purported to do was to impose an obligation on the General Court; that the Court had appropriated none of the province's money to that use; and that therefore there was none for his warrant lawfully to act upon. There were more serious matters in hand, and this quarrel was not pursued.

The House of Representatives of Massachusetts despatched a petition to the King, ^{1768.} arguing the right of their constituents on ^{Jan. 20.} general principles of equity, by their English citizenship, and by the terms of their charter, to

be taxed "only by representatives of their own free election," and protesting against the course of Parliament in exacting duties from the King's American subjects, "with the sole and express purpose of raising a revenue." They adopted another measure which probably, under the encouragement of their former example, may have seemed to them more promising of practical effect. They addressed a Circular Letter

Feb. 11. to the other provincial assemblies, inviting their concurrence in measures of relief from the late obnoxious legislation of Parliament. Perhaps it was in consequence of the judicious advice of Governor Pownall, in his treatise on the "Administration of the Colonies," that a colonial department was just now instituted. The Earl

Feb. 27. of Hillsborough was the first Colonial Secretary. One of his earliest acts was to instruct Governor Bernard to rebuke his legislature for

April 22. their Circular Letter, and to require them "to rescind the resolution which gave birth to it, and to declare their disapprobation of and dissent

June 21. to that rash and hasty proceeding." At the first opportunity the governor delivered the message; and added that, unless the demand was complied with, he was instructed to dissolve the Court. The House replied to the effect that the repeal demanded would in any case be insignificant and impotent, for the act prescribed by the Resolve had been done; but that it was impossible for them to pass a vote interfering with "the na-

tive, inherent, and indefeasible right of the subject, jointly or severally, to petition the King for the redress of grievances"; that they "had but a vain semblance of liberty left, if the votes of the House were to be controlled by the discretion of a Minister"; and that, finally, they had "voted not to rescind, and that on a division on the question there were ninety-two nays and seventeen yeas," — numbers which afterwards were much repeated. The Court was dissolved the next day, but not till the House had adopted a petition to the King, praying for Bernard's removal from the government.

But the law was in operation, and, without compliance with it, the merchants could not get their goods, of the enumerated descriptions, through the custom-house. The case required different treatment. Many of the traders, first of Boston, then of other ports, agreed together in writing, that, in the year soon to begin, they ^{August.} would import no merchandise from England except certain specified articles of urgent necessity; and particularly that they would receive, neither from any other colony nor from Great Britain, any of the commodities made liable to duties under the recent law.

This movement had perhaps been facilitated by a transaction which at once indicated and aggravated the irritation on both sides. A vessel laden with wine for John Hancock came into Boston Harbor, and a revenue officer went on board. The

master expected to proceed as he may have often done before, and to have his freight landed on the wharf, while the representative of the King's claim was entertained in the cabin. The commissioners had determined to put a stop to such irregularities; their officer had other orders, accordingly; but he was prevented from carrying them out by being confined till more or less of the cargo was put on shore. The commissioners complained next day that the entry made at the custom-house was false, as not representing all the property; and at their desire the vessel was anchored under the guns of a man-of-war. A mob assaulted some of the revenue officers, broke the windows of the houses of three of
 June 10. them, and, seizing the collector's boat, dragged it in a procession through the streets, and made a bonfire of it on the Common. The commissioners, professing to be alarmed for their lives, went first on board the ship of war, and then to the Castle.

Such was the way of proceeding of one class of the ill-treated and angry people. A different way, at once less exceptionable and more effectual, was taken by another class. On the circulation of a report that regular troops were coming from Halifax to Boston, a town meeting was held, which sent a message to the governor, in-
 Sept. 12. quiring what information he had upon that subject, and praying him to convoke the General Court, in order to such measures as the critical

times required. . He replied that he had no official information on the former subject, and that his instructions forbade him to convene the Legislature. Thereupon the town passed a series of Resolves, among which was one against "keeping a standing army in the town without the consent of the inhabitants in person or by their representatives"; and voted to invite all the towns of the province to a convention to be constituted in the same manner as the House was constituted under the governor's writ. It was further voted to invite the ministers of the town to set apart a day for fasting and prayer; and, in a half-facetious mood, in language not expected to deceive any one, the inhabitants were advised to provide themselves with fire-arms, on account of "a prevailing apprehension in the minds of many of an approaching war with France."

Representatives from ninety-six towns and eight districts came to the convention thus summoned. The members organized ^{Sept. 22.} themselves like the House, and chose the Speaker for their presiding officer. The tone of their proceedings was inoffensive. They sent to the governor a petition for a General Court, which he refused to receive, as coming from an unlawful Assembly. And, on separating, they published a manifesto, expressing loyal sentiments, setting forth with moderation the existing grievances, and advising the people to repress passionate resentments, and avoid disorders. The chief use

of the convention seems to have been to show how easy it was to make a great political combination, capable of acting with something of the power of a General Court constitutionally assembled.

The deliberations of the convention lasted a week. The day before its dissolution, a
 Sept. 28. fleet of transports arrived at Nantasket with nine hundred troops from Halifax, sent in consequence of what the Ministry had learned of the position of the Commissioners of the Customs. The fleet came up to the town,

Oct. 1. and seven hundred men, with a parade of strength, with fire-locks charged and fixed bayonets, were marched to Boston Common. The governor called on the selectmen to provide quarters for them, but his message received no attention. The next day, by his permission,

Oct. 2. they took possession of the lower floor of the Town House, flanked by two cannon pointed down King Street. The day was Sunday, and the pomp and circumstance, and the loud martial music, excited the defied church-goers of both sexes and all ages to two-fold rage. Thenceforward the Counsellors had to pass through the soldiers in going to their session. The governor called on the Council to provide barracks according to the late Act of Parliament, which they declined to do. The

Nov. 10. next month detachments of two regiments arrived in Boston from Ireland.

Parliament passed Resolves, condemning the recent proceedings in Massachusetts, especially the Convention of Representatives of the towns, and the two Houses united in an ^{1769.} ^{Feb. 9.}

Address to the King, advising vigorous measures for the vindication of his authority. It was essential, by the charter of Massachusetts, that the General Court should come together in the spring for the choice of the members of one branch. As to that, the governor had ^{May.}

no discretion. The House seized the opportunity to represent to him "that an armament by sea and land investing this metropolis, and a military guard with cannon pointed at the door of the State House where the Assembly is held, are inconsistent with that dignity and freedom with which they have a right to deliberate, consult, and determine"; and to acquaint him with their expectation that he would "give effectual orders for the removal of the above-mentioned forces by sea and land out of this port and the gates of this city, during the session of the said Assembly."

He replied that he had no authority over the King's ships or troops, and he turned the tables upon them by adjourning them to Cam- ^{July 6-} ^{12.}bridge. To his repetition of a demand for

supplies for the troops, the House replied: "As we cannot consistently with our own honor or interest, much less with the duty we owe to our constituents, so we never shall make any provision of funds for the purposes of your several

messages." He prorogued them immediately, and never met them again. He had for a long time been impatient of his position, and had solicited to be recalled. Having at last obtained his wish,

Aug. 1. he sailed for England, leaving lieutenant-governor Hutchinson at the head of the government. There were noisy demonstrations of joy in Boston at the governor's departure.

By the prorogation, the General Court would
1770. have come together in the second week
Jan. 10. of the next year in Boston. As that time

approached, Hutchinson, under instructions from
March 15. England, prorogued it for two months longer, then to meet at Cambridge. Just

before the meeting a serious affair occurred. There had been mutual affronts and quarrels all along between the citizens of Boston and the troops. On one occasion, a private soldier

March 3. was wounded in such an affray. The commanding officer of the regiment complained

to the lieutenant-governor; the lieutenant-governor consulted the Council; and the

March 5. Counsellors generally expressed their opinion that such troubles could only be avoided by a removal of the troops. On the evening of this consultation, the broil assumed different dimensions. A soldier who had been roughly treated ran to his comrades in King Street for protection, and the guard was turned out. Assailed with snow-balls and bits of ice, the guard was at length provoked

to fire upon the crowd. The discharge killed three men and wounded two others mortally, while others received slight hurts. The lieutenant-governor came to the Council chamber, and caused the soldiers of the guard, with the captain of their company, John Preston, to be committed to prison. Samuel Adams and others presented themselves as a committee of the town, to insist that, for the avoiding of further bloodshed, the troops should be removed to the Castle, which was accordingly done with the reluctant consent of the commanding officer, Colonel Dalrymple. It speaks well for the province and its leaders that the perpetrators of this *Boston Massacre*, as it was called, had a fair trial, and the best professional defence ; — the latter being conducted by John Adams and Josiah Quincy, junior, both among the most active patriots of the day. At the trial, which took place in the au-^{October.} tumn, two men were convicted of manslaughter. Six others, with the captain, were acquitted.

The lieutenant-governor made no allusion to this disastrous affair when he met the^{March 15.} General Court. The House found an opportunity to refer to it, when he soon after called their attention to some rude treatment of a servant of the custom-house, in the fishing town of Gloucester ; and they denounced a standing army in the province as "an unlawful assembly, of all others the most dangerous and alarming." Both

branches revived the old argument against the governor's right to appoint their session in any other place than Boston. But their complaint produced no effect.

Jan. 28. The Duke of Grafton had withdrawn from office, and been succeeded by Lord North, as first Minister of the crown. Influenced, it seems, by the London merchants, who had suffered from the non-importation agreements in America, Lord North, on the very March 5. day which witnessed the collision of the soldiers and the populace in Boston, brought into Parliament a bill for a repeal of all the duties laid three years before, except the duty upon tea. This, he said, "was continued for maintaining the Parliamentary right of taxation." And, to render it acceptable in America, he subsequently made an arrangement for relieving the commodity of a duty of a shilling a pound hitherto payable on its exportation from England, so that, the importation tax upon it being reduced to threepence a pound, the colonists would receive it, not at an enhanced price, but at a price ninepence lower for the pound than it had cost before. Lord North most erroneously supposed that, in the stage to which their politics had now advanced, or that at any time, the colonies were to be satisfied by the mere alleviation of a pecuniary burden.

Governor Pownall, perhaps better informed than any other member of Parliament respecting the tenor of thought in America, protested

against Lord North's exception of the tea duty. The bill, however, became a law. ^{April 12.} For the present it was resisted in America only by an agreement, which there was an effort to make general, to use no tea. If no tea was bought, the Act would be defeated, because merchants would not pass through the custom-house a commodity which they knew to be unsalable; and thus the East India Company would ultimately be coerced into soliciting the repeal of a law which prevented their doing business with the colonies.

Bernard continued to hold the commission of governor of Massachusetts for a year and a half after his departure. At the end of that ^{1771.} time it was transferred to Hutchinson, ^{February.} Andrew Oliver, lately Secretary, being made lieutenant-governor in Hutchinson's place. The new governor was at the same time informed that he was to receive a salary from the King. ^{April 3} At the first meeting of the General Court after his accession, they made him the customary grant, and on his declining to receive it the House sent a message to inquire, "Whether any provision had been made for his support as governor of the province, independent of his Majesty's Commons in it." He replied that a recent Act of Parliament had empowered the King to provide for the support of his colonial governments; and when he should have received his instructions, he would make such communications as the public service might require. The ques-

June 19. tion was not pressed during this year further than by a declaration that, "by the charter, the governor, with other civil officers, is to be supported by the free gift of the General Assembly." Perhaps the Court thought it prudent to have some more experience of the new ruler whom the King had chosen from among themselves, before they proceeded to make a sharp issue with him.

Before the question was again agitated, the attention of the Ministry was drawn to an offensive transaction in Rhode Island. A revenue cutter, the *Gaspee*, had been active in Narragansett Bay, and had affronted the masters of the coast-
 1772.
 June 10. ing vessels by requiring them to dip their flags in token of respect to the royal ensign which she bore. A vessel of light draft, which she chased, ran close in to the shore. The trick succeeded, and the *Gaspee* went aground about the time of high tide. The water receded, and, night coming on while she lay helpless, an armed party from Providence boarded her, sent her company on shore, and burned her down to the water's edge. Her lieutenant in command was wounded, but no other mischief was done to life or limb. A reward of five hundred pounds was offered for the detection of the persons concerned in the adventure, and subsequently a commission of inquiry was constituted by the home government, consisting of the Governor of Rhode Island, the Admiralty Judge at Boston, and the Chief Justices of

Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey. But no discovery was made, though in Providence the names of the perpetrators were scarcely a secret.

The General Court of Massachusetts renewed their complaint against the alleged abuse of their governor's receiving his salary from England, affirming that their charter was a contract between the province and the crown ; that

July.

in it the province had covenanted, among other things, to make adequate provision for the support of the King's governor, which agreement they had punctually and liberally fulfilled ; and that "the governor's having and receiving his support, independent of the grants and acts of the General Assembly, was a dangerous innovation, rendering him a governor not dependent on the people, as the charter prescribed, and consequently not, in that respect, such a governor as the people consented to at the granting thereof. And the House did most solemnly protest that the innovation was an important change of the Constitution, and exposed the province to a despotic administration of government."

The governor replied with a copious argument, which was as fruitless for conviction as he doubtless expected. The question took strong hold of the popular mind. News came to Boston that the provincial judges also were to be paid by royal grants, from funds in the hands of the commissioners of the customs. The citizens in town-meeting sent to the gov-

July 14.

error an inquiry into the truth of this report. He declined to satisfy them, and they prayed him not to postpone the meeting of the General Court beyond the early day to which it stood prorogued. He told them that he had already determined on a postponement, and should persist in that purpose, the rather because his receding from it might encourage other towns in interfering with the governor's prerogative of fixing the times for legislation,—an interference foreign from the legitimate business of town-meetings.

Thereupon the town raised a committee
 Nov. 2. consisting of twenty-one of the most eminent citizens, with James Otis and Samuel Adams at the head of the list, “to state the rights of the colonists, and of this province in particular, as men and Christians and as subjects; and to communicate and publish the same to the several towns and to the world, as the sense of this town, with the infringements and violations thereof, that have been or from time to time may be made.” A subsequent vote

Nov. 19. directed that the statement, which was two or three weeks in preparing, should be sent to the several towns of the province, accompanied by a circular letter from the committee, now called the “Committee of Correspondence.” “Let us consider, brethren,”—with such exhortation did it address them,—“we are struggling for our best birthrights and inheritance, which being infringed renders all our blessings precarious in their enjoy-

ment, and consequently trifling in their value. Let us disappoint the men who are raising themselves on the ruin of this country. Let us convince every invader of our freedom that we will be as free as the constitution our fathers recognized will justify."

A new excitement was produced by the discovery of certain letters, in which Hutchinson, Andrew Oliver, Paxton (a Revenue Commissioner), Auchmuty (the Attorney-General), and two or three other persons had expressed to their friends in England sentiments unfriendly to the colonial cause. The original letters, coming, by means which to this day are unknown, into the hands of Dr. Franklin, then in London, were sent by him to the Speaker of the ^{December.} House of Representatives of Massachusetts, with injunctions to return them when they should have been shown confidentially to a few leading persons, and to permit no copies to be taken. In the course of several months after their reception, a vague rumor of it got abroad. At the following spring session of the General Court, Mr. Samuel Adams moved for a secret session of the Representatives, and informed them that in view of the general uneasiness which had been created by the report, he had obtained the consent of the person who had the letters in charge to have them read to the House, but not to be printed or copied. The House, having heard them ^{1773.} read, voted that they "tended, and were ^{June 2.}

designed, to overthrow the constitution of the government, and to introduce arbitrary power into the province." The vote was published, and made a strong impression, and the anxiety for more precise information was great, till Mr. Adams informed the House that he was authorized to take off the restriction under which the letters had been communicated. The House ordered them to be published, along with a further Resolve declaring that the Representatives were "bound, in duty to the King and to their constituents, to remonstrate to his Majesty against the governor and the lieutenant-governor, and to pray that he would be pleased to remove them forever from the government of the province." An Address accordingly was sent to Dr. Franklin, to be presented to the King in Council. Before the prorogation the House pronounced itself upon another question. They voted it to be their opinion that, if the judges of the Superior Court, holding their places during pleasure, should consent to receive salaries from the crown, they would show "that they had not a due sense of the importance of an impartial administration of justice; that they were enemies to the Constitution, and had it in their hearts to promote the establishment of an arbitrary government in the province."

Though circumstances had placed Massachusetts in the van of resistance to the usurpations of the British Ministry, the spirit of determina-

tion in her sister colonies of New England was the same as her own. Governor Fitch, of Connecticut, had hitherto been much esteemed and trusted, but, consenting to take the required oath to maintain the Stamp Act, he incurred the displeasure of his fellow-citizens, and, with all the Counsellors who sympathized with him, was displaced on the first opportunity of a popular vote. In that colony and in Rhode Island business went on without interruption from the prohibitions of that Act, judicial and other officers being instructed beforehand by the legislatures to proceed without regard to it. In New Hampshire, Governor Wentworth, though friendly to prerogative principles, took no steps to enforce it, and his embarrassment was relieved by the circumstance that by some accident no formal communication had been made to him from England on the subject.

1766.

May.

Sept.

The prospect of a pacific issue to the controversy with the parent country had been darkening rapidly. In America there was no approach to acquiescence in that pretension of a right to tax the colonies which Parliament appeared resolved to maintain. One more step in advance brought the predestined collision. The great diminution which had taken place in the use of tea in the colonies having discouraged the merchants from importing it, and caused large quantities of it to be accumulated in England, the East India Com-

pany determined to export it on their own account, and thus to avail themselves of a permission which Parliament had given, connecting with it an arrangement for selling the tea to advantage at a reduced price. In the view of the American patriots, here was presented a final turning-point in the controversy. If by this plausible proceeding, and to this very small amount, the English Exchequer should succeed in establishing a colonial tax, the principle of absolute exemption for which the colonies had been contending would be sacrificed. If this attempt, made with extraordinary advantages, were defeated, there would be good hope of its being definitively abandoned. Agreements were made at different seaports to prevent the landing of the tea,—a more practicable thing than to prevent its being bought after it should be on shore. At Charleston (South Carolina) the people unloaded the vessels, and stored the cargoes under a guard of their own. At New York and Philadelphia the masters of the ships yielded to the popular outcry, and carried their freights back. Elsewhere there was no royal representative to be dealt with so resolute as Governor Hutchinson. In New England no tea arrived in ports of either Rhode Island or Connecticut. Two cargoes came tardily to New Hampshire, but Governor John Wentworth, who had now succeeded his uncle in that

1767. office, was a moderate and prudent man,
June. and had no mind to have repeated at

Portsmouth a scene that had been enacted elsewhere; and, with his consent or connivance, the consignees, yielding to the demand of the people, paid the duties, and re-shipped the cargoes to Halifax.

1774.

June.

Three tea ships came to Boston. The master of the first which arrived was persuaded to consent to take his freight back to England. But

1773.

Nov. 28.

the Collector held that he could give no clearance till the imported cargo was landed, and the legal duties paid. The master then applied to the governor for a pass to prevent his being stopped at the Castle. But the governor said that no such pass could be legally given till a clearance had been obtained at the cus-

Dec. 14.

tom-house. While the master was on this errand to the governor's country-house at Milton, the inhabitants of Boston were assembled in town-meeting at the Old South Church. When the answer was brought back, which was not till after dark, a shout was heard without, and a body of some fifty men, roughly dressed as Indians, passed down Milk Street, to the wharf where the tea-ships lay. The meeting at the church was immediately dissolved, and a portion of the assembly, following, stood by as a guard against interruption, while the disguised party did their work. They passed up from the holds of the vessels some three hundred and fifty chests of tea, broke them open with hatchets, and poured their contents into the dock. The

next morning all was quiet. The doers of the bold act remained unknown. The governor went to the Castle for a night. He thought of issuing a proclamation, but concluded that it would only be ridiculed. He could get no encouragement from his Council to take any measure.

Parliament was in session when the news of this transaction reached England. It was clear that a definite crisis had arrived. Eight years had passed since, with great deliberation and unanimity, Englishmen in America had resolved that they were not subject to taxation by the British government, and now, in assertion of that freedom, there had been a violent destruction of a considerable amount of British property. It was unavoidable that either the government must yield or the aggressors be punished and disabled.

^{1774.} The King sent down a message, denoun-
^{March 7.} cing the outbreak in Boston as not only an interference with British commerce, but an outrage on the British Constitution. Without delay, a measure of exemplary vengeance
^{March 31.} was adopted. By the "Boston Port Bill," so called, which was to take effect almost as soon as tidings of it could reach America, the commerce of that town, which made the living of its people, was to be annihilated. No vessel was to be allowed to take in or discharge a cargo there, or, unless laden with food or fuel, to remain in the harbor six hours. Not the town only, but the province, was thought to require

punishment and restraint, and another Act was passed to take away some of the privileges vested by the charter. It provided that henceforward Counsellors should be appointed by ^{May 6.} the crown, and that towns should hold no meetings, except for a few specified purposes, and except such as should be allowed by the governor in writing. By a third Act, understood to be for the protection of British troops serving under the governor's orders in Massachusetts, persons indicted there for murder committed in the defence of magistrates might be sent for trial to Great Britain, or to another colony. And a fourth law, changing the government of Quebec, was interpreted as being a menace to the disaffected provinces.

Hutchinson wished to withdraw from his government, at least for a time, and go to ^{June 1.} England. Two or three weeks before he sailed, General Thomas Gage came to ^{May 13.} Boston with a commission to succeed him. Gage had been for eleven years commander-in-chief of the King's forces in North America, and, in the existing circumstances, it was thought to be for the King's service that the head-quarters of the army should be in Boston.

On the day of Hutchinson's melancholy departure the Port Bill went into effect, ^{June 1.} twenty days after the first intelligence of it was received. The occasion was observed in other parts of the country with demonstrations

of public mourning. Business in Boston came to a stand-still. Mechanics and laborers had no employment. Men of property received no rents; poor men could earn no wages.

The Ministry had flattered themselves that the commerce of the country would be carried on by rival ports, profited as these would be by the desertion of the chief town. On the contrary, at the rival ports people were thinking of nothing but how the sufferings of Boston, incurred in the common cause, could best be relieved. Salem and Marblehead, the two next most important marts of the province, offered to the Boston merchants the gratuitous use of their wharves and warehouses, and their own services in discharging and unloading their vessels. From all parts of New England came letters of encouragement and liberal supplies of food. Even the Southern provinces, Virginia in particular, took a zealous part in these contributions. Four British regiments were now in Boston. There was another at Salem, fifteen miles off, and reinforcements were under marching orders from Quebec and the middle colonies.

The new General Court, meeting agreeably to the charter in the spring, was, after a few days' session, transferred by the governor to Salem. Of the twenty-six Counsellors whom it chose, no fewer than thirteen were disallowed by the governor, and no step was taken to fill the vacancies thus created. A list of thirty-six Counsellors nom-

inated in England agreeably to the provisions of the new Act, and hence known as *Mandamus* Counsellors, was sent to the governor. Only two thirds of the number, however, at first accepted the office, and as to them, the course of events which immediately followed caused the acceptance to be merely nominal.

The House having resolved to invite a Congress of all the colonies, appointed ^{June 7.} five delegates on their own part, and informed the other colonies of their action. On this the Court was immediately dissolved. The Congress met at Philadelphia, comprising delegates from all the continental colonies (Georgia alone excepted), that composed the British Empire in North America before the conquest of New France. They chose Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, to be President, and determined that in all their action, as in that of the similar Congress nine years before, each province and colony, large or small, should have one vote. They ^{Oct. 1.} agreed on a Declaration of Rights, an Address to the King, a representation to ^{Oct. 11.} be made to the people of the colonies, and an Address to the people of Great Britain. After a session of eight weeks the Congress was dissolved, having first given its advice that another Congress should be held in the next spring. Its doings were approved by the legislatures of all the colonies represented in it, except New York, whose politics were always fluctuating.

General Gage, meanwhile, had been making arrangements with a view to what might be in the near future. He stationed a force at a small work which he had built on the *Neck*, the isthmus which connected the peninsula of Boston with the mainland. In the arsenal of

Sept. 1. Charlestown were two or three hundred barrels of powder belonging to the province. He sent two companies in boats by night, who carried off the powder, and lodged it in the Castle. At Cambridge, in like manner, he made prize of two small pieces of cannon. He had sent out precepts for a new General Court, but altered his mind, and prorogued it before the day arrived. But it was alleged that there was some informality in the prorogation, and the members

Oct. 5. came together in disregard of it. The governor not appearing, as it could not have been expected that he would, the Representatives resolved themselves into what they called

Oct. 11. a Provincial Congress, adjourned to Concord, further inland, and chose John Hancock to be their President. The governor sent

Oct. 17. to warn them against persisting in their illegal proceedings, but they had already adjourned to Cambridge, where, having received

Oct. 20. the report of their Delegates to the General Congress, they raised a Committee to

Oct. 27. propose a plan for the defence of the province, a Committee of Safety, and a Committee of Supplies; made arrangements to em-

body a force of minute-men, consisting of one quarter part of the militia of the colony; and chose three general officers, Jedediah Preble, Artemas Ward, and Seth Pomeroy, to take the command. Six weeks later the Provincial Congress appointed two more generals, John Thomas and William Heath. These were soldiers of the late French war.

Dec. 8.

There had been evidence that the sister colonies of New England at least might be confidently relied upon for vigorous support. All of them had been sending generous supplies to Boston. Connecticut had been making an inspection of her military stores, and a finish

May.

of the officering of her militia, had kept "a day of humiliation and prayer on account of the threatening aspects of Divine Providence," and had ordered frequent drills of all her troops. Rhode Island needed no stimulating. Already, two years before, some of her people had shown her impatience for action by the daring adventure of boarding and burning a King's

1772.

June 9.

ship. In more regular and effective methods, the conduct of Rhode Island, while the plot thickened, was spirited in a high degree. The artillery and other arms of the colony were distributed in places of security; volunteer companies

1774.

Oct. - Dec.

militia was otherwise reformed. In New Hampshire, the fort at Portsmouth was

Dec. 13.

stripped and dismantled, as Fort George had

been in Newport Harbor, and the ammunition was stored, to await future contingencies.

Lord Chatham came again from his long retirement to his place in the House of Lords, ^{1775.} to urge a recurrence to conciliatory measures. But he argued, warned, and entreated in vain. In an Address of the two Houses of Parliament to the King, they assured him of their support in measures to maintain his authority in all parts of his dominions; and the next day, by a large majority, a bill was passed designed to retaliate on the non-importation agreement in the colonies.

A new Provincial Congress met in Massachusetts in the same month. They published a declaration that, for reasons which they set forth, they apprehended an attempt on the part of the British Ministry to destroy the colony; and they announced that no time was to be lost on the part of the militia, and especially of the minute-men, to bring themselves to a good condition of discipline and efficiency.

General Gage sent from the Castle a hundred and fifty men to destroy some military stores, which, as he heard, were collected at Salem. The party was confronted by thirty or forty men under Colonel Pickering, who had raised the draw of a bridge in that town, and the party, after a parley, withdrew without accomplishing its object.

It was understood that at Concord, eighteen

miles from Boston, the Provincial Congress had made a considerable deposit of arms and ammunition. The governor sent a detachment of eight hundred men to destroy or bring them away. ^{April 18.} An hour before a midnight of early spring the troops stealthily left the town in boats. But they were watched, and, by signals before agreed upon, the movement was made known to the people on the other side. The next morning heard "the shot which has rung round the world." Landing in Cambridge, the troops pushed on to Lexington, which they reached at ^{April 19.} daybreak. There they found a company of some seventy minute-men, drawn up under arms. The British major in command called on them to disperse, and ordered his men to fire. Eight Americans were killed and several were wounded, and the party proceeded on its destination. Reaching Concord, and occupying the bridge over the river of that name, at the further end of the town, they destroyed a part of the stores of which they had come in quest, while the militia collected on the other side and tried to remove the planks. The troops fired, killing Captain Davis, of Acton, and a private of his company. The fire was returned, and the soldiers retreated. As they retraced their steps they were assailed from the rear, and from behind stone-walls on both sides of their way. At Lexington, where they were received into a hollow square by Lord Percy, who had been sent out from Boston to reinforce

them with nine hundred men, they gained a little rest under the protection of two pieces of cannon. But the day was waning, and it was necessary to resume the march. The alarm was now spread widely, and they were shot at all along their retreat by companies of marksmen who came up by the side roads. In a desperate condition of exhaustion and demoralization, they reached cover at Charlestown, after sunset. The eight years' war of American Independence was begun.

On the next day but one the British troops were withdrawn into Boston, where, before the
 April 21. end of the week, they and their comrades were surrounded by a force of some twenty thousand provincials, in a semicircle extending from Dorchester to Charlestown. Massachusetts poured in its militia from north, south, and west. Joseph Spencer led three thousand minute-men from Connecticut, and John Stark twelve hundred from New Hampshire. The Quaker, Nathaniel Greene, came with three excellently well equipped regiments from Rhode Island. General Gage, with a command now raised by reinforcements to the number of ten thousand disciplined and well-appointed soldiers, hoped that he might break the blockade and penetrate into the country. It was believed that he was about to make the

attempt by crossing over the narrow channel which divides Boston from Charlestown, and to obstruct that design the American general sent a party by night to build a work on high land of the latter town. The next day a British force four thousand strong drove them out of it, with a loss to themselves of from a thousand to fifteen hundred men, killed and wounded, while the loss of the untrained provincials was reckoned at four hundred and fifty out of fifteen hundred, the largest number at any one time engaged. The Continental Congress which had met at Philadelphia in the preceding month appointed a General-in-Chief of "the armies raised and to be raised for the defence of American liberty." And on the sixteenth day after the fight on Bunker's Hill, the roll of the New England drums at Cambridge announced the presence there of the Virginian, GEORGE WASHINGTON.

June 16.

June 17.

May 10.

June 15.

July 3.

APPENDIX

TO VOLUMES III. AND IV.

MAGISTRATES OF THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES BETWEEN THE FIRST TWO REVOLUTIONS.

MASSACHUSETTS.

GOVERNORS.

1689-1692. Simon Bradstreet.	1730-1741. Jonathan Belcher.
1692-1695. William Phipps.	1741-1756. William Shirley.
1697-1701. Lord Bellomont.	1757-1760. Thomas Pownall.
1702-1715. Joseph Dudley.	1760-1769. Francis Bernard.
1716-1727. Samuel Shute.	1771-1774. Thomas Hutchinson.
1728, 1729. William Burnet.	1774, 1775. Thomas Gage.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS.

1689-1692. Thomas Danforth.	1716-1730. William Dummer.
1692-1701. William Stoughton.	1733-1757. Spencer Phips.
1702-1711. Thomas Povey.	1758-1771. Thomas Hutchinson.
1711-1716, 1730-1732. William Tailer.	1771-1774. Andrew Oliver.
	1774, 1775. Thomas Oliver.

COUNSELLORS UNDER THE PROVINCIAL CHARTER.*

Simon Bradstreet, 1692.	John Joliffe, 1692.
John Richards, 1692.	Adam Winthrop, 1692.
Nathaniel Saltonstall, 1692.	Richard Middlecot, 1692.
Wait Winthrop, 1692-1717.	John Foster, 1692-1710.
John Phillips, 1692.	Peter Sargeant, 1692-1702.
James Russell, 1692-1708.	John Lynde, 1692.
Samuel Sewall, 1692-1725.	Samuel Heyman, 1692.
Samuel Appleton, 1692.	Stephen Mason, 1692.
Bartholomew Gedney, 1692-1697.	Thomas Hinckley, 1692.
John Hathorne, 1692-1712.	William Bradford, 1692-1698.
Elisha Hutchinson, 1692-1717.	John Walley, 1692, 1693, 1696-1706.
Robert Pike, 1692-1695.	
Jonathan Corwin, 1692-1714.	Barnabas Lothrop, 1692-1702.

* See page 451.

- Job Alcot, 1692.
 Samuel Daniell, 1692, 1693, 1700.
 Silvanus Davis, 1692, 1693.
 William Stoughton, 1693-1701.
 Thomas Danforth, 1693-1699.
 John Pynchon, 1693-1702.
 Isaac Addington, 1693-1714.
 Daniel Pierce, 1693-1703.
 William Browne, 1693-1713.
 Nathaniel Thomas, 1693-1702.
 John Saffin, 1693-1702.
 Charles Frost, 1693-1697.
 Francis Hooke, 1693, 1694.
 Elisha Cooke, 1694-1702.
 John Thatcher, 1694-1707.
 Samuel Wheelwright, 1694-1699.
 Joseph Lynde, 1694-1705, 1707-1716.
 Samuel Shrimpton, 1695-1697.
 Eliakim Hutchinson, 1697-1717.
 John Appleton, 1698-1702.
 Penn Townsend, 1698-1707.
 Joseph Hammond, 1698-1703, 1705.
 Nathaniel Byfield, 1699-1702, 1704.
 John Higginson, 1700-1719.
 Samuel Partridge, 1700-1714.
 Benjamin Browne, 1701-1707.
 Andrew Belcher, 1702-1717.
 Edward Bromfield, 1703-1720.
 Samuel Hayman, 1703-1705.
 Samuel Legg, 1703-1706.
 Ephraim Hunt, 1703-1713.
 Samuel Appleton, 1703-1708, 1713, 1714.
 Isaac Winslow, 1703-1736.
 Nathaniel Payne, 1703-1707.
 Simeon Stoddard, 1704, 1705, 1707.
 John Cushing, 1706.
 Ichabod Plaisted, 1706-1715.
 John Leverett, 1706.
 John Appleton, 1706-1723.
 Peter Sargeant, 1707-1713.
 John Cushing, Jr., 1707-1723.
 Nathaniel Norden, 1708-1723.
 John Otis, 1708-1727.
 John Wheelwright, 1708-1732.
 Daniel Epes, 1708-1713.
 Joseph Church, 1708.
 Thomas Noyes, 1711-1714, 1716-1718, 1721.
 William Tailer, 1712-1729.
 Benjamin Lynde, 1713-1736.
 Addington Davenport, 1714-1729, 1734.
 Thomas Hutchinson, 1714-1723, 1725, 1726, 1728-1739.
 John Clark, 1714-1719, 1724.
 Elisha Cook, 1715, 1717, 1724-1726, 1728.
 Samuel Brown, 1715-1730.
 John Pynchon, 1715, 1716.
 Thomas Oliver, 1715.
 Thomas Fitch, 1715-1730, 1734.
 Edmund Quincy, 1715-1729, 1734-1737.
 Nathaniel Byfield, 1716-1719, 1724-1728.
 Adam Winthrop, 1715-1718, 1721-1726, 1728.
 William Dummer, 1717-1720, 1722, 1738, 1739.
 Samuel Partridge, 1718-1723.
 Jonathan Belcher, 1718-1720, 1722, 1723, 1726, 1727.
 Jonathan Dowse, 1718-1726, 1728-1730.
 Paul Dudley, 1718-1729, 1731-1736.
 Joseph Hammond, 1718-1728.
 Samuel Thaxter, 1719-1737.
 Charles Frost, 1719-1724.
 John Burrill, 1720, 1721.
 John Turner, 1721-1740.

- Spencer Phips, 1721-1723, 1725-1732.
 Daniel Oliver, 1724-1732.
 Symonds Epes, 1724-1735.
 Thomas Palmer, 1724-1726, 1730-1734.
 Meletiah Bourne, 1724-1731, 1733-1739.
 John Stoddard, 1724, 1727, 1728.
 John Clark, 1724-1726.
 Edward Hutchinson, 1725, 1726, 1738-1740.
 Jonathan Remington, 1727, 1730-1740.
 Timothy Lindall, 1727, 1728.
 John Chandler, 1727, 1728.
 Charles Chambers, 1727, 1728.
 Theophilus Burrill, 1727-1730.
 William Pepperell, Jr., 1727-1759.
 William Dudley, 1729-1740, 1742, 1743.
 Peter Thatcher, 1729-1731.
 William Clarke, 1730-1733.
 John Alford, 1730-1733.
 Seth Williams, 1730-1739.
 Timothy Gerrish, 1730-1734.
 Ebenezer Stone, 1730-1733.
 Nathaniel Coffin, 1730.
 Thomas Cushing, 1731-1736.
 Joseph Wadsworth, 1731-1733.
 John Osborne, 1731-1740.
 Ebenezer Burrill, 1731-1740, 1742, 1743, 1746.
 Ezekiel Lewis, 1731-1735.
 Isaac Lothrop, 1732-1736.
 Francis Foxcroft, 1732-1757.
 Samuel Came, 1733-1741.
 John Jeffries, 1733-1744.
 Edward Goddard, 1733-1735.
 Josiah Willard, 1734-1755.
 Jacob Wendell, 1734-1760.
 Samuel Welles, 1734-1738, 1740, 1747, 1748.
 Anthony Stoddard, 1735-1742.
 Jeremiah Moulton, 1735-1751.
 Thomas Berry, 1735-1740.
 Joseph Wilder, 1735-1740, 1742-1752.
 Ebenezer Pomeroy, 1736.
 John Cushing, 1736-1763.
 Benjamin Lynde, Jr., 1737-1740, 1743-1765.
 Nathaniel Hubbard 1737-1740, 1742-1745.
 Richard Bill, 1737-1741.
 Daniel Russell, 1737-1740.
 Ezekiel Lewis, 1738-1740.
 Samuel Danforth, 1739-1774.
 Shubal Gorham, 1740-1743.
 William Brown, 1740.
 William Foye, 1741-1751.
 John Reed, 1741, 1742.
 John Greenleaf, 1741-1756.
 Samuel Waldo, 1742-1745.
 Samuel Watts, 1742-1763.
 George Leonard, 1742-1766.
 John Hill, 1742-1769.
 James Allen, 1742.
 Joseph Dwight, 1742-1746.
 John Quincy, 1742, 1747-1753.
 Richard Saltonstall, 1743-1745.
 John Chandler, 1743.
 Ezekiel Cheever, 1743-1762.
 Sylvanus Bourne, 1743-1761.
 Isaac Little, 1743.
 Eliakim Hutchinson, 1744-1746.
 James Bowdoin, 1744-1746, 1757-1773.
 John Wheelwright, 1745-1754.
 James Minot, 1746-1758.
 Andrew Oliver, 1746-1765.
 Perez Bradford, 1746.
 Joseph Pynchon, 1747-1760.
 John Otis, 1747-1756.
 Thomas Hutchinson, 1749-1765.
 Stephen Sewall, 1752-1760.

- Jabez Fox, 1752-1754.
 Isaac Royall, 1752-1773.
 Eleazer Porter, 1753-1757.
 Benjamin Lincoln, 1753-1769.
 John Erving, 1754-1774.
 Richard Cutt, 1755-1762.
 William Brattle, 1755-1768.
 Benjamin Pickman, 1756-1758.
 Robert Hooper, 1757, 1758.
 Gamaliel Bradford, 1757-1769.
 Thomas Hancock, 1758-1764.
 Thomas Hubbard, 1759-1772.
 Chambers Russell, 1759, 1760.
 Peter Oliver, 1759-1765.
 Israel Williams, 1760-1766.
 Nathaniel Sparhawk, 1760-1765,
 1767-1772.
 Harrison Gray, 1761-1772.
 John Choate, 1761-1765.
 James Russell, 1761-1773.
 Thomas Flucker, 1761-1768.
 Nathaniel Ropes, 1762-1768.
 James Otis, 1762-1765, 1770-1774.
 Timothy Paine, 1763-1768.
 John Bradbury, 1763-1772.
 Timothy Ruggles, 1764.
 Royall Tyler, 1764-1770.
 Edmund Trowbridge, 1764, 1765.
 Andrew Belcher, 1765-1767.
 John Chandler, 1765-1767.
 Samuel White, 1766-1768.
 Jeremiah Powell, 1766-1773, 1774.
 John Worthington, 1767, 1768.
 Samuel Dexter, 1768-1773.
 William Sever, 1769-1774.
 James Pitts, 1766-1774.
 Benjamin Greenleaf, 1770-1774.
 Thomas Saunders, Jr., 1770-1772.
 Joseph Gerrish, 1770.
 Joshua Henshaw, 1770, 1771.
 Artemas Ward, 1770-1774.
 Stephen Hall, 1770-1772.
 Walter Spooner, 1770-1772.
 James Gowen, 1770-1773.
 George Leonard, Jr., 1770-1774.
 James Humphrey, 1770-1773.
 Caleb Cushing, 1771-1774.
 Timothy Woodbridge, 1771-1773.
 John Hancock, 1772, 1773.
 Samuel Phillips, 1772-1774.
 Humphrey Hobson, 1773.
 John Winthrop, 1773.
 John Whitcomb, 1773.
 Jedidiah Preble, 1773, 1774.
 Richard Derby, Jr., 1774.
 Benjamin Chadbourn, 1774.

MANDAMUS COUNSELLORS (1774).

[See Vol. IV. p. 433. Only the first ten took the official oath.]

- | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| Thomas Flucker. | Thomas Hutchinson, Jr. | Josiah Edson. |
| Foster Hutchinson. | Samuel Danforth. | Richard Lechmere. |
| Harrison Gray. | John Erving, Jr., (Capt.) | John Worthington. |
| Joseph Lee. | James Russell. | Timothy Paine. |
| Isaac Winslow. | Timothy Ruggles. | Jeremiah Powell. |
| William Browne. | Israel Williams. | Jonathan Simpson. |
| James Boutineau. | George Watson. | John Murray. |
| Joshua Loring. | Nathaniel Ray Thomas. | Daniel Leonard. |
| William Pepperell. | Timothy Woodbridge. | Thomas Palmer. |
| John Erving, Jr., (Col.) | William Vassall. | Isaac Royall. |
| Thomas Oliver. | Joseph Greene. | Robert Hooper. |
| Peter Oliver. | Andrew Oliver. | Abijah Willard. |

CONNECTICUT.

GOVERNORS.

1689 - 1698. Robert Treat.	1750 - 1754. Roger Wolcott.
1698 - 1707. Fitz-John Winthrop.	1754 - 1766. Thomas Fitch.
1707 - 1724. Gurdon Saltonstall.	1766 - 1769. William Pitkin.
1724 - 1741. Joseph Talcott.	1769 - 1775. Jonathan Trumbull.
1741 - 1750. Jonathan Law.	

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS.

1689 - 1692. James Bishop.	1741 - 1750. Roger Wolcott.
1692 - 1697. William Jones.	1750 - 1754. Thomas Fitch.
1698 - 1708. Robert Treat.	1754 - 1766. William Pitkin.
1708 - 1723. Nathan Gold.	1766 - 1769. Jonathan Trumbull.
1723. Joseph Talcott.	1769 - 1775. Matthew Griswold.
1724 - 1741. Jonathan Law.	

ASSISTANTS.

Nathan Gold, 1689 - 1694.	William Pitkin, 1697 - 1723.
John Allyn, 1689 - 1696.	Joseph Curtis, 1698 - 1722.
William Jones, 1689 - 1692.	Richard Christophers, 1699, 1700, 1703 - 1729.
Andrew Leet, 1689 - 1703.	James Fitch, 1700 - 1709.
John Wadsworth, 1689 - 1690.	John Chester, 1701 - 1712.
James Fitch, 1689 - 1698, 1700 - 1709.	Josiah Rossiter, 1701 - 1711.
Samuel Mason, 1689 - 1703.	Peter Burr, 1703 - 1725.
Benjamin Newbury, 1689, 1690.	John Alling, 1704 - 1717.
Samuel Talcott, 1689 - 1692.	John Haynes, 1708 - 1714.
Giles Hamlin, 1689, 1690.	Samuel Eells, 1709 - 1740.
Samuel Willis, 1689 - 1693, 1698, 1699.	Matthew Allyn, 1710 - 1734.
Fitz-John Winthrop, 1689, 1690, 1693 - 1698.	Joseph Talcott, 1711 - 1723.
John Burr, 1690 - 1695.	Abraham Fowler, 1712 - 1720.
William Pitkin, 1690 - 1694.	John Sherman, 1713 - 1723.
Daniel Wetherell, 1690 - 1710.	Roger Wolcott, 1714 - 1718, 1726 - 1741.
Nathaniel Stanly, 1690 - 1713.	Jonathan Law, 1717 - 1724.
Caleb Stanly, 1692 - 1701.	James Wadsworth, 1718 - 1752.
Moses Mansfield, 1692 - 1704.	John Hall, 1722 - 1730.
John Hamlin, 1694 - 1730.	Hezekiah Brainerd, 1723 - 1727.
Jonathan Sellick, 1695 - 1701.	John Hooker, 1723 - 1734.
Nathan Gold, 1695 - 1708.	Joseph Wakeman, 1724 - 1727.
	Nathaniel Stanly, 1725 - 1749.

- Joseph Whiting, 1725 - 1746.
 Ozias Pitkin, 1727 - 1747.
 Timothy Pierce, 1728 - 1748.
 John Burr, 1729 - 1740.
 Samuel Lynde, 1730 - 1754.
 Edmund Lewis, 1730 - 1739.
 William Pitkin, 1734 - 1766.
 Thomas Fitch, 1734 - 1736, 1740 - 1750.
 Roger Newton, 1736 - 1740.
 Ebenezer Silliman, 1739 - 1766.
 Jonathan Trumbull, 1740 - 1751.
 Hezekiah Huntington, 1740-1743, 1748 - 1773.
 John Bulkley, 1743 - 1753.
 Andrew Burr, 1746 - 1764.
 John Chester, 1747 - 1766.
 Gurdon Saltonstall, 1749 - 1754.
 Thomas Welles, 1751 - 1761.
 Benjamin Hall, 1751 - 1766.
 Phineas Lyman, 1752 - 1759.
 Jonathan Trumbull, 1754 - 1766.
- Roger Wolcott, 1754 - 1760.
 Jonathan Huntington, 1754 - 1758.
 Daniel Edwards, 1755 - 1765.
 Jabez Hamlin, 1758 - 1766, 1773 - 1775.
 Matthew Griswold, 1759 - 1769.
 Shubael Conant, 1760 - 1775.
 Elisha Sheldon, 1761 - 1775.
 Eliphalet Dyer, 1762 - 1775.
 Jabez Huntington, 1764 - 1775.
 William Pitkin, Jr., 1766 - 1775.
 Roger Sherman, 1766 - 1775.
 Robert Walker, 1766 - 1772.
 Abraham Davenport, 1766 - 1775.
 William Samuel Johnson, 1766 - 1775.
 Joseph Spencer, 1766 - 1775.
 Zebulon West, 1770, 1771.
 Oliver Wolcott, 1771 - 1775.
 James A. Hillhouse, 1773 - 1775.
 Samuel Huntington, 1775.

RHODE ISLAND.

GOVERNORS.

1689. Henry Bull.
 1690 - 1694. John Easton.
 1695. Caleb Carr.
 1696, 1697. Walter Clarke.
 1698 - 1726. Samuel Cranston.
 1727 - 1731. Joseph Jenckes.
 1732, 1733. William Wanton.
 1734 - 1740. John Wanton.
 1741, 1742. Richard Ward.
 1743, 1744. William Greene.
 1745. Gideon Wanton.
 1746. William Greene.
1747. Gideon Wanton.
 1748 - 1754. William Greene.
 1755, 1756. Stephen Hopkins.
 1757, 1758. William Greene.
 1758 - 1761. Stephen Hopkins.
 1762. Samuel Ward.
 1763, 1764. Stephen Hopkins.
 1765, 1766. Samuel Ward.
 1767. Stephen Hopkins.
 1768. Josias Lyndon.
 1769 - 1775. Joseph Wanton.

DEPUTY-GOVERNORS.

1689. John Coggeshall.
 1690 - 1699. John Greene.
 1700 - 1713. Walter Clarke.
1714. Henry Tew.
 1715 - 1720. Joseph Jenckes.
 1721. John Wanton.

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|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1722-1726. Joseph Jenckes. | 1750. Robert Hazard. |
| 1727. Jonathan Nichols. | 1751, 1752. Joseph Whipple. |
| 1728. Thomas Fry. | 1753. Jonathan Nichols, Jr. |
| 1729-1733. John Wanton. | 1754. John Gardner. |
| 1734-1737. George Hassard. | 1755. Jonathan Nichols, Jr. |
| 1738, 1739. Daniel Abbott. | 1756-1763. Jonathan Gardner. |
| 1740. Richard Ward. | 1764. Joseph Wanton, Jr. |
| 1741, 1742. William Greene. | 1765, 1766. Elisha Brown. |
| 1743, 1744. Joseph Whipple. | 1767. Joseph Wanton, Jr. |
| 1745. William Robinson. | 1768. Nicholas Cooke. |
| 1746. Joseph Whipple. | 1769-1774. Darius Sessions. |
| 1747. William Robinson. | 1775. Nicholas Cooke. |
| 1748, 1749. William Ellery. | |

ASSISTANTS.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| John Easton, 1689. | Benjamin Smith, 1689, 1696, 1698, |
| Edward Thurston, 1689, 1690 - | 1700-1703. |
| 1721, 1723-1726. | Benedict Arnold, 1690. |
| Joseph Jenckes, 1689, 1696, 1708 - | Stephen Arnold, 1690, 1696. |
| 1712. | John Dexter, 1690. |
| George Lawton, 1689, 1690, | Caleb Carr, 1690. |
| 1714. | John Coggeshall, 1690. |
| John Greene, 1689. | Isaac Lawton, 1690. |

[The records of elections in Rhode Island are wanting from May, 1690, to May, 1696.]

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|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Samuel Cranston, 1696. | Benjamin Barton, 1699-1702. |
| Walter Newbury, 1696. | Joseph Hull, 1699, 1701, 1702. |
| James Barker, 1696, 1698, 1699. | Isaac Martindale, 1700-1702. |
| Joseph Sheffield, 1696, 1698-1705. | William Hopkins, 1700-1706. |
| Giles Slocum, Jr., 1696, 1698 - | John Eldridge, 1700, 1701, 1703 - |
| 1700, 1703-1705, 1708-1712, | 1707, 1709, 1711, 1712, 1715- |
| 1722, 1723. | 1717. |
| William Gibson, 1696. | Benjamin Hall, 1701, 1702. |
| Jeffrey Champlin, 1696, 1698 - | Edward Greenman, 1701. |
| 1701, 1703-1715. | Robert Lawton, 1702. |
| Nathaniel Coddington, 1698, 1703- | George Hassard, 1702. |
| 1706, 1715-1717. | Henry Tew, 1703, 1704, 1708 - |
| Richard Arnold, 1698, 1699. | 1712. |
| Joseph Williams, 1698-1707. | James Greene, 1703. |
| John Foanes, 1698. | Job Greene, 1704, 1712-1714, |
| Walter Clarke, 1699. | 1729-1732. |
| Robert Carr, 1690, 1691, 1701, 1702. | Richard Greene, 1704, 1706-1711. |

- William Wanton, 1706, 1707, 1713, 1724 - 1731.
 George Brownell, 1706 - 1711.
 Thomas Cornell, Jr., 1706, 1707, 1718 - 1722.
 Randall Holden, 1706-1713, 1715-1720, 1722 - 1726.
 Thomas Fenner, 1707, 1708-1713, 1715-1717.
 John Rogers, 1707 - 1712.
 George Brown, 1707.
 George Cornell, 1710 - 1714, 1716, 1722 - 1739.
 Richard Waterman, 1713, 1719, 1727 - 1730.
 Samuel Clarke, 1713, 1715, 1716.
 Nathaniel Sheffield, 1713, 1714.
 Jonathan Nichols, 1714, 1718 - 1726, 1750 - 1753.
 Joseph Whipple, 1714.
 Philip Tillinghast, 1714.
 Benjamin Greene, 1714.
 Jeremiah Gould, 1714, 1716, 1722-1725, 1736 - 1740.
 John Wanton, 1715-1720, 1723.
 James Brown, 1715-1722.
 William Coggeshall, 1715.
 John Wickes, 1715 - 1741.
 Gideon Freeloove, Jr., 1717.
 William Anthony, 1717 - 1721, 1723 - 1738.
 Rouse Helme, 1717, 1723 - 1744.
 Arthur Fenner, 1718, 1721.
 Stephen Hazard, 1708, 1718-1721.
 Elisha Cole, 1718 - 1722.
 Nicholas Power, 1720, 1724 - 1728, 1731 - 1733.
 Andrew Harris, 1721 - 1723.
 John Waterman, 1721, 1727, 1728.
 Benjamin Ellery, 1722, 1740, 1741.
 Francis Willett, 1726 - 1728.
 William Coddington, 1727, 1728.
 Samuel Vernon, 1729-1737.
 William Smith, 1729 - 1731.
 William Hall, 1729 - 1735.
 John Gardner, 1733 - 1736.
 John Potter, 1733 - 1735, 1750.
 Philip Arnold, 1733 - 1743.
 Ezekiel Warner, 1734 - 1743.
 Thomas Olney, 1736.
 Peter Bours, 1737 - 1743, 1748, 1749.
 Joseph Fenner, 1737 - 1739.
 John Chipman, 1738, 1739.
 James Arnold, 1738, 1739, 1742 - 1746, 1748 - 1752, 1775.
 Gideon Cornell, 1739 - 1745, 1764.
 Richard Fenner, 1740 - 1744.
 John Dexter, 1740 - 1743.
 Christopher Phillips, 1741.
 William Ellery, 1742 - 1744.
 Daniel Howland, 1742 - 1745.
 Daniel Coggeshall, 1742 - 1744, 1746, 1748 - 1754, 1757, 1758, 1762, 1767.
 Benjamin Hassard, 1744, 1745, 1747.
 William Burton, 1744, 1748, 1749.
 William Rice, 1744, 1745.
 William Rhodes, 1744, 1747.
 Jonathan Randall, 1745, 1747, 1758 - 1760, 1763, 1767, 1769 - 1775.
 Gideon Durfey, 1745, 1747.
 Benjamin Weight, 1745.
 Jeremiah Niles, 1745, 1747.
 John Cranston, 1746.
 Abraham Redwood, 1746.
 John Comstock, 1746.
 Robert Gibbs, 1746, 1748.
 Stephen Brownell, 1746, 1748, 1749, 1751 - 1754.
 Robert Lawton, 1746, 1748 - 1757, 1762.
 Philip Greene, 1746.

- Jeffrey Watson, 1746, 1748 – 1754, 1758.**
George Wanton, 1747, 1750.
Benjamin Tucker, 1747, 1750.
Joseph Edmonds, 1747, 1758, 1759.
Ephraim Gardner, 1747.
William Richmond, 1747 – 1756, 1758 – 1760.
John Gardner, 1748.
Simon Pease, 1749.
Edward Kinnicutt, 1749.
Jabez Bowen, 1750 – 1754, 1757, 1759 – 1761, 1765.
John Tillinghast, 1751 – 1755.
Nicholas Cooke, 1751 – 1756, 1759 – 1761, 1767.
Jeremiah Lippitt, 1753 – 1757.
Nicholas Easton, 1754 – 1762, 1765, 1766, 1770, 1771.
Obadiah Brown, 1755, 1756.
Joseph Brownell, Jr., 1755, 1756, 1758.
John Congdon, 1755, 1756, 1768 – 1774.
Thomas Hazard, 1755 – 1757.
James Honeyman, 1756 – 1763.
Henry Harris, 1757.
David Anthony, 1757.
Nathaniel Searle, 1757, 1762, 1765, 1766.
Elisha Brown, 1758.
Gideon Comstock, 1758.
Francis Willet, 1759 – 1761.
Henry Gardner, 1759, 1762.
Jonathan Freeborn, 1759 – 1761.
Joseph Lippitt, 1760, 1761, 1763, 1764.
Joseph Harris, 1761, 1762, 1765.
Thomas Church, 1761, 1763, 1764, 1767, 1775.
Nicholas Tillinghast, 1762 – 1764.
Darius Sessions, 1762 – 1764.
Samuel Greene, 1762.
Peleg Thurston, 1763, 1764, 1767 – 1769.
John Almy, 1763, 1764, 1771 – 1774.
Samuel Brownell, 1763, 1764.
Joseph Hazard, 1763, 1764 – 1767, 1769 – 1771, 1775.
Gideon Wanton, Jr., 1765, 1766 – 1768.
Ezekiel Comstock, 1765.
John Jepson, 1765, 1766, 1775.
Caleb Allen, 1765.
Thomas Haszard, 1765.
Othniel Gorton, 1765, 1766.
Thomas Owen, 1766, 1768.
Stephen Rawson, 1766.
John Burton, 1766.
George Nichols, 1766.
Hezekiah Babcock, 1766, 1768.
Josiah Arnold, 1767.
Ephraim Bowen, 1767, 1768.
John Mawdfley, 1767.
Thomas Wickes, 1767 – 1774.
Joseph Hazard, 1767, 1769 – 1771, 1775.
Silas Cooke, 1768.
James Barker, Jr., 1768, 1772, 1773.
John Waterman, Jr., 1768.
Constant Southworth, 1768.
Job Bennett, 1769.
Solomon Drown, 1769 – 1773.
David Harris, 1769 – 1774.
Weston Hix, 1769, 1770.
William Richmond, Jr., 1769 – 1774.
Samuel Dyer, 1770 – 1773, 1775.
Rowland Robinson, 1772, 1773.
John Collins, 1774, 1775.
Peleg Barker, 1774.
John Sayles, Jr., 1774, 1775.
William Potter, 1774.
Ambrose Page, 1775.
Peter Phillips, 1775.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

GOVERNORS.

1692-1698. Samuel Allen.	1728, 1729. William Burnet.
1699-1701. Earl of Bellomont.	1730-1740. Jonathan Belcher.
1702-1714. Joseph Dudley.	1740-1767. Benning Wentworth.
1716-1724. Samuel Shute.	1767-1775. John Wentworth.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS.

1692-1697. John Usher.	1715-1717. George Vaughan.
1697-1704. William Partridge.	1717-1730. John Wentworth.
1704-1715. John Usher.	1731-1740. David Dunbar.

COUNSELLORS.

John Hinks, 1692-1705.	Archibald Macpheadris, 1722 - 1728.
Nathaniel Fryer, 1692-1703.	John Frost, 1724-1732.
Henry Green, 1692-1698.	Jotham Odiorne, 1724-1748.
Robert Elliot, 1692-1716.	Henry Sherburne, 1728-1757.
John Gerrish, 1692-1702.	Richard Waldron, 1732-1742.
William Vaughan, 1692-1715.	Joshua Pierce, 1732-1743.
Richard Waldron, 1692-1698.	Benjamin Gamling, 1732-1737.
Thomas Graffort, 1692.	Ephraim Dennett, 1734.
John Walford, 1692.	Theodore Atkinson, 1734-1775.
John Love, 1692.	Ellis Huske, 1734-1755.
Peter Coffin, 1692-1712.	Joseph Sherburne, 1734-1744.
John Gerrish, 1692-1709.	Benning Wentworth, 1734-1740.
Nathaniel Weare, 1692-1716.	Richard Wibird, 1740-1765.
Joseph Smith, 1696-1717.	John Rindge, 1738.
Kingsley Hall, 1698-1736.	John Downing, 1740-1745.
Samuel Penhallow, 1702-1726.	Samuel Smith, 1740-1760.
John Plaisted, 1702-1716.	Samuel Solley, 1743-1757.
Henry Dow, 1702-1707.	Sampson Sheafe, 1747-1772.
William Partridge, 1703.	Daniel Warner, 1753-1775.
Mark Hunkin, 1710-1728.	Joseph Newmarch, 1754-1765.
John Wentworth, 1712-1717.	Mark H. Wentworth, 1759-1767.
Richard Gerrish, 1716, 1717.	James Nevin, 1759-1769.
Theodore Atkinson, 1716-1719.	William Temple, 1762.
Shadrach Walton, 1716-1741.	Theodore Atkinson, Jr., 1762-1769.
George Jaffrey, 1716-1749.	Nathaniel Barrett, 1762-1767.
Richard Wibird, 1716-1732.	Peter Livins, 1765-1775.
Thomas Westbrook, 1716-1736.	
Thomas Packer, 1719-1723.	

Jonathan Warner, 1766 - 1775.	Paul Wentworth, 1766.
Daniel Rindge, 1766 - 1775.	Peter Gilman, 1772 - 1775.
Daniel Pierce, 1766 - 1773.	Thomas W. Waldron, 1772 - 1775.
Daniel Rogers, 1766.	John Sherburne, 1774, 1775.
George Jaffrey, 1766 - 1775.	John Phillips, 1774, 1775.
Henry Sherburne, 1766, 1767.	George Boyd, 1775.

[The following list should have been placed on page 441.]

COUNSELLORS OF MASSACHUSETTS BETWEEN THE FIRST
REVOLUTION AND THE PROVINCIAL CHARTER.

John Richards, 1689, 1692.	Wait Winthrop, 1689 - 1692.
Elisha Cooke, 1689 - 1692.	John Phillips, 1689 - 1692.
William Johnson, 1689 - 1691.	Samuel Shrimpton, 1689 - 1692.
John Hathorne, 1689 - 1692.	Jonathan Curwin, 1689 - 1692.
Isaac Addington, 1689 - 1692.	Jeremiah Swayne, 1689, 1690.
John Smith, 1689 - 1692.	Samuel Sewall, 1690 - 1692.
Nathaniel Saltonstall, 1689 - 1692.	Elisha Hutchinson, 1690 - 1692.
James Russell, 1689 - 1692.	William Phips (Bart.), 1690 - 1692.
Peter Tilton, 1689 - 1692.	Thomas Oakes, 1690 - 1692.
Samuel Appleton, 1689 - 1692.	William Stoughton, 1692.
Robert Pike, 1689 - 1692.	

GENERAL INDEX.

A

"*A BRIEF Declaration of the Right and Claim of the Governor,*" etc., a paper relating to the claims of Mason and Gorges, II. 208.
 "A Model of Christian Charity," a treatise composed by John Winthrop, I. 112.
 "A Platform of Church Discipline," etc., conclusions published by the synod of 1646, I. 330. See *Synod*.
 "A Sower of the Season," II. 27.
 "A Vindication of the Conduct of the House of Representatives," etc., by James Otis, IV. 322-324.
 Aaron, an Indian preacher, II. 303.
 Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, his death, I. 134.
 Abenakis, the, a tribe of Indians dwelling in Maine, I. 29; converts made by the Catholic missionaries, I. 363, 364; III. 238, 386, 387; IV. 231; also called the Cannibas Indians, III. 37; their power and bravery, III. 37; allies of the French, III. 45; treaty made with the colonists at Wells, III. 85; French influence, III. 238; mission established by Sebastian Rasle, III. 238, 386, 387; the mission destroyed, III. 387; the mission rebuilt, III. 387; treaty made with Governor Shute, III. 387-389; new threats of hostility, III. 389; effort to obtain satisfaction from, by the colonists, III. 389, 390; encouraged by the French to pursue the English, III. 390, 391; the mission at Norridgewock again attacked by the English, III. 391, 392; Father Rasle's escape, III. 391, 392; fresh depredations along the Kennebec, III. 392-395; the mission at Norridgewock destroyed, III. 405-410; death of Father Rasle, III. 408-410; conduct of, at Fort William Henry, IV. 231.

ACT

Abercrombie, General, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, IV. 223, 227; supersedes Lord Loudoun in the command, IV. 235, 236; receives letters from William Pitt, IV. 236, 241; Pitt dissatisfied with his management, IV. 238; disastrous expeditions and defeat, IV. 238-241; his blundering conduct, IV. 240-242, 280, 283; Sir Jeffrey Amherst to supersede him in command, IV. 241; joined by Amherst, IV. 244; troops from New Hampshire and Rhode Island share in his disasters, IV. 264, 283.
 Aborigines, the, of North America, I. 27-45. See *Indians*.
 Abraham, Plains of, the conquest of Quebec, IV. 246-250; sequence of the event, IV. 254.
 "Abstract of the Printed Laws of New England," etc., III. 64.
 Acadia, I. 144; ceded to France, I. 144; its boundaries undefined and disputed, I. 144; III. 154, 230, 387; IV. 195; preserved for the French by the Cannibas Indians, III. 37, 38; successful expedition against Port Royal, III. 42; Villebon, the French governor of, III. 154; rights of fisheries, etc., disputed with Massachusetts, III. 154; refusal of Connecticut to join in an expedition against, III. 333; meeting of commissioners to settle its boundaries, IV. 195; ceded to Great Britain, IV. 195; scheme of government for, proposed by Bernard, IV. 299. See *Nova Scotia*.
 Act of Repeal, the, III. 437.
 Act of Submission of the Narragansetts, the, I. 312, 313, 340; II. 69, 70, 279, 335.
 Act of Uniformity, the, II. 344.
 Act of Union between England and Scotland, the, III. 298, 421.

ACT

- Acts of the Council of Massachusetts.* See *Council, etc.*
- Acts of the General Courts.* See *General Court, etc., and Laws.*
- Acts of Parliament.* See *Parliament.*
- Acts of Trade.* See *Trade; Corporation Act; Declaratory Act; Navigation Act; Occasional Conformity Act; Stamp Act; Sugar Act; Test Act; Toleration Act.*
- Acton,* IV. 437.
- Adams,* one of the Massachusetts Company, incurs Cromwell's displeasure, I. 109.
- Adams,* Deputy for Boston in the General Court, IV. 336; father of Samuel Adams, IV. 336.
- Adams,* John, President of the United States, opposition to the arguments of Turgot, I. 257; account of the arguments of James Otis, IV. 310; remarks concerning the political effects of a certain religious agitation, IV. 325, 326; appears as counsel for Boston in the contests concerning the Stamp Act, IV. 408; conducts the defence for the perpetrators of the Boston Massacre, IV. 419.
- Adams,* Samuel, Representative for Boston, his early life, III. 469; IV. 336, 337; a graduate of Harvard College, IV. 336, 337; prepares instructions for the Representatives, IV. 336, 337; contents of the "Instructions," IV. 337-339; probably the originator of the Committees of Correspondence, IV. 347; elected a member of the General Court, IV. 398; of committee to dispose of the British troops, IV. 419; of committee to prepare a statement of the rights of the colonies, IV. 424; a circular letter sent to the colonies, IV. 424, 425; action in relation to the letters containing unfriendly sentiments to the constitution, IV. 425, 426.
- Addington,* Isaac, one of the Magistrates of Massachusetts, II. 370, 389, escorted to the Council Chamber, II. 370; reelected to the office recently assigned to him, II. 379; offices held by him, III. 73; appointed Secretary of Massachusetts, III. 78; his effort in behalf of Yale College, III. 344.
- Addison,* Joseph, Secretary of State in England, III. 427; removal of Lieutenant-Governor Vaughan from office, III. 427.
- Address,* the, of the departing emigrants, I. 110, 111.
- Adjutants-Generals,* number of troops furnished by New England

ADV

- in the Civil War in America, I. viii, note.
- "*Administration of the Colonies,*" treatise by Governor Pownall, IV. 412.
- Admiral,* the, I. 7.
- Admiral of Gorgeana,* the, I. 221.
- Admiral* of the expedition against the Spanish West Indies, the, I. 408.
- Admiralty,* the, II. 318; Andros to be judge of, in New England, II. 318; complaints made to Pepys, secretary of the, III. 56; consulted in the case of Captain Kidd, III. 164; commission given to Peleg Sandford to be judge of, in Rhode Island, III. 218; complaints of Judge Sandford to the Board of Trade, III. 218; Colonel Robert Quarry, judge of, in New York and Pennsylvania, III. 232; remarks of Judge Quarry on New England, III. 232; charges against Governor Dudley, III. 295; a judge of, desired in New Hampshire, III. 318; Byfield to be judge of, III. 326; a letter sent to, complaining of Governor Belcher, IV. 73; remarks by Bernard in relation to, IV. 298; extraordinary power given by the Sugar Act to the courts of, IV. 350, 351; protest against the new regulations of, IV. 371; odium against Hutchinson, IV. 391, 393; inquiries made concerning the injury to the "Gaspee," IV. 422, 423. See *Vice-Admiralty.*
- Admiralty Courts,* in New Hampshire, II. 271; constituted for New England, II. 291; constitution of, in Massachusetts reserved to the Crown, III. 72; matters pertaining to trials, III. 158, 159; IV. 308; powers assumed by Governor Dudley, II. 326; trouble caused by a decree in relation to certain payments, IV. 304; powers given to, by the Sugar Act, IV. 350, 351; protest against new regulations of, IV. 371; "Declaration" of the Colonial Congress, IV. 401, 402. See *Vice-Admiralty Court.*
- Adrianople,* I. 9.
- "*Adventure,*" the, history of the ship and crew, III. 162.
- Adventurers.* See *Merchant Adventurers.*
- Advocate-General,* the, III. 159; established in New England and New York, III. 159; of the King, in America, commission given to William Shirley, IV. 135; office given to Mr. Auchmuty, IV. 311.
- Advocates,* no professional officers, to argue cases, I. 277.

AFR

Africa, I. 10; III. 330; early adventures of Captain John Smith, I. 10; Colonies of England in, III. 14; IV. 363; vessels sailing from Rhode Island to, IV. 365; slaves brought from, IV. 366; exports from, IV. 366; the trade in rum, IV. 366, 367.

Agamenticus, I. 78, 216, 223; former name of York, I. 78, 221, 403; condition of the official residence, I. 221; a city government instituted, I. 222; to be governed under the name of "Gorgeana," I. 222; accepts the terms offered by Massachusetts, I. 403.

Agawam, former name of Springfield, I. 235. See *Springfield*.

Agriculture in the Colonies, I. 22, 292.

Ahab, IV. 92.

Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of, I. v. vi. IV., 169, 178, 179, 195, 262, 284; population in Massachusetts at the time of the treaty, IV. 182; restrictions on the movements of the French caused by the treaty, IV. 199; effect of the peace in New England, IV. 368.

Albania, name formerly given to New Jersey, II. 64.

Albany, visited by Governor Andros, II. 357; charges against Andros, II. 381, 382; alarm from the Indians, III. 21; plan for the capture of, by the French, III. 30; renewal of treaty between the Indians and the English, III. 38; distance of Schenectady from, III. 38; massacre at Schenectady, III. 39, 40; plans of war arranged by a congress at, III. 42, 79; Connecticut forces sent to, III. 202; rumors of Indian war, III. 235; approach of Governor Saltonstall with troops, III. 334; Congress of the colonies appointed to meet at, IV. 200; proceedings of the Congress, IV. 200-204, 206, 278, 279, 293; conference with the Six Nations, IV. 201, 202; Indian allies unite with the English in the attack on Crown Point, IV. 217; Shirley promoted to be commander-in-chief of the army, IV. 221, 222; scheme of colonial union, IV. 202-204, 278, 279, 293; gloomy outlook for the English, IV. 221; Shirley superseded in command by Colonel Webb, IV. 223; the retreat of Abercrombie, IV. 240, 241; troops from Rhode Island unite with General Amherst's forces, IV. 283; trouble arising from the New Hampshire grants, IV. 360.

Albany, Fort. See *Fort Albany*.

ALL

Alborough, John, Counsellor from Rhode Island, II. 334, 393, 399.

"*Alciphron*, or *Minute Philosopher*," the, by Dean George Berkeley, IV. 133.

Alden, John, one of the company on board the Mayflower, I. 59; his trade, I. 59; detained in Boston by the magistrates, I. 145.

Alderman, a friendly Indian, who shoots King Philip, II. 172.

Aldermen of Gorgeana, the, I. 222.

Alexander, name given to the Indian Wamsutta, II. 126; his sickness and death, II. 126.

Alexander, Sir William, obtains a patent for Nova Scotia, I. 78.

Alexandria, council of governors, held at, IV. 207, 208.

Alford, home of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson in England, I. 196.

Algonquins, the, I. 28; their dwelling-place, I. 28, 29; division of the family into tribes, I. 28, 29; their language, I. 28, 40.

Alien Law, an, I. 293.

Alleghany Mountains, the, claim of the French to the territory westward of, IV. 199.

Allen, Rev. Mr., his influence for liberty of thought, I. vi. 323.

Allen, John, inherits the claim of Samuel Allen, III. 320, 321; his death, III. 321.

Allen, Samuel, Governor of New Hampshire, buys the claim of Robert Mason, III. 187, 188; appointed Governor of New Hampshire, III. 188, 195; IV. 450; his daughter marries John Usher, III. 188, 318; Usher's salary, III. 193; his claims in New Hampshire, III. 195-198, 318, 320, 323, 428; excites Lord Bellomont's disgust, III. 196; his claims in litigation, III. 197, 198, 424, 425; compromise offered to, III. 320; his death, III. 320; contracts for naval supplies, III. 365.

Allerton, Isaac, Assistant of Plymouth; his employment at Leyden, I. 50; one of the passengers of the Mayflower, I. 59; the voyage and landing at Plymouth, I. 60-64; appointed assistant to Bradford, I. 70; sent to England on business, I. 86; his mission successful, I. 85, 86; obtains a patent of land, I. 87; dispatched again to England, I. 87; induces Mr. Rogers to come to America, I. 142; acts as agent for the Plymouth Colony, I. 142, 143; obtains a new patent for the Plymouth Colony, I. 142, 143, 244; treaty with Ashley, I. 144; his house, I. 297.

ALL

Allyn, Captain John, Secretary and Counsellor of Connecticut, II. 45, 342, 391, 399; his efforts in behalf of the province, II. 45, 192; sent to confer with the Royal Commissioners, II. 66; a member of the Council of Andros, II. 342, 399; accused of witchcraft, III. 103.

Almanza, battle of, III. 256.

Almy, Christopher, declines the chief magistracy of Rhode Island, III. 216; carries an address to the King to England, III. 220.

America, early explorers of, I. 2-18. See *North America*.

American Independence, the war of. See *Revolutions, and Independence*.

American Lakes, the, IV. 251.

American Revolution. See *Revolutions*.

American Rights, arguments of the champions of, III. 468, 469; IV. 340-346, 370, 371.

American Union, the, I. 1; the State of Vermont, the fourteenth State in, IV. 351.

Ames, Dr., teacher at Rotterdam, I. 179.

Amesbury, town of, III. 24; on the frontier of Massachusetts, III. 24; Indian ravages in, III. 24, 246, 254; woman of, hung for witchcraft, III. 99.

Amherst, General Sir Jeffrey, appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British army in America, IV. 241; siege and capture of Louisburg, IV. 242-244; joins Abercrombie, IV. 244; plan of campaign against Quebec, IV. 244, 245; his plans frustrated, IV. 244, 245; goes into winter quarters, IV. 245; opinion of Pitt in relation to his abilities, IV. 245; successful engagements, IV. 245, 251; capture of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, IV. 245, 265; capitulation of Canada, IV. 251; Massachusetts troops under, IV. 254; approaches Montreal, IV. 266; calls for troops, IV. 281, 283, 319.

Amsterdam, I. 50; II. 351; arrival of the Scrooby congregation, I. 50; the congregation departs from, I. 50; Rev. John Davenport settles over a congregation, I. 225.

"*An Abstract of the Laws of New England*," etc., by Cotton, I. 279.

Anabaptists, the, I. 103; church of formed at Newport, I. 382; connected with the government of Rhode Island, III. 217, 218. See *Baptists*.

Andover, Indian outrages in, II. 159; III. 146; on the frontier of Massa-

AND

chusetts, III. 24; excitement and action in relation to witchcraft, III. 102, 103, 104; declaration of six women regarding witchcraft, III. 110, 111; Chaplain Frye, III. 412.

Andrews, one of the London Partners, I. 238; payment of money to the Massachusetts colony, I. 244.

Andrews, Rev. Mr., President of Yale College, III. 345; minister at Milford, III. 345; unwilling to remove his residence, III. 345; the office in the college given to Rev. Mr. Cutler, III. 443, 444.

Andrews, Thomas, Lord Mayor, proclaims the abolition of royalty, I. 109.

Andros, Sir Edmund, Royal Governor of New England, date of his imprisonment, I. iii; his arrival in America, II. 117; takes possession of New York, II. 117; his commission, II. 117, 118; news of the rising of the Indians, II. 118; quarrel with Connecticut, II. 118; proposes to march upon Connecticut, II. 118; his reception at Connecticut and the protest sent to him from the General Court, II. 118-121; departure from Connecticut, II. 120, 121; directs the erection of a fort at Pemaquid, II. 180, 332; III. 131; his influence unfavorable to the interests of Massachusetts, II. 217, the search for the regicides, II. 284; letter from Randolph urging the office of Governor-General for Andros, II. 300, 301; arrives in Boston as Royal Governor of New England, II. 313, 317-319, 398; the principles of the new government, II. 314-318; the first year of his administration, II. 314-342; offices held by, II. 317, 318; his salary, II. 318; honors received during his absence from America, II. 318, 319; special fitness of, to carry out the king's design, II. 319; IV. 287; grudge against Connecticut and Massachusetts, II. 319; his reception, II. 319, 320; the meetings of the Council, II. 320, 321; Acts passed, II. 321, 345, 346, see *Council of Massachusetts*; his demand for Episcopal worship, II. 322, 323; III. 169; his reports to the Lords of the Committee, II. 323, 324; legal transactions rendered burdensome, II. 324-331; new patents to be taken out on land, II. 325, 328-331; demands quit-rents, II. 328, 329, 356; his council dissatisfied, II. 330, 331; employs Palmer and West, II. 330, 332; his commission comprehends Maine, II.

AND

331, 332; first meeting of his Council, II. 333; feeling in Massachusetts and Plymouth towards, II. 333, 334; extortions of, II. 333, 346-354; III. 127; Rhode Island included in his commission, II. 334-335; demands the surrender of Rhode Island's charter, II. 334; III. 2; matters pertaining to the Narragansett country, II. 335; correspondence with Governor Treat, II. 336-338; receives the submission of Connecticut, II. 336-342; III. 2; reception at Hartford, II. 340, 341; his arrangement of the government in Connecticut, II. 343, 344; III. 347; arrival of the Declaration of Indulgence, II. 344, 356; Act extending the laws recently passed, over Connecticut, II. 344; the offices and office-holders of the new government, II. 345, 346; the militia reduced to subjection, II. 346, 356; the affair of Joseph Lynde, II. 347, 348; ignores the titles of land, II. 347, 348; affair of Samuel Shrimpton, II. 348, 349; treatment of Mr. Wiswall, II. 349, 350; visits the home of Castine, II. 352; his trip to Maine and proceedings while there, II. 352-354; gives offence to Castine, II. 353, 361; met by Randolph, II. 353; his instructions to the Indians at Pemaquid, II. 353, 354; officers of his government, II. 355; his jurisdiction enlarged, II. 355-369; his trip southward, II. 356, 357; visits Albany, II. 357; effort to establish friendly relations with the Five Nations, II. 357; Mather pleads against, before James II., II. 358; proclamation and policy towards the Indians, II. 360, 361; III. 23; attacks the Indians, II. 361; rumors and suspicions concerning, II. 361, 362-365; unpleasant reception on his return to Massachusetts, II. 362, 363; the Indian brought by the Sudbury men before him, II. 363-365; his dealing with John Winslow, II. 366, 367; the landing of the Prince of Orange in England, II. 367; threatening look of affairs in New England, II. 367-370; retires within Fort Hill, II. 370; citizens of Boston rise against, II. 370, 371; "Declaration" of the people of Boston, II. 371, 372; desires a conference at the fort, II. 372; summoned to surrender, II. 373; withdraws again within the fort, II. 373; attacked by a company under Mr. John Nelson, II. 373, 374; III. 277; taken to Mr. Usher's house under guard, II. 374; his efforts

ANG

to escape, II. 375; III. 57, 215; returned to the fort, II. 375; feeling against, II. 376; the order for his continuance in office stopped by Mather, II. 381; royal order to remove him from the government, II. 381, 382; charges against, from the council, II. 382; conduct of the colonies on hearing of his deposition, II. 383-385; III. 187, 198, 199, 214, 215, 216, 226, 463; his usurpations, III. 2, 8; consequences following the emancipation from his government, III. 19-24; punishment inflicted on a court exercising its jurisdiction under his commissions, III. 22, 23; anarchy following the deposition of, III. 25; events in Canada, at the time of his overthrow, III. 34, 35; condition of New England after his deposition, III. 35; petition concerning his successor in office, III. 55; to be sent to England, III. 57; referred to by Randolph in a letter to England, III. 60; his arrival in England, III. 61; summoned before the Lords of the Committee, III. 62; set at liberty, III. 62; made Governor of Virginia, III. 62; his artful memorial to the Lords of Trade, III. 64; conduct of King James, III. 74; opposition of Stoughton to, III. 78; meeting in one of his courts, III. 89; witches convicted during his government, III. 92, 93; some of the causes of dislike towards, III. 134, 136, 149; IV. 47; continuance of Indian wars, III. 147; scheme of general government for the colonies, III. 153; Usher treasurer under, III. 188; connection with Usher, III. 190, 191, 313; hatred of Massachusetts, III. 215; his influence in Rhode Island, III. 215; Dudley accused of being his tool, III. 284; affront offered to Harvard College, III. 291, 292; Dudley desires to succeed to his extensive government, III. 338; the Church of England in Connecticut, III. 441; his friend Edward Palmes, III. 458.

Andros, the, its course, I. 20; tribes near, enter into a treaty with the English, II. 180; expedition of Captain Church, III. 45.

Anglesey, Earl of, Lord Privy Seal of England, II. 189, 216; attitude towards New England, II. 189, 191; the agents from Massachusetts to advise with, II. 209.

Anglo-American Colonies, the, III. 330; no intimate relation between New England and the other colonies, IV. 291, 299; contraband trade, IV.

ANI

306; the Committees of Correspondence, IV. 347; the Colonial Congress, IV. 398-403; uses of the First General Congress, IV. 403. See *North America*.
Animals, natives of New England, I. 26; deficiency of domestic animals among the Indians, I. 34; laws relating to, I. 278, 281.
 "Ann," the, brings a reinforcement of settlers, I. 82-84.
Annapolis, formerly named Port Royal, I. 315; attacked by the French, IV. 147; threatened by Indians, IV. 148; English settlement, IV. 148; more defence needed, IV. 150; wreck of D'Anville's fleet, IV. 173; threatened by French and Indians, IV. 173, 174; military occupation of, by the English, IV. 186.
Annacon captured with his party, II. 173; beheaded, II. 183.
Anne, Queen of England, III. 224; a devotee to High Church principles, III. 224; her influence upon the people in New England, III. 224; Dudley assumes the government in Massachusetts in her name, III. 225; war declared against France, III. 228; continuance of the war, III. 228-265, 304; new court to sit in Massachusetts, III. 231, 232; letter from Dudley to the Lords of Trade, III. 232; appointment of the Governor of New York, III. 235; Addresses sent to the Queen, III. 255, 264, 267, 276, 298; Port Royal capitulates, III. 258; Mrs. Masham's influence, III. 259, 260; project of a new expedition against Canada, III. 259-261; Lord Hill commander of the expedition against Canada, III. 262; Indian professions, III. 265; the treaty of Utrecht, III. 265, 303 see *Utrecht*; salaries for officials in Massachusetts, III. 266; complaints made by Dudley about Massachusetts, III. 268; instructions to the General Court of Massachusetts, III. 269; Dudley's representations about the rebuilding of Pemaquid, III. 272, 275; positive orders regarding Pemaquid, III. 275, 276; matter of supposed criminal proceedings in Nova Scotia, III. 278-281; a memorial against Dudley, presented to, III. 281-283; a pamphlet appears in London, arraigning Dudley, III. 283-289; "Defence," in behalf of Dudley, offered to, III. 289; Harvard College obtains its charter, III. 292-294; Disallowance of the penalties imposed on Vetch, III. 298; commission given to Vetch,

ANV

III. 300; feelings towards Massachusetts, III. 303; condition of Puritanism, III. 303; expenses of Massachusetts in Queen Anne's war, III. 304; Act relating to post-office business, III. 305-308, 335; higher postage demanded, III. 307, 308; money to be raised for, III. 307, 308; the Tory power, III. 312; accusations against Vetch, III. 313; her death, III. 313, 314, 324, 348, 357; a new trial for the claim of Allen, III. 320, 321; Memorial sent to, with complaints of Rhode Island and other colonies, III. 327, 328; advised to take Rhode Island and Connecticut under her special control, III. 328; share of Connecticut in the wars, III. 333; commission to investigate the Mason and Mohegan affair, III. 337, 338, 339, 340; petition from Sir Henry Ashurst with regard to Connecticut, III. 338; Lord Cornbury's influence, III. 339; number of inhabitants in Connecticut, III. 345; plots of her ministry, 349, 350, 351; Tory influence, III. 350; fear of her brother, III. 351; policy of her counsellors, III. 351, 352; the non-conformist ministers, III. 359, 360; her claim to the timber of New England, III. 363-365, 366, 368, 371; Rasle's influence upon the Indians, III. 387; the Governor of Rhode Island, III. 430; law excluding Roman Catholics from franchise, III. 436, 437; effect of the war upon Connecticut troops, III. 448; interest in Bradstreet's scheme, IV. 241, 242; the dissenters in England, IV. 289.
Anson, Admiral, action against De la Jonquière, IV. 173.
Anthracite Coal, I. 23.
Antichrist, I. 169; II. 34; II. 85;
Anti-Synodists, the, II. 102.
Antinomianism, I. 194; rise of, in New England, I. 194-210, 248, 305; arrival of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson in Boston, I. 195; doctrines of Mrs. Hutchinson, I. 196, 197, 209, 210; Mrs. Hutchinson secures the support of eminent persons, I. 197, 198; synod at Newtown, I. 204-208; defeat of the party, I. 204-211; IV. 94, 96; trial of Mrs. Hutchinson, I. 207-209; Mrs. Hutchinson banished, I. 208, 210; renewed strife, I. 217; trouble caused in New England, II. 6; IV. 95, 97; return of the parties to Massachusetts, II. 190; Coddington becomes a Quaker, II. 236; a book written on the subject, IV. 95.
Anville, D'. See *D'Anville*.

APP

- Appalachian Mountains*, the, claims to territory by the French, IV. 139.
- Appeals*, rights of, in the courts, I. 277, 316; the Royal Commissioners claim the right to hear, II. 75; order of the Privy Council concerning, III. 204, 205. See *Laws*.
- Apostle*, the term applied to Eliot, I. 127.
- Apple*, the, growth of, in New England, I. 292.
- Appleton*, Major John, Assistant of Massachusetts, II. 146, 326; leads troops against the Indians, II. 146; offices held by him, II. 326; III. 234; meeting at his house to consider the encroachments of Andros, II. 326-328; his fine, II. 327.
- Appleton*, Nathaniel, Rev., Fellow of Harvard College, III. 385, 386.
- Apsley*, Sir Edward, I. 235.
- Apthorp*, Rev. East, Episcopal minister at Cambridge, IV. 324; his treatise entitled "Considerations respecting the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," IV. 324, 325; controversy ensuing, IV. 324-326.
- Aquetnet*, Island of, colony at, I. 211, 304; government of, I. 212, 213; desires transatlantic protection, I. 213; bought of the Indians, I. 211, 212; officers of government, I. 211, 212, 213. See *Newport*.
- "*Arbella*," the, voyage of, I. 110-113; incidents of the voyage, I. 112; arrival at Salem, I. 113.
- Arc*, Joan of, III. 116.
- Archbishop of Canterbury*, the, I. 48; accession of Bancroft to the position, I. 48, 49; death of Albot, I. 134; accession of Laud, I. 134; correspondence of Randolph with Bancroft, II. 301, 302; appointment of a successor to Bancroft, III. 10; accession of Dr. Secker, IV. 325; the power of, in America, IV. 326.
- Architecture*, I. 296, 297.
- Argyll*, the Earl of, II. 305.
- Aristotle*, III. 119.
- Armada*, the, I. 107.
- Armenians*, the, III. 167; the Quedah Merchant, III. 167.
- Arminianism*, IV. 97, 105.
- Arms*, to be universally provided, I. 278; brought to church, I. 288; of private soldiers, I. 291.
- Armstrong*, John, sent by Mr. Burniston to America as his deputy, III. 380, 381, 429; appointed Surveyor of the Woods, III. 380, 429; Secretary to Lord Bellomont, III. 429; unfriendly reception extended to, III. 429; agency from Blath-

ASH

- nuyt, III. 429, 430; complaints urged against, III. 430.
- Army*, the rise of Independency, I. vi; policy of England in relation towards her troops, IV. 328, 329; George Washington to be General in Chief of the American forces, IV. 439. See *Militia* and *Minute Men*.
- Arnold*, Benedict, Governor of the Providence plantations, and of Rhode Island, acts as interpreter for the Indians, I. 306, 391; made President of the Providence plantations, I. 391; II. 392; Governor of Rhode Island, II. 69, 392; professes submission to the King, II. 69, 70.
- Arnold*, Richard, one of the counsellors from Rhode Island, II. 334, 399.
- Arrows*, used by the Indians, I. 33; tipped with flint, I. 33.
- Arrowsick Island*, situated in the Kennebec, II. 175; the English attacked and massacred, II. 175; Indian conference with whites, III. 387, 388; attacked by Indians, III. 394, 395.
- Artichoke*, the, I. 31.
- "*Articles of Agreement*," etc., order for printing, III. 343.
- Articles of Confederation*, I. 259, 260, 263-267; II. 46; proposed amendments, I. 354; concerning war, I. 369, 370, 372; II. 140; changed and renewed, II. 96-98. See *Confederation*.
- Articles of High Misdemeanor*, II. 243, 244; II. 309.
- Artillery*, I. 230.
- Artillery Company*, the, II. 315.
- Ash*, the, I. 23.
- Ashawaway River*, the, III. 453.
- Ashley*, Edward, takes charge of a trading-house, I. 144, 145.
- Ashurst*, Sir Henry, papers and instructions intrusted to, II. 2; acts as agent for Massachusetts, III. 62, 312; the trial of Andros and others of his party, III. 62; his interest in behalf of Massachusetts, III. 68; offers to Mather the nominations of officers in Massachusetts, III. 78; his efforts in behalf of Plymouth, III. 80, 81; friend of Lord Bellomont, III. 150; opposition to Dudley, III. 150, 181, 182, 454; matter of Lord Bellomont's salary, III. 161; ceases to be agent for Massachusetts, III. 182; commission given to William Partridge, III. 194; succeeded in the Agency by Jeremiah Dummer, III. 258, 259; his death, III. 259, 312; letters from, quoted, III. 287; head of the dis-

ASH

sending interest in Parliament, III. 312; interests himself for Connecticut, III. 338; appears for Connecticut before the Privy Council, III. 340; opposition to Randolph, III. 367; his effort in behalf of American charters, III. 454.

Ashurst, Sir William, brother to Sir Henry Ashurst, III. 312; elected as agent for Massachusetts, III. 259, 312; declines the appointment, III. 259, 312; letter concerning Dudley, III. 314; his views concerning the Private Bank, III. 356; his interest in Massachusetts, III. 356, 427.

Asia, I. 2.

Asiatics, piracies of Captain Kidd, III. 165.

Aspinwall, William, a deputy from Boston, I. 206; one of the Antinomian faction, I. 206; II. 190; his connection with the petition in behalf of Rev. Mr. Wheelwright, I. 206; banished from the territory, I. 206; elected Secretary of the colony at Aquetnet, I. 211; returns to Massachusetts, having changed his views, II. 190.

Assembly, New England forbidden to hold one, II. 260, 291, 325, 359; petition ouered by Massachusetts, in relation to, II. 359, 360; order of prorogation, IV. 22; Act declaring null any law making bills of credit a legal tender, IV. 192; the provinces invited to take measures of relief, IV. 412. See *General Court*.

Assembly of King's Province, the, disallowed by the King, II. 291.

Assembly of New Jersey, the, delegates sent to the Colonial Congress, IV. 399.

Assembly of Pennsylvania, the, principles concerning warfare, IV. 167; contributions sent toward reconstructing Louisburg, IV. 167.

Assembly of the Providence Plantations, the, I. 346; protest of Harris, I. 391.

Assington, the home of Mary Gurdon, III. 457.

Assistants, their powers and functions, I. 273, 274, 277. See *Magistrates*.

Assistants of Connecticut, the, I. 273; called Magistrates, I. 273; the Magistrates of New Haven are chosen Assistants of Connecticut, II. 67; effort to obtain some leniency from the King, II. 311, 312; names of, II. 390, 391; IV. 445, 446; their salary, III. 210; IV. 125, 126; public affairs, III. 346, 347. See *Magistrates of*, and *General Court of Connecticut*.

ATH

Assistants of Exeter, the, I. 214.

Assistants of Massachusetts, the, I. 98, 106; number allowed by the charter, I. 98, 106, 149; II. 28, 231-233, 249; rules of election and removal, I. 123; see *Elections*: their rights and functions, I. 118, 123, 126, 138, 273, 276-279; III. 128, 158, 159; the officers called Magistrates in other colonies, I. 273; invited to consult on the condition of affairs, I. 156, 157; colonial law repealed, II. 28; the King demands an increase of, II. 231-233, 237, 249; complaints of Randolph, II. 244; belong to the moderate party, II. 246, 247; Dudley dropped from the Board, II. 257; to assist in appointing the members of the Maine Legislature, II. 265, 266; take part in the proclamation of James II., as King, II. 289; list of their names, II. 388, 389; IV. 441-444; new Board chosen, III. 78, 79; wife of one, executed for witchcraft, III. 91; their duties to be performed by the Justices of the Peace, III. 128; Admiralty powers reserved to the crown, III. 153, 159. See *General Court of*, and *Magistrates of Massachusetts*.

Assistants of New Hampshire, the, government of New Hampshire arranged by the King, II. 267, 268; names of, II. 394; IV. 450, 451.

Assistants of New Haven, the, I. 231; a frame of government arranged, I. 231; the Navigation Laws to be observed, II. 47; the government merged in that of Connecticut, II. 65-67; names of, II. 391, 392. See *General Court of New Haven*.

Assistants of Plymouth, the, I. 82, 241; number of, I. 241, 242; functions of, I. 273, 276-279; called magistrates in some of the colonies, I. 273; claim to land in the new patent given to Rhode Island, I. 345; conference with Philip, II. 128; names of, II. 387, 388. See *General Court of Plymouth*.

Assistants of the Providence Plantations, the, I. 346; names of, II. 392, 393.

Assistants of Rhode Island, the, I. 212, 213, 346, 381; the towns taxed for debt, II. 111, 112; their names, II. 393; IV. 447-449; described by Lord Bellomont, III. 222; their duties, III. 331; effort to resume the old government, II. 383, 384. See *General Court of Rhode Island*.

Assistants, Courts of, I. 115, 116; matters pertaining to appeals, I. 277; III. 205.

Atherton, Capt. Humphrey sent to

ATH

- quiet the Narragansetts, I. 350, 351; settlement founded on Narragansett Bay, II. 49, 50.
- Atherton Company*, the, II. 49, 50, 315; edict of the King, concerning, II. 51; question as to which colony it shall belong, II. 51, 53; engages Scott to make interest at court for, II. 52; chooses to be ruled by Connecticut, II. 53; decree of the Royal Commissioners, II. 70; its claim to certain lands, II. 282, 308, 335; its pretensions condemned by Andros, II. 335.
- Atlantic Colonies*, the, settlers of, I. ix.
- Atlantic Ocean*, the, I. 1, 19, 28, 110; IV. 138; certain boundary lines stretching from, I. 97, 402; questions of boundary, IV. 68, 69, 72; the English colonies on, enclosed by French stations, III. 29, see *French*; expedition of D'Anville, IV. 172, 173.
- Attlebury*, banishment of, III. 352.
- Attleborough*, II. 146.
- Attorney-General of England*, the, II. 213; laws of New England repugnant to England, II. 213-215, 239, see *Laws*; to investigate the legality of the charter of Massachusetts, II. 218; Randolph's influence against Massachusetts, II. 253; the charter of Massachusetts vacated, II. 258, 316; III. 2, 9; IV. 6; a writ of *quo warranto* to be issued against Rhode Island, II. 306; a memorial from Massachusetts referred to, II. 359, 360; Sir Robert Sawyer succeeded by Sir George Treby, III. 9, 10; matters pertaining to the *quo warranto* writs, III. 54; scheme to send a successor to Andros as Governor, III. 55; a charter to be framed for Massachusetts, III. 67-75; to inspect the charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut, III. 199, 200; matters pertaining to the militia of Rhode Island, III. 219-221; complaints to the Queen, of Rhode Island and Connecticut, III. 323; opinion of the projected synod in Boston, III. 421, 422; power of the royal governor, IV. 23.
- Attorney-General of Massachusetts*, the, II. 348; the writs of intrusion, II. 348, 349; placed in custody, II. 375; trial of Vetch and his accomplices, III. 279, 290; letter pertaining to the removal of the charter, III. 285; dispute concerning the choice of, IV. 36; IV. 193, 194; sues for the recovery of certain money, IV. 304; expressions un-

BAN

- friendly to the colonial cause, IV. 425.
- Attorney-General of New York*, the, position desired by Shirley, IV. 135.
- Attorney-General of Rhode Island*, the, described by Lord Bellomont, III. 222; resigns his office as Stamp-Distributor, IV. 336.
- Auchmuty*, Mr., made Advocate-General in Massachusetts, IV. 311; counsel for the Crown, IV. 311; arguments in favor of the writs, IV. 311; unfriendly sentiments to colonies, IV. 425, 426.
- Auditor-General*, the, II. 240; the office given to William Blathwayt, II. 240, 241; charges of Randolph, II. 244.
- Augusta*, town of, III. 386; a Jesuit station near, III. 386, see *Rasle*; a fort erected within the site of, IV. 206.
- Austerfield*, I. 48.
- Austrian Succession*, the War of, important consequences of, I. v; IV. 168, 169.
- Austin*, Ann, one of the first Quakers in Boston, II. 8.
- Autonomy*, the system of, I. 230.
- Awakening*, the, revivals in New England, IV. 76-109. See *Religion*.
- Axes*, made of stone, I. 33.
- BAAL**, II. 8, 301.
- Bachelor of Arts*, number of graduates at Harvard receiving the degree at the first commencement, I. 290; number at Yale at the first three commencements, III. 345; number at Brown University at the first commencement, IV. 364.
- Bacon*, Lord, I. 106.
- Bahama Islands*, the, IV., 225, 363; Shirley made governor of, IV. 225.
- Bailey*, Non-conformists by the name of, II. 299.
- Baillie*, a Scottish divine, I. 323; champion of the Presbyterians, I. 323.
- Balch*, John, one of the early settlers at Naumkeag, I. 96.
- Ballard*, illness of his wife causes accusations of witchcraft, III. 102.
- Balston*, William, connected with the Antinomian troubles, I. 208.
- Baltic Powers*, the, war of Sweden against, III. 367.
- Bancroft*, Archbishop of Canterbury, I. 48, 49; oppresses the Puritans, I. 48, 49.
- Bandoleers*, I. 291.
- Bangor*, III. 405.
- Bank*, the. See *Land Bank*, *Private Bank*, and *Public Bank*.

BAN

- Banks, Sir John*, Attorney-General in England, I. 159; brings a writ against the Massachusetts Company, I. 159; II. 218.
- Banks*, the, importance of the fisheries to New England seamen, IV. 149; the danger from the fortress of Louisburg, IV. 149; danger to the fishermen from the French, IV. 211; rights of fishermen, IV. 326.
- Baptism*, views of the Rev. Charles Chauncy concerning, I. 240; persons entitled to the rite of, I. 285; II. 17; custom of administering the rite, I. 288, 289; position of persons believing in, I. 382, 383; disputed questions concerning, II. 17-20, 100, 101, 103-105; the Half-way Covenant, II. 19, 103; conditions of admission as ordered by Charles II., II. 34; the conditions moderated, III. 171; difference in the views of different sects, in regard to, III. 440.
- Baptists*, the, church of, formed at Newport, I. 382; the sect held in disesteem, I. 382, 383; laws against, I. 392, 383; banished from Massachusetts, I. 382-386; II. 105; congregate in Rhode Island, I. 383, 384; III. 437; IV. 184, 383; punishment incurred by Clarke and others, I. 384-386; their zeal and persistence, II. 104, 105; worship at Noddle's Island, II. 104, 105; remove their church to the town, II. 105; growth of indulgence towards, II. 105, 106; the Seventh Day Baptists, III. 436, 440; relieved from parish taxes, IV. 36, 125; historical publication by one of their number, IV. 133, 134; numbers in Rhode Island, IV. 134; church of, in Philadelphia, IV. 363; origin of Brown University, IV. 363, 364.
- Barbadoes*, the, I. 328; the Quakers determine to come to Boston, II. 8, 11; trade with Massachusetts, II. 84; Governor Cranfield receives permission to depart thence, II. 276; negroes brought from, III. 330; relations with New England, IV. 292.
- Barbary*, II. 262; the corsairs of, dangerous to Massachusetts, II. 262.
- Barclay*, Robert, II. 4.
- Barfoot*, Walter, Governor of New Hampshire, serves as deputy for Randolph, II. 269; incurs a fine, II. 269; made counsellor of New Hampshire, II. 271; command of a fort given him, II. 273; appointed Deputy-Governor, II. 273; becomes the Governor of New Hampshire, II. 277, 393; his administration in New Hampshire, II. 304.

BEA

- Barkhamstead*, date of settlement, IV. 121.
- Barley*, I. 72, 292.
- Barnard*, Mr., connected with the excitement concerning witchcraft, III. 110.
- Barnstable*, town of, I. 71; III. 132; sends deputies to the General Court, I. 243; persons empowered to decide controversies, I. 276; one of her vessels seized, I. 389; the vessel to be restored, I. 396, 397; Quakers from, come to Boston, II. 11; home of several prominent men, II. 148, 277; IV. 293.
- Barnstable County*, one of the three counties in Plymouth, II. 305.
- Baron*, the title, desired by Governor Bernard for counsellors in Massachusetts, IV. 334.
- Barré*, Colonel Isaac, his service at Louisburg, IV. 242, 243; speech on the Stamp Act, IV. 375.
- Barrington*, Lord, John Shute, III. 356.
- Barrington*, town in New Hampshire, III. 429.
- Barrington*, town in Rhode Island, IV. 284.
- Barter*, trading with the Indians by, I. 295.
- Basket*, the cylindrical, I. 32; used in fishing, I. 32, 33.
- Baskets*, I. 33.
- Bath*, Earl of, William Pulteney, IV. 294; publishes the "Letter to Two Great Men," IV. 294.
- Baxter*, Captain, seizes a vessel belonging to Barnstable, I. 389; sentenced for his seizure of a vessel, I. 396, 397.
- Baxter*, Rev. Mr., his services offered to the Indians, for religious purposes, III. 388.
- Baxter*, George, English resident at New Amsterdam, I. 365; one of the arbitrators in the case of Stuyvesant, I. 365.
- Baxter*, Rev. Richard, his commendation of Mather's treatise, III. 93, 94; executions for witchcraft, III. 117.
- Bay of Fundy*, I. 5; III. 249; IV. 200; Shirley desires to drive the French from their forts, IV. 200, 213.
- Beacon Hill*, I. 129; vote to place the beacon on, I. 157; the signal used at the time of Andros's deposition, II. 370, 372.
- Beads*, I. 35.
- Bean*, the, I. 31, 32, 292, 298, 299.
- Beau*, the, I. 26, 31.
- Beauchamp*, one of the London partners, I. 238.

BEA

- Beaver*, the, I. 26; fur of, takes the place of money, I. 295.
- Bégancour*, village of, III. 238.
- Beckford*, Alderman, debate on the Stamp Act, IV. 375.
- Bedford*, Duke of, Secretary of State, IV. 181, 183; receives communications from Governor Shirley, IV. 181; favors an Episcopal establishment in the colonies, IV. 183.
- Bedlam*, IV. 398.
- Beechnut*, the, I. 23.
- Beef*, I. 299; exported from Massachusetts, II. 84.
- Beer*, I. 299.
- Beers*, Captain, his action in Philip's War, II. 137, 139; his death, II. 139.
- Beetles*, I. 26.
- Belcher*, Andrew, inn-keeper at Cambridge, IV. 38; grandfather of Governor Belcher, IV. 38.
- Belcher*, Andrew, Jr., Counsellor of Massachusetts, urges the opposition to the private bank, III. 356; elected a Counsellor of Massachusetts, IV. 38, 442; father of Governor Belcher, IV. 38.
- Belcher*, Jonathan, Governor of Massachusetts, desired to act in England as agent for the House of Representatives, IV. 25, 30, 37, 39, 40; grant of money from the House voted to, IV. 23, 36; his election as counsellor rejected by the governor, IV. 30; information in regard to Parliament sent to the House, IV. 32; elected Governor of Massachusetts, IV. 37, 40, 124, 441; his youth and travels, IV. 38; a graduate of Harvard College, IV. 38; various offices held by, IV. 38, 39; qualities and character, IV. 38, 39; his politics, and change of views, IV. 39, 40; promises the Ministry to desert the popular cause, IV. 40; his commission to include New Hampshire, IV. 40; his request in regard to the lieutenant-governor, IV. 41; his inaugural speech; IV. 41, 42; his applications for a fixed salary, IV. 41-46, 48, 51-54, 145; his instructions, IV. 42, 43; generous gifts from the court, IV. 45, 46; his policy, IV. 46, 47; controversy concerning supplies and public payments, IV. 47-52; redemption of the bills of credit, IV. 52-53, 188; plan of the Land Bank, renewed, IV. 56, 57, 58; altercation with the Court, IV. 58, 59; his relation to New Hampshire, IV. 61; enmity shown to Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth and his son, IV. 61, 256, 257; quarrel with Dun-

BEL

- bar, Wentworth's successor, IV. 61-64; annexation of New Hampshire to Massachusetts, IV. 65, 66; the boundary between Massachusetts and New Hampshire to be settled IV. 66-72; memorials for and against sent to the King, IV. 63, 64, 67; efforts to obtain the removal of Dunbar, IV. 64, 65; his relation to the controversy about boundaries, IV. 71, 72; growing dislike to, IV. 72-74; his character, IV. 72, 73, 75, 76; grant of money from the Court of Massachusetts, IV. 72, 73; removed from office, IV. 72-74, 120, 256, 267; charges against, IV. 73, 74; supposed relation to the Land Bank scheme, IV. 73, 74; plot against, and injustice shown to him, IV. 74; course of his administration, IV. 74; made Governor of New Jersey, IV. 75; his death, IV. 75; political lull in his administration, IV. 78; reception of Whitefield, IV. 82; accompanies Whitefield to Boston Common, IV. 83; desired to join Dummer in the agency of Connecticut, IV. 124; accounts sent home to Connecticut, IV. 124; his relations with Shirley, IV. 135-139; complaint of the rise of exchange between England and Massachusetts, IV. 140, 141; reconstitutes the Court of Common Pleas, IV. 154; death of his friend, Lieutenant-Governor Tailer, IV. 184; succeeded in New Jersey by Governor Bernard, IV. 255; the last governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, IV. 256; results of the opposition to the Wentworths, IV. 256, 257, 270.
- Bellingham*, Richard, Governor of Massachusetts, one of the military commissioners, I. 157, 158; one of the original patentees of the Massachusetts Company, I. 160, 170; chosen Deputy Governor of Massachusetts, I. 164, 170, 400; II. 388; his youth and circumstances in England, I. 170; II. 72; supposed to have drawn the charter of Charles I., I. 170; II. 72; promoted in office, I. 251; elected Governor of Massachusetts, I. 254, 357, 400; II. 72, 73, 388; his conduct not creditable, I. 254, 255; controversy with Winthrop, I. 258; shows a factious disposition, I. 317-319, 400; opposes the sentence against Vassall's friends, I. 326; his service improves, I. 400; part taken by him in the punishment of the Quakers, II. 7; unfavorable to the meetings in relation to the embassy to England, II. 31,

BEL

32; to keep the patent of Massachusetts safe, II. 57; his answer to the Royal Commissioners, II. 75, 76; commanded to attend upon His Majesty, II. 79, 81; part taken by, in the formation of the Third Church of Boston, II. 102; intolerance against Baptists, II. 105; his death, II. 105, 106; his position in New England, II. 192.

Belmont, Earl of, Richard Coote, appointed Governor of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and New Jersey, III. 150, 151; IV. 441; his landing in America, III. 154, 155, 194, 195, 208; his arrival in Boston, III. 155; remains at New York a year, III. 155, 195; business in Massachusetts relating to courts of justice, III. 156-159; address sent to, from the General Court of Massachusetts, III. 158; his time of service in Massachusetts, III. 159; the purport of his letters to England, III. 159, 160; matter of his salary, III. 161, 267, 301, 466; his character, III. 160; his death, III. 160, 175, 176, 180, 181, 198; his connection with Somers, III. 160; reports sent to England, III. 160, 161; piracies investigated, III. 161-167; story of Captain Kidd, III. 163-167; alarmed by rumors of Indian war, III. 168, 169; revives the Church of England in Boston, III. 169, 170, 359; his action concerning the incorporation of Harvard College, III. 174, 175, 292; letter written by, showing his anguish of mind, III. 175, 176; correspondence concerning the conduct of Massachusetts, III. 179; succeeded in Massachusetts by Joseph Dudley, III. 181-184, 224, 225, 284; arrival in New Hampshire, III. 195; his advice to New Hampshire, III. 195, 196; displeased with Allen, III. 196; his correspondence concerning the state of things in New Hampshire, III. 196, 197; the Lords of Trade displeased with proceedings in New Hampshire, III. 197, 198; his commission permits the control of the militia in Connecticut, III. 208; receives a welcome from Connecticut, III. 208, 209; effort to settle the troubles of Rhode Island and Connecticut, III. 214; investigates the irregularities of Rhode Island, III. 221, 222, 223; letters describing affairs in Rhode Island, III. 222, 223; a copy of the laws of Rhode Island to be transmitted to England, III. 222, 223, 437; his administration

BER

unsatisfactory to the English, III. 224; his example followed by Dudley, III. 227; succeeded in New York by Lord Cornbury, III. 285; commissioned officers, complained of, III. 322; matters pertaining to Bridger and the havoc of the woods, III. 367, 368; Armstrong, his secretary, III. 429; attitude of Massachusetts towards, III. 466.

"*Belmont*," man-of-war, the, landing of Governor Joseph Dudley in Boston, III. 225.

Ben Uncas, Major, complaints to Governor Saltonstall, III. 444; established as sachem of the Mohegans, III. 445, 446; declares for Christianity, IV. 125; an English coat given to, and a dress for his wife, IV. 125.

Bennett, Captain, arrives in Boston with despatches from Pepperell, IV. 164.

Bennett, Sir Henry, II. 59.

Bennington, the township granted, IV. 358.

Berkeley, Bishop George, IV. 132; his deanery in Ireland, IV. 132; scheme of a college for the religious benefit of the Indians, IV. 132; money promised him, IV. 132, 133; his residence at Newport, IV. 133; his "*Alciphron*," IV. 133; his generous gifts, IV. 133; originates the Redwood Library, IV. 133; present of money and books to Yale College, IV. 275.

Bermuda Islands, the, trade with Boston, I. 294; circulation of a petition among, I. 326; Indians sent into slavery, II. 133; story of piracies near, III. 164; scheme of George Berkeley, IV. 132, 133.

Bernard, Francis, Governor of Massachusetts and of New Jersey, a graduate of Oxford, IV. 255; his arrival in Massachusetts, IV. 255, 296, 299; his youth, circumstances, and profession, IV. 255, 296; formerly Governor of New Jersey, IV. 255, 296; receives his appointment, as Governor of Massachusetts, IV. 255, 296, 441; representations to the Board of Trade, IV. 292; his administration in New Jersey, IV. 296; ungraceful action in the outset of his rule in Massachusetts, IV. 296; his representations of Massachusetts to England, IV. 297-299; his scheme of government for New England, IV. 298, 299; death of Stephen Sewall, IV. 299; gives the vacant Chief-Justiceship to Thomas Hutchinson, IV. 299, 300; his appointment, the prob-

BER

able cause of much trouble, IV. 299, 300-302; opposition of James Otis, father and son, IV. 300, 302-304, 318-324, 336; grant of land from the General Court, IV. 302, 317; important offices conferred on James Otis, the elder, IV. 302, 336; opposition to the movement in relation to the Sugar Act, IV. 303, 304; question of American liberty, IV. 304-313; commercial position of Massachusetts, IV. 305, 306; the writs of assistance, IV. 306-313, 318; orders sent by Pitt concerning the alleged contraband trade, IV. 306; his possible reason for placing Hutchinson at the head of the judiciary, IV. 307; letter to the Lords of Trade in relation to the writs of assistance, IV. 313; the island of Mount Desert presented to, IV. 317, 318; relations with the General Court of Massachusetts, IV. 316, 317; receives petition from Salem and Marblehead, IV. 318-320; anger of the House at his course, IV. 318-324; Otis's vindication of the House, IV. 322-324; rumors of his acquiescence with the plans of Episcopalians, IV. 324; courteous message from Massachusetts, IV. 327; request from the Board of Trade in relation to a census, IV. 330; letter to the Lords of Trade in relation to the shipping and various matters in Massachusetts, IV. 332-334; conflict in regard to the choice of Hutchinson for agent, IV. 335, 336; uneasiness caused by the temper of the General Court, IV. 347; address sent by the General Court, complaining of the Sugar Act, IV. 348, 349; his opinion of Rhode Island's political position, IV. 363; report to Lord Halifax concerning the state of affairs in Rhode Island, IV. 367, 368; position of affairs between America and England, IV. 385; reference to the Stamp Act, in his speech, IV. 387, 388; report to the Lords of Trade, IV. 389; action of the mob in Boston, IV. 390, 391; takes measures to stop the riots, IV. 391, 392, 394; letters describing the riots in Boston, IV. 391, 392; resolves to keep the stamps at the castle, IV. 395; receives the stamped paper for New Hampshire, IV. 396; effort to induce the people to comply with the King's request, IV. 397, 398; delay in the action of the Courts, IV. 408, 409; quarrel with the House, concerning provisions for troops, IV. 411; instructed to rebuke his legislature, IV. 412; a petition

BIL

sent to the King for his removal, IV. 413; apprehension in Boston of the arrival of regular troops, IV. 414, 415; calls for quarters and supplies for the troops, IV. 416, 417; removes the General Court to Cambridge, IV. 417; receives complaints of the investment of the town, by troops, IV. 417; lack of discretion in regard to the spring session of the General Court, IV. 417; recalled from office, IV. 418; continues to hold his commission after his departure from America, IV. 421.

Berwick, town of, II. 174; suffers from the cruelty, warfare and murders of the Indians, II. 174; III. 240, 254, 258, 406; man burned to death by the Indians, III. 240.

Berwick-upon-Tweed, III. 16; matters pertaining to commerce, III. 16, 330, 331.

Beverly, the trouble caused by the witches, III. 103; reception given to Pepperell, IV. 168.

Bible, the, I. 288; II. 303; public reading without exposition not approved of, I. 288; the practice of *dumb-reading*, I. 288; translated into the Indian language, II. 167; III. 388; manner of taking an oath, II. 324; III. 70; read to the witches, III. 93; law against a witch, III. 120, 121; given to the Indians, III. 388; to be distributed in Connecticut families, III. 448; effect of a certain passage on Rev. Mr. Davenport, IV. 89, 90. See *Scriptures*.

Biddeford, town of, III. 254; also called Winter Harbor, III. 254; suffers from Indian ravages, III. 254, 258.

Bilbao, fish exported to, from Boston, I. 295.

Bill of Rights, the, I. 280, 395. See *Acts*.

Billerica, town in England, I. 59.

Billington, John, one of the company on board the Mayflower, I. 59; suffers capital punishment, I. 147.

Bills, regulations of the provincial charter, III. 72.

Bills of Credit, III. 52; issued in Massachusetts, III. 52, 261, 269, 273, 310, 311, 332, 363, 384, 414, 433; IV. 18, 20, 52-58, 190, 271, 272, 284; the depreciation of the currency, III. 89, 161, 310, 311, 384; IV. 55, 58, 126, 187, 188; issued in Rhode Island, III. 332, 433, 434; IV. 55, 283, 284; issued in Connecticut, III. 334, 345, 447, 448; IV. 126, 271, 278; a portion redeemed in Connecticut, III. 345; IV. 271; issued

BIN

- in New Hampshire, III. 426; IV. 258, 270; effort in Massachusetts to increase the issue, IV. 31, 35; the issue limited in Massachusetts, IV. 49, 53, 188, 258; the question of the redemption of, IV. 52-58, 270, 284; reform of the currency in Massachusetts, IV. 186-192; bills of the *new tenor*, IV. 190, 191; the gold received in Boston, IV. 190, 191; law regarding, when used as legal tender, IV. 192; results of the reform of the currency in Massachusetts, IV. 304, 305. See *Treasury*.
- Binkes*, Jacob, commands armed vessels of the Dutch, II. 98; captures New York, II. 98, 99.
- Birch-bark*, I. 84.
- Birds*, of New England, I. 25; claws of, used in the weapons of Indians, I. 88.
- Bishop*, Bridget, tried and executed for witchcraft, III. 99.
- Bishop*, James, deputy-governor of Connecticut, II. 284, 390; III. 208; IV. 445; action concerning the submission of Connecticut, II. 338-342; resumes his office, II. 385; offices held by him, III. 208; his death, III. 208.
- Bishop of London*, the, II. 225; to appoint an Episcopal minister, to reside in Boston, II. 225, 226, 297; Rev. Mr. Ratcliffe appointed to the ministry in Boston, II. 297, 301; irritated by Randolph's accounts, III. 60; a collection of books sent to the Boston church, III. 169; solicitations for his supervision in the colonies, III. 170; action in regard to a projected synod, III. 421; scheme of Episcopal establishment in the colonies, IV. 183.
- Bishop of Quebec*, the, IV. 210.
- Black Point*, settlement at, I. 403; planters take the oath of allegiance to Massachusetts, I. 403; suffers from Indian ravages, II. 177, 179; III. 240.
- Black Sea*, the, I. 9.
- Black Snake*, the, I. 26.
- Blackberry*, the, I. 24.
- Blackbirds*, the, I. 25.
- Bladen*, Martin, one of the Board of Trade, IV. 138, 139; recommends Shirley to the chief magistracy of Massachusetts, IV. 139.
- Blanchard*, Colonel, his service at Fort Edward, IV. 263.
- Blathwayt*, William, clerk of the Lords of the committee, II. 240, 359; III. 197, 430; to be the Surveyor and Auditor-General for the King's revenues in America, II. 240,

BOL

- 241; transmits the order for King James' proclamation to Boston, II. 288, 289; Randolph's complaint to, concerning things in Massachusetts, II. 300, 301; sends a paper to England with the proposal for an Assembly blotted out, II. 359; rumors about, III. 197; letter from Paul Dudley mentioning, III. 285; agency given to Armstrong, III. 429, 430.
- Blaxton*, William, builds a farm at Shawmut (Boston), I. 89, 117; a contributor towards an expedition, I. 89; invites people from Charlestown to settle at Shawmut I. 117; his claim at Boston, I. 128.
- Blindman*, Richard, his work among the Indians, I. 379.
- Block Island*, story of the "Adventure," III. 162.
- Bloody Brook*, occasion of its name, II. 142; attack upon Lothrop's company, II. 142, 143.
- "*Blue Laws*," the, of New Haven, a fiction, I. 282, 399.
- Blue Point*, dwellers in, take the oath of allegiance to Massachusetts, I. 403; receives the name of Scarborough, I. 403. See *Scarborough*.
- Bluebird*, the, I. 25.
- Blue-jays*, the, I. 25.
- Board of Overseers* at Harvard College, the, III. 173.
- Board of Selectmen*, the, I. 276. See *Selectmen*.
- Board of Trade and Plantations*, the, revived by William III., III. 17; duration of the corporation, III. 18; desire to signalize their rule, III. 152. See *Lords of Trade*.
- Board of Visitors* at Harvard College, the, III. 173, 174; at Yale College, IV. 276, 277.
- Boards of Government* at Brown University, IV. 364.
- Boats*, I. 33, 34.
- Body of Liberties*. See *The Body*, etc.
- Bolingbroke*, Henry St. John, Lord, Secretary of State, in England, III. 258, 259; letters, showing the schemes of war in England, III. 259-261; Jeremiah Dummer engages in his service, III. 313; letter from Nicholson, concerning Vetch, III. 313, 314; his flight from England, III. 314, 352; vessel despatched by, wrecked on the voyage, III. 348; reaction of church bigotry, III. 350, 351.
- Bollan*, William, an Advocate-General, IV. 190; urges the claim of reimbursement, for Massachusetts,

BOM

in England, IV. 190; dismissed from the agency of Massachusetts, IV. 325.

Bomazeen, Indian chief, killed at Norridgewock, III. 409.

Bond, William, Speaker of the House of Deputies, III. 125; petition offered to the Governor, III. 125.

Bonds, IV. 376.

Book of Common Prayer, the, I. 103; III. 92. See *Common Prayer*.

Book of Discipline, the, I. 330, 333. See *Cambridge Platform*.

Books, the, stolen from the Scrooby congregation, I. 49; given to Harvard College, I. 248; prized by the colonists, I. 289; the writings of early pupils of Harvard College, II. 89; the bewitched people able to read the Quaker books, III. 92. See *Library*.

Borers, I. 26.

Borland, John, merchant of Boston, III. 278; accusations against, III. 278; his trial, III. 279-281; matters pertaining to his alleged misdeeds, III. 286-288.

Borneo, story of the "Adventure," III. 162; visited by Captain Kidd, III. 165.

Boscawen, Admiral, severe measures taken at Nova Scotia, IV. 212-216; at Cape Breton, IV. 243; the capture of Louisburg, IV. 243.

Boscawen, town of, Indian ravages at, IV. 261.

Boston, England, I. 49, 196; effort of the Scrooby congregation to leave England, I. 49; Rev. John Cotton, the rector of St. Botolph's Church, I. 135; Richard Bellingham fills the office of Recorder, I. 170.

Boston, the capital city of Massachusetts, taxes on real estate during the last inter-colonial war, I. vi; changes of temperature in twenty-four hours, I. 20-22; visited by Miles Standish, I. 71, 72; forts in decay, I. 71; its early appearance, I. 71, 72, 128, 129; formerly named Shawmut, I. 89, 117; William Blaxton, the first settler in, I. 89, 117, 128; the people from Charlestown remove to, I. 117; ferry to Charlestown established, I. 117; first meeting of the General Court, I. 117, 118, see *General Court*; growth of the settlement, I. 118, 119; place of the Governor's residence, I. 119, 124, 297, 401; the neck, I. 119, 129; IV. 434; fortification projected, I. 119, 127; departure and return of Rev. Mr. Wilson, I. 120, 127; chosen for the capital of Massachusetts, I. 124, 128;

BOS

ecclesiastical and civil questions, I. 124-126; day of thanksgiving observed, I. 127; organization of the First Church at, I. 128, see *First Church*, etc.; installation of the Rev. Mr. Wilson, I. 128; a weekly market established, I. 128; Blaxton's claim, I. 128; the three hills, I. 129; harvest, I. 131; early relations with the Indians, I. 130, 131; Rev. John Cotton becomes associated with Mr. Wilson, I. 134; changes in the government, I. 137; men chosen to divide the town lands, I. 140; a beacon to be set on the sentry hill, I. 157; Roger Williams refuses to unite with the church of, I. 162; one of the places of meeting for local courts of justice, I. 172; offers enlargement to Newtown, I. 180, 181; return of seventy persons from the expedition to Connecticut, I. 182; position held by Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, I. 196; the Antinomian faction, I. 196-210; Mrs. Hutchinson causes dissensions in the church, I. 196-198; the discussions and troubles in the church and city, I. 198-210, 214, see *Antinomianism*; election of officers, I. 201, 202; the Governor attended by sergeants to church, I. 202; slights offered to Governor Winthrop, I. 202; confessions of Knollys and Underhill, I. 216, 217; troubles in the eastern settlements laid before the magistrates, I. 224; people from, form a settlement at Stratford, I. 234; Springfield taken under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, I. 235; elders sent to Winthrop with a message of respect, I. 251; the story of the stray sow, I. 257, 258; meeting of commissioners, to confer about the confederation, I. 262, 263; the Articles of Confederation, I. 263-268; the public schools, I. 289; ship-building carried on, I. 294; exports and imports, I. 294, 295, 298; III. 345; house of Coddington, I. 296; has fine houses, and well furnished, I. 296, 297; house of Winthrop, I. 297; diet of the early settlers, I. 298, 299; social life, I. 299-301; first meeting of the Commissioners of the Confederation, I. 302-311; uneasiness occasioned by Miantonomo, I. 302; Miantonomo visits, I. 303, 306; explanation of Miantonomo, I. 303; trouble caused by Gorton, Greene, and others, I. 304-312; arrival of Samuel Gorton, I. 306; visit of Pomham and Saco-noco, I. 306; Miantonomo summoned to, I. 306, 307-314; the

BOS

Shawomet prisoners confined in, I. 310; Gorton and his friends banished from Massachusetts, I. 311, 312; meeting of the Shawomet disturbers, I. 312; decision in the case of La Tour, I. 316, 317; arrival of Marie, I. 311; jealousy of the Essex towns, I. 318; the affair of the Dartmouth and the London vessels, I. 320, 321; churches of, fearful of the synod at Cambridge, I. 329; a vessel from, captured by D'Aulnay, I. 336; arrival of Holden, I. 340; Gorton's return from England, I. 342; return of Roger Williams, I. 344; meeting to consider the danger from certain Indians, I. 348; visit of the Indians, and conclusion of the treaty, I. 349; a meeting held to confer about the Narragansetts, I. 350; the quarrel between Hobart and the Magistrates, I. 358-360; the triumph of Winthrop, I. 358-360; meeting of the Commissioners to consider the desired aid for New France, I. 364; rumor of a war with the Indians, I. 366, 367; trouble between New Haven and Connecticut, and the Dutch, I. 366-373; trouble with the Nyantics, I. 367, 371, 374, 375; arrival of troops for the conquest of New Netherland, I. 373, 398; news of peace between England and Holland, I. 373; the Baptists put certain laws to the test, I. 384-386; Clarke and his companions sent to for trial, I. 385, 386; news of the accession of Charles II., II. 1; arrival of the Quakers, II. 8; treatment of Quakers, II. 8, 9-15; trial and execution of the Quakers, II. 10-13; the gaol, II. 12; disturbances made by the Quakers, II. 15; a synod appointed to settle questions concerning baptism, II. 18-20, 100, 102; III. 341, 342; a colonial synod convoked, II. 20; the search for the regicides, II. 22-26; report of a committee, appointed to consider the condition of affairs, II. 28-30; Charles II., proclaimed in, II. 30; arrival of Samuel Shattuck, a Quaker, II. 30, 31; agents sent to England, II. 31, 32; return of the agents, with the resultant action, II. 33-36; annual meeting of the Federal Commissioners, II. 46; preparations for the Royal Commissioners, II. 56, 57; arrival of the royal ships with the King's Commissioners, II. 57, 58, 104; conferences held by the Commissioners with the Magistrates, II. 60, 67; objects of the embassy, II. 60-62;

BOS

action of the Court, II. 62, 63; departure of the Commissioners, II. 63; message from Rhode Island to the Commissioners, II. 69; final effort of the Commissioners to reduce the people to obedience, II. 71-77; departure of the Royal Commissioners, II. 77, 78; described by the Royal Commissioners, II. 85; its streets, churches, and houses, II. 85; meeting of the Commissioners of the Confederation, to amend the Articles, II. 96, 97; meeting held to determine certain military arrangements, II. 97, 98; fresh controversy concerning baptism, II. 100-105; Davenport succeeds Mr. Wilson at the First Church, II. 101; opposition to Davenport, II. 101, 102; formation of the Third Church in, II. 102, see *Third Church*, etc.; intolerance shown to Baptists, II. 104, 105; establishment of the Baptists in, II. 105, 106; arrival of Leonard Hoar, II. 106; death of ex-President Hoar, II. 108; preparations of defence made, against the Dutch, II. 108; prosperous attempts at conversion of the Indians, II. 124, see *Indians*; Philip's War, II. 122-133; troops sent against the Indians, II. 131, 137, 153, 178; messenger sent to, from Brookfield, II. 134, 135; meeting of the Commissioners of the new Confederacy, II. 139-141, 144-146; home of Lieutenant Upham, II. 148; home of Captain Davenport, II. 148; Rowlandson asks for aid against the Indians, II. 153; a force sent to Lancaster, II. 154; Mrs. Rowlandson joins her husband, II. 153; approach of the Indians, II. 157; home of Captain Turner, II. 162; the hands of King Philip brought to, II. 172; people fly from the Indians, II. 175; Indian prisoners sent to, II. 176, 177; a treaty made with the Indians, II. 178; execution of Watascompanum, II. 182; Indians sold into slavery, II. 183, 184; execution of Indian chiefs, II. 183; death of John Winthrop, II. 190; arrival of Randolph, II. 198; Randolph confers with the Governor and Council, II. 198-200; Randolph tries to create party spirit in, II. 200; alleged neglect of the Navigation Act, II. 201, see *Navigation Act*; message sent to Charles II., II. 201, 202; the magistrates complained of, II. 202, 203; Randolph invited to visit Plymouth, II. 203; departure of Randolph, II. 204; the demands of Charles II. laid before the General Court, II. 204-

BOS

207; return of Randolph from England, II. 228, 231; arrival of the agents, II. 231; a fire in, II. 234; seizure of vessels, II. 234; memorial sent to the King, II. 237; departure of Randolph for England, II. 237; Randolph's reappearance with fresh annoyances, II. 240; arrival of Mr. Blathwayt as Auditor-General, II. 240, 241; naval officers commissioned, II. 241; the Navigation and Trade Laws to be proclaimed in, II. 241; one of the churches to be seized for the Church of England, II. 260; Cranfield spends most of his time in, II. 273; departure of Cranfield, II. 276, 277; meeting of the Confederacy, II. 280, 281, 287; James II. proclaimed King, II. 288, 289; Randolph arrives from England, II. 291; abdication of the old government, II. 291-294; provision made for establishing the Church of England in, II. 291, 301-303, 322, 323; III. 60, 61; meeting of the new President and his Council, II. 296, 297; complaining letters from Randolph to persons in England, II. 298-304; arrival of Sir Edmund Andros, as General Governor of New England, II. 313, 319; Dudley appointed to be the censor of the press, II. 320; legal transactions rendered burdensome and expensive, II. 324-331; first meeting of the Council of Andros, II. 333; Governor Andros demands the charter of Rhode Island, II. 334; escort furnished Governor Andros on his journey to Hartford, II. 340; arrival of the Declaration of Indulgence, II. 344; Mr. Wiswall summoned to trial, II. 349, 350; a letter purporting to come from Increase Mather, sent to Amsterdam, II. 351; Mather to proceed to England, to interpose in behalf of Massachusetts, II. 351-352; Andros travels to Maine, II. 352-355; Randolph detained by illness, II. 353; return of Andros to, II. 355; seat of government of New England, II. 355; Andros's jurisdiction enlarged, II. 355; his departure for the south, II. 356, 357; force sent to Maine to protect the settlers, II. 357; policy of Andros towards the Indians, II. 360; charges against Andros, II. 361, 362-365; Governor Andros meets with an unfriendly reception, II. 362, 363; the Indian brought by the Sudbury men before Andros, II. 363-365; John Winslow brings the copy of the Declaration of the Princess of Orange, II. 366, 367; the revolution of the seventeenth

BOS

century, II. 370-386; Andros retires to Fort Hill, II. 370; the signal on Beacon Hill, II. 370, 372; uprising of the people, II. 371-373, 377; the "Declaration of the Gentlemen," etc., read from the Town House, II. 371, 372; Andros summoned to surrender, II. 373; the attack upon Andros, II. 373-375; Andros taken to Mr. Usher's house, II. 374; the Rose frigate unmanned, II. 374, 375; rage of the country-people against Governor Andros, II. 375; Andros placed in the fort, II. 375; efforts of Andros to escape, II. 375; III. 57, 215; Andros imprisoned, I. iii; II. 377; III. 62, 198; the Council for the Safety of the People, II. 377, 378; a convention to decide upon a new government, II. 378, 379; the demonstration of joy at the news from England, II. 379, 380; William and Mary to be proclaimed as King and Queen, II. 379, 382; arrival of Sir William Phipps, II. 380; effect of the Revolution, on Plymouth, II. 383; Dudley placed in gaol, II. 383; III. 225; treachery of the French and Indians, III. 28; expedition against the Indians, III. 28; vessels sent to relieve the people at Casco Bay, III. 41; expedition against Quebec, III. 42-51; reception of Captain Church, III. 45; fleet from, arriving in the St. Lawrence, III. 46; affairs misrepresented in England by Randolph, III. 56, 57, 59-61; order sent, for the "safe custody into England" of Andros and his fellow-prisoners, III. 57, 61; Dudley sails for, from England, III. 62; the opponents of Massachusetts offer an Address to the King, III. 63, 64; Plymouth desires to be united with, III. 70; number of inhabitants, III. 81; arrival of Phipps and Mather, III. 82, 83; Bradstreet retires from the position of governor, III. 82-84; the new charter read, and the oaths of office taken, III. 83; treaty made with the Indians, III. 85; the excitement caused by the fear of witchcraft, III. 92; persons accused of being witches, III. 92-94; effort to stop the excitement, III. 103, 104, see *Witchcraft*; Judge Sewall acknowledges his error, in the matter of witchcraft, III. 106, 107; some of the inhabitants unfriendly to Phipps, III. 131; force led to Penauquid, III. 131; behavior of Short, III. 135; trouble with Brenton, III. 136; Phipps recalled, II. 138, 149; Huguenots remove to, III. 141; condi-

BOS

tions of Chubb's capitulation, III. 142; force raised against the Indians, III. 142, 143; return of the expedition, III. 143; ambition of Dudley, III. 149, 150; Bellomont's arrival as Governor, III. 155; Captain Kidd's arrival at, III. 166, 167; number of houses in, III. 169; the Fourth Congregational Church established, III. 170, 171, 172, 298, *see Brattle Square Church*; proceedings relating to the incorporation of Harvard College, III. 173; mortification of Lord Bellomont, III. 175, 176; trouble about the Navigation Act, III. 178, 179; Usher passes much of his time here, III. 192, 193, 319; Usher relieved from office, III. 193, 194; return of Lord Bellomont from New Hampshire, III. 196; Connecticut to join in the defence against the Indians, III. 200, 201; attempt of Phipps to control the military forces of Rhode Island, III. 218-221; Lord Bellomont's disgust with Rhode Island, III. 223, 224; arrival of Dudley as Governor of Massachusetts, III. 225; troops sent to Casco, III. 239; account published of the sack of Deerfield, III. 242; expedition against Nova Scotia, III. 250-253; anger at the result of the expedition, III. 251, 253; new expedition against the French, III. 255-257; conquest of Nova Scotia, III. 257, 258; expedition against Canada, III. 259-264; failure of the expedition, III. 262-264; the peace of Utrecht declared, III. 265; early mail arrangements, III. 305, 306, *see Post-Office*; price of postage, III. 305-309; Duncan Campbell to be assistant postmaster, III. 307; the "General Letter Office," III. 307; paper money, III. 310, *see Bills of Credit*; Vetch falls into discredit, III. 313; death of Dudley, III. 316; trade of New Hampshire and Massachusetts compared, III. 324; Dudley's expedition to Newport, III. 325; arrival of Governor Shute, III. 357; letter of Bridges concerning, III. 369; opposition to Cooke, III. 370, 371; small-pox in, III. 383; IV. 37, 194; proposal to transfer the session of the Court to Cambridge, III. 383; trouble at Harvard College, III. 384-386; trouble of Governor Shute with the Representatives, III. 389-398; expeditions sent against Rase, III. 387, 391, 392; Indian hostages sent to, III. 391-393; discharge of the Baron de St. Castine, III. 392; Iroquois dele-

BOS

gates visit, III. 394; Colonel Walton desired to come to, III. 395-397; conference of Indians with the English, III. 403, 404; arrival of John Lovewell, III. 411; Penobscot chiefs ratify a compact, III. 412, 413; complaints of Shute concerning the House of Representatives, III. 415-417; the projected synod, III. 420-423; inaugural speech of Governor Burnet, IV. 3, 4; the General Court removed to Salem, IV. 19; objections of Governor Burnet to a meeting in Boston, IV. 19-24; contest concerning the lawful place of meeting for the General Court, IV. 22-24; effort to pay the agents in England, IV. 28; members of the House to publish the proceedings relating to the fixed salary of the Governor, IV. 29, *see Governor*; death of Governor Burnet, IV. 34; the Belcher family, IV. 38; agreement to refuse the Rhode Island notes, IV. 55, 56; committee from New Hampshire to receive Governor Dunbar, IV. 60; arrival of Dunbar, his insolence, IV. 63; a fast day appointed, IV. 77; terror of an earthquake, IV. 77; the "Great Awakening," IV. 77-109; Dr. Colman's effort to increase the religious excitement, IV. 80, 81; reception given to Whitefield, IV. 82; religious work of Whitefield, IV. 82-84, 89, 98-101, 111; impressions of Whitefield concerning, IV. 83, 84; departure of Whitefield, IV. 84; arrival and preaching of Gilbert Tennent, IV. 87, 88, 112; career of Rev. James Davenport, IV. 91-94; trial of Davenport, IV. 93; meetings of ministers to consider the ways of Davenport and other persons, IV. 94-98; paper entitled "Testimony and Advice," IV. 96; second visit of Whitefield, IV. 98; complaints and accusations against Whitefield, IV. 98, 99; Whitefield revisits, IV. 101; Tennent smitten with remorse after leaving, IV. 104; animadversions of Rev. Mr. Cutler upon the revivals, IV. 108, 109; much of the trade of Rhode Island passes through, IV. 129; arrival of William Shirley, IV. 135; value of the office of postmaster, IV. 135; feeling against Belcher and in favor of Shirley, IV. 136, 137-139; war declared between England and France, IV. 147; petition to the governor, IV. 152; Warren sails for, IV. 159; the "Boston Post-Boy," IV. 164; reception of the news of the reduction of Cape Breton

BOS

and capture of Louisburg, IV. 164-166; reception given to Pepperell, IV. 167, 168, 170, 175; arrival of Warren, IV. 170, 175; alarming news of French invasion, IV. 172, 173; impressing of seamen, IV. 174-178; arrival of Commodore Knowles, IV. 175; anger at the proceedings of Knowles, IV. 175, 176-178; the action of the mob, IV. 176-178; number of inhabitants, IV. 182; the reform of the currency, IV. 186-192; arrival of the gold from England, IV. 190, 191; number of persons dying from smallpox, IV. 194; return of Governor Shirley with his Catholic wife, IV. 195, 196; trip of the Governor to Maine, IV. 206; troops sail to defend Nova Scotia from French invasion, IV. 210, 211; plan for expelling the French from Nova Scotia, IV. 212-216; comparative security of French and English cities, IV. 226, 227; unsuccessful undertaking of Lord Loudoun, IV. 228, 229; arrival of Thomas Pownall, IV. 232; trouble with Lord Loudoun, IV. 234, 235; real and personal tax, IV. 238; return of Amherst to, IV. 243, 244; fleet sent to Canseau, IV. 259; Thomas Hutchinson sent to England to act as agent for, IV. 300; arrival of Charles Paxton, Surveyor of the Port of, IV. 305; the Boston Port Bill, IV. 312, 430-432; closed as a port of entry, IV. 312, 431, 432; favor shown to Otis, IV. 318; agitation of a religious question, IV. 324-326; shipping of, IV. 332; a committee chosen to prepare instructions for the Representatives, IV. 333; news of the passing of the Sugar Act, IV. 336; Samuel Adams, IV. 336, 337; trade with Connecticut, IV. 375; intelligence of the passing of the Stamp Act, IV. 387; effigy of Oliver hung on the Liberty Tree, IV. 390; rage at the appointment of distributors of stamps, IV. 390; arrival of Ingersoll, IV. 390; the anger against Oliver, IV. 390, 391; riots and mobs, IV. 390-394; the office of Distributor of Stamps abdicated, IV. 391; fury against Hutchinson, IV. 391-396; condemnation of the mob, IV. 393, 394; meeting of the Supreme Court, IV. 394; the stamped paper for New Hampshire, received at, IV. 395; Bernard's effort to induce the people to comply with the King's request, IV. 397, 398; sends Samuel Adams as Representative to the General Court, IV. 398; delay in

BOS

the action of the Courts, IV. 408, 409; new Act, imposing a tax on tea and other articles, IV. 410, 411, 413; fresh trouble with the Governor, IV. 411; arrival of commissioners to collect duties, IV. 411; agreement to import no taxed goods, IV. 413, 420, 436; rumor of British troops approaching, IV. 414, 415; conduct towards the revenue officers, IV. 413, 414; a convention invited from other towns, IV. 415; ninety-six towns send delegates, IV. 415; dread of a new war with France, IV. 415; uses of the convention, IV. 415, 416; arrival of a fleet with troops, IV. 416; rage of the people, IV. 416; convention of towns condemned by Parliament, IV. 417; the court to meet at Cambridge, IV. 418; Governor Bernard released from office, IV. 418; joy at the departure of the Governor, IV. 418; the Boston Massacre, IV. 419, 420; position of Josiah Quincy, IV. 419; position of John Adams, IV. 419; the duty taken off all goods excepting tea, IV. 420; contest about the place of meeting for the General Court, IV. 421; the question of the support of colonial governments, IV. 421-423; inquiry into the action against the Gaspee, IV. 422, 423; reports as to the payments of provincial judges, IV. 423, 424; the Committee of Correspondence convened, IV. 424, 425; statement of colonial rights, and circular letter, published to the world, IV. 424, 425; discovery of letters containing unfriendly sentiments, IV. 425, 426; arrival of the tea, IV. 429; meeting at the Old South Church, IV. 429; destruction of the tea in the harbor, IV. 429, 430; the outbreak denounced by the King, IV. 430; punished by Parliament, IV. 430, 431; the Boston Port Bill takes effect, IV. 430, 431; its commerce annihilated, IV. 430-432; arrival of General Thomas Gage as Governor, IV. 431; headquarters of the King's army, IV. 431; Counsellors to be appointed by the Crown, IV. 431, 433; sympathy from other ports, IV. 432; British regiments in, IV. 432; sufferings of the people, IV. 432; meeting of the General Court transferred to Salem, IV. 432; the Mandamus Counsellors, IV. 433, 444; warlike preparations of General Gage, IV. 434; aid ready for, from other towns, IV. 435; deposit of arms at Concord, IV. 437; departure of the British

BOS

- troops for Concord, IV. 437; the troops watched, and signals used, IV. 437; reinforcements sent to the British, IV. 437, 438; the British troops withdrawn into the town, IV. 438; General Gage's troops surrounded by provincials, IV. 438, 439; attempt of General Gage to escape, IV. 438, 439.
- Boston Bay*, I. 85; settlement at Nantasket, I. 85; visited by Blaxton and Robert Gorges, I. 117.
- Boston Common*, execution of the Quakers, II. 12, 18; preaching of Whitefield, IV. 82, 83; Davenport's preaching, IV. 92, 93; joy at the news of the capture of Louisburg, IV. 165; ship burned by the people, IV. 176; the Collector's boat burned, IV. 414; British troops marched on to the Common, IV. 416.
- Boston Harbor*, I. 1, 3; significance of the term New England, in the early times, I. 1; visited by Miles Standish, I. 71, 72; Thomson's Island named for one of the early settlers, I. 89, 218; Samuel Maverick establishes himself on an island, I. 89, 325, 326; erection of a fortification at Castle Island, I. 156, 157; relations of Massachusetts with the home government, I. 320, 321; vessels paying a duty, I. 354, 355; Noddle's Island used by the Baptists for a place of worship, II. 104; the Indians removed from Natick to Deer Island, II. 169; the Castle given in command to Captain Winthrop, II. 297; arrival of Andros, II. 319; the Castle obliged to be surrendered, II. 374, see *Castle*; the Rose Frigate dismantled, II. 375; arrival of British men-of-war, III. 259; departure of the fleet against Canada, III. 262; money voted for the fortification of, III. 268; condition of Castle William, IV. 140; contribution from the King, IV. 148; joy at the news of the capture of Louisburg, IV. 165; reception given to Pepperell, IV. 167, 168; arrival of the tea, IV. 429; destruction of the tea, IV. 429, 430.
- Boston Massacre*, the, IV. 419, 420.
- "*Boston News Letter*," the first newspaper in British America, III. 283.
- Boston Port Bill*, the, IV. 312, 430; goes into effect, IV. 431, 432.
- "*Boston Post-Boy*," the weekly newspaper, account of the surrender of Louisburg, IV. 164, 165.
- Bounty* offered for killing wolves, I. 116, 117; III. 434; given to de-

BRA

- serving Indians, I. 376; offered for Indian scalps, III. 269, 411.
- Bourbon*, House of, smitten by the power of Pitt, IV. 251.
- Bourgainville*. See *De Bourgainville*.
- Bourne*, Richard, his work among the Indians, I. 379.
- Bowden*, J., alleged letter from, in favor of Shirley, IV. 137.
- Bowdoin*, James, letter purporting to come from, IV. 136, 137.
- Bows*, I. 33.
- Bowsprits*, IV. 200.
- Boyle*, Robert, President of the Royal Society, and of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, etc., II. 40, 191; amazed at the position of Massachusetts, II. 72; his opinion of New England, II. 191.
- Boyne*, Battle of the, III. 65.
- Braddock*, General, IV. 207; council held at Alexandria, IV. 207, 208, 220; his defeat in Virginia, IV. 211.
- Bradford*, John, his election as Counsellor set aside, III. 234.
- Bradford*, William, Governor of the Plymouth Colony, his early home in Austerfield, I. 48; attends the meetings of the Puritans at Scrooby, I. 48; emigrates with the Congregation to Leyden, I. 48-50; Rev. Mr. Robinson accompanies the congregation to Leyden, I. 48-50; his friendship with Brewster, I. 48, 59, 245, 408; his occupation, I. 50; scheme for another removal, I. 50-58; sails in the Mayflower for New England, I. 58, 59; his voyage and destination, I. 58-62; his connection with the Scrooby Congregation, I. 59; joins an exploring expedition, I. 63, 64; the first year at Plymouth, I. 64-74; returns to the Mayflower, I. 64; the Mayflower brought to the newly found harbor, I. 64; the name of Plymouth given to the new home, I. 64; elected Governor of the Plymouth Colony, I. 69, 82, 147; II. 387; assistant Governor given to him, I. 70, 82; progress of the colony, I. 75-90; division of labor, I. 82; attends the organizing of the Massachusetts church, I. 102; belongs to the better party of settlers, I. 142; new patent for Plymouth conveying lands to him and his heirs, I. 142, 143, 244; his management of affairs at Plymouth, I. 143, 144; offers explanation in the case of Hocking and Howland, I. 145; visits Boston on business, I. 146; his service as Governor, I. 147; Plymouth Colony

BRA

extends over seven towns, I. 244; executes an instrument, making over property, to the freemen in the different towns, I. 244: his letter concerning the death of Mr. William Brewster, I. 245, 246; his prominence of position for thirty-seven years, I. 408; his age, I. 408; death of, I. 408.

Bradford, Major William, Deputy Governor of Plymouth, leads troops to the relief of Swansey, II. 131; the leader of companies from Plymouth, II. 131, 146; arrives at Wickford, II. 146; wounded by the Indians, II. 148; appointed Deputy-Governor of Plymouth, II. 333, 337; one of Andros's Council, II. 333, 339.

Bradish, Captain of the Adventure, III. 162.

Bradstreet, Lieutenant-Colonel, his service, in the attack on Louisburg, IV. 163; marches into Louisburg, IV. 163, 241; capture of Fort Frontenac, IV. 241, 242, 283.

Bradstreet, Ann, her poems, II. 89, 90.

Bradstreet, Dudley, son of Governor Bradstreet and a Deputy, II. 292; refuses the position offered him on Dudley's Council, II. 292, 297; accused of witchcraft, III. 103; his escape from the Indians, III. 146.

Bradstreet, Simon, Governor of Massachusetts, one of the original Assistants of the Massachusetts Company, I. 107; II. 229, 388; assists in forming the First Church of the Massachusetts Company, I. 115; appointed a Federal Commissioner, I. 318; opposes the sentence against Vassall's friends, I. 326; one of the referees in the trouble between the Dutch and the Confederacy, I. 365; one of the arbitrators in the case of Stuyvesant, I. 365; the dissensions in the Confederacy, I. 365-373; departs with Norton as agent to England, II. 32; receives commission to England, II. 31, 32; return of, to Massachusetts, II. 33; intelligence brought by, and action taken in the Court, II. 33-36, 60, 68, 73, 230; less an object of censure than Norton, II. 34; of committee, to draw up an address to the King, II. 205; disposed to yield to the King, II. 229; the last remaining Assistant chosen in England, II. 229; his age, II. 229; elected Governor of Massachusetts, II. 229-231, 388; offices held by him, II. 229, 230, 231, 388; his character and talents, II. 280,

BRA

231; his position and family connections, II. 230, 248; the King's letter read in Court, II. 231, 232; to take the oath for observation of the Navigation Act, II. 232; matters required by the King, II. 233, 234; Randolph's misrepresentations, II. 238; belongs to the moderate party in Massachusetts, II. 247; his position politically defined, II. 247, 248, 249; Dudley's intimacy with, II. 249; the charter endangered, II. 251-253; the writ of *quo-warranto* issued against the colony, II. 253; proceedings of the General Court, II. 255-257, see *General Court*, etc.; public opinion toward him, II. 257; a fast-day convened, II. 260; the General Court convened, II. 260; a government organized for Maine, II. 265-267; James II. proclaimed in Massachusetts, II. 289; a General Governor expected, II. 289; the last charter election, II. 289-291; the Court abdicates the government, II. 292-294; refuses to become one of Dudley's Council, II. 292, 297; the Revolution of the Seventeenth Century, II. 370-386; escorted to the Council Chamber, II. 370; uprising of the people, II. 370; elected President of the new government, II. 377; his age, II. 377; hesitates to set up the old charter, II. 378; re-elected to the office which had been recently assigned him, II. 379; III. 20; petition to restore him to office, II. 381; communicates the King's wish concerning the government of Massachusetts, III. 20, 57; made Governor of Massachusetts, III. 20; absent from several meetings of the Magistrates, III. 21; writes to Lord Shrewsbury, III. 57, 58; appointed Assistant under the new charter, III. 78; transfer of the chief magistracy to the new governor, III. 82-84, 88; his share in the transactions of witchcraft, III. 113; omitted from his old place as Counsellor, III. 130; his age when he emigrated from England, III. 151; offices held by, III. 151; his age, III. 151; attention shown by the General Court of Massachusetts, III. 151; death of, III. 151; application to Connecticut to assist in the Indian war, III. 200, 201.

Braintree, England, I. 127; emigration from, I. 127.

Braintree, Massachusetts, former name of, I. 210; iron-works established, I. 394.

BRA

- Brandy*, IV. 366.
- Branford*, town in Connecticut, I. 379; II. 66; mission work among the Indians, I. 379; situation of the settlement, I. 394; included in the territory made over to Connecticut, II. 46, 47; first movement toward establishing Yale College, III. 343, 344.
- Brant*, a Mohawk chief, IV. 217; his daughter married to William Johnson, IV. 217.
- Brattle*, Captain William, a Deputy in the Massachusetts General Court, II. 167, 246; surprises a party of Indians, II. 167; belongs to the popular party, II. 245, 246; appointed on the Board of government at Harvard College, III. 293.
- Brattle Square*, III. 171, 172, 293, 385; IV. 88, 98.
- Brattle Square Church*, the organization of, III. 170, 171, 293; the Fourth Congregational Church in Boston, III. 170, 171; "manifesto" published by, III. 171, 172; Rev. Mr. Colman accepts a position on the Board of government at Harvard College, III. 335; the religious awakening, IV. 88; crowded meetings, IV. 88; communion administered by Whitefield in the church, IV. 98; Whitefield's action causes complaint, IV. 98, 99.
- Brattle Street*, IV. 88, 98.
- Brattleborough*, Fort Dummer attacked by Indians, III. 406, 407.
- Bread*, I. 32, 298.
- Breda*, the Treaty of, II. 392; III. 75, 381, 382.
- Breedon*, Captain, II. 21; his return from England, II. 35; charged with insolence and fined, II. 35, 33; the Royal Commissioners lodge with, II. 71; the Commissioners announce their intention to hear trials in his house, II. 76; the Court prevents the hearing of cases at his house, II. 76.
- Brenton*, Jahleel, made Collector of Customs, III. 135, 136; trouble with Governor Phipps, III. 136; representations against Phipps, III. 138; prosecutions instituted against Phipps, III. 138; agent from Rhode Island to England, III. 223, 438; his return, III. 438; money given to Yale College, III. 443.
- Brenton*, William, Governor and Deputy-Governor of Rhode Island, I. 213; II. 69, 392. chosen Deputy-Governor of Aquetnet Island, I. 213; II. 392; offer of devotion to Charles II., II. 69.

BRI

- Brewster*, Mary, makes herself a spectacle, II. 15.
- Brewster*, William, I. 48; employed by the Secretary of State of Queen Elizabeth, I. 48; religious meetings of the Puritans at his house, I. 48; removes with the Congregation to Leyden, I. 48-60; his connection with the Scrooby congregation, I. 48, 58, 59; his friendship with Bradford, I. 48, 59, 245, 246, 408; assists Robinson at Leyden, I. 50; holds the office of elder, I. 50; relations with Sir Edwin Sandys, I. 54; sent to England, to arrange terms with the Virginia Company, I. 55-57; accompanies the pioneers to New England, I. 57-60; sails in the Mayflower, I. 58-61; attendant on the ministry of Robinson, I. 59; aid rendered to Carver, I. 69; his party strengthened, I. 142; his daughter marries Allerton, I. 143; his death, I. 245, 246, 408.
- Brickmaker*, the, I. 293.
- Bridge*, Rev. Mr., assistant to the Rector at King's Chapel, III. 170.
- Bridger*, John, commissioned to be Surveyor of Naval Stores in New England, III. 366; his arrival in New England, III. 367; his operations in New England, III. 368, 369; his letters to England concerning the woods and trade of New England, III. 368-370; goes to England, III. 370; returns to America, III. 370; his contest with Elisha Cooke, III. 370; letter concerning the preservation of trees, III. 371; superseded in office by Mr. Burniston, III. 380; his complaint at the loss of office, III. 381.
- Bridges*, I. 247, 295; II. 345.
- Bridgewater*, town of, II. 159; sacked and burned, II. 159; King Philip pursued by a party from, II. 171.
- Bright*, Rev. Mr., his return to England, I. 99.
- Bristol*, England, I. 2, 5, 215, 320; III. 17; a Quaker attempts to personate the Saviour, II. 5.
- Bristol*, New Hampshire, questions of boundary, IV. 70.
- Bristol*, Rhode Island, II. 129, 376; III. 234; home of King Philip, II. 129; situation of IV. 284.
- Bristol County*, II. 305; opposition to Whitefield, IV. 98, 99.
- Bristol Neck*, arrival of Captain Church, II. 172.
- British America*, the oldest colleges in, I. 247; its extent, II. 64; first newspaper in, III. 283; critical condition of, IV. 196; ambition of

BRI

- Shirley, IV. 204, 205; General Braddock's defeat disastrous to, IV. 211. See *North America*.
- British Cabinet*, the, the Popish policy, III. 463.
- British Channel*, the, I. 90; II. 51.
- British Colonies*, the, treatise on their rights by Otis, IV. 340-347; the purpose of the Sugar Act, IV. 356; "Reasons why" they should not be unjustly taxed, IV. 374.
- British Commonwealth*, the, I. 108, 331, 337; II. 1.
- British Constitution*, the, unformed in England, I. 92; desire for, in England, I. 92; influence of the Massachusetts Bay Company, I. 107, 108; comparisons drawn by Governor Burnet, IV. 4, 10; power of the King over the colonies, IV. 54; the references to, in Otis's treatise on the British Colonies, IV. 340-345; the destruction of tea considered an outrage on, IV. 430.
- British Court*, the, II. 38; opposition to the demands of, II. 229; position held by Massachusetts, III. 43; questions of boundary, III. 432.
- British Crown*, the, IV. 15, 68; Nova Scotia saved, by the conquest of Louisburg, IV. 168; the French Neutrals required to take the oath of allegiance to, III. 258; IV. 186, 208; the oath refused, except under certain conditions, IV. 209-211.
- British Dominions*, the, policy of republican governments in, IV. 299.
- British Empire*, the, I. v; IV. 254, 346, 433.
- British Ministry*. See *English Ministry*.
- British Parliament*. See *Parliament*.
- British Throne*, the, effect of the Protestant succession on the colonies, IV. 290.
- British Treasury*, the, IV. 376.
- British Troops*. See *English*.
- Broad Way*, the, of New York, II. 78.
- Broomfield*, Edward, Counsellor of Massachusetts, III. 234; IV. 442.
- Brooke*, Lord, I. 108, 109; patentee of Connecticut, I. 181; patent sold to, I. 215; town of Saybrook named for him, in connection with another, I. 235.
- Brookfield*, Eliot preaches to the Indians, I. 334; the position of, II. 83; formerly called Quaboag, II. 182; suffering caused by the attacks and treachery of the Indians, II. 183, 152, 165, 168; III. 254, 258; the attack from King Philip, II. 134-136; religious work of Whitefield, IV. 84.
- Brown*, an elder in the church at

BUL

- Watertown, I. 124; religious difficulty, growing out of his remarks, I. 124, 125.
- Brown*, Rev. Robert, a preacher among the Puritans, I. 48; the Brownists and Separatists, I. 48.
- Brown University*, founding of, IV. 363, 364; the first President of, IV. 363, 364; number of graduates at first Commencement of, IV. 364; its government, IV. 364.
- Brown-bread*, I. 298.
- Browne*, two brothers by the name of, I. 103; offended at certain religious proceedings, I. 103; their action, I. 103, 132; banished from New England, I. 103, 165.
- Browne*, one of the Sudbury men, II. 363; rumors circulated by an Indian concerning Andros, II. 363; the matter brought before the Governor, II. 363-365.
- Brownists*, the, I. 17, 48.
- Brunswick*, formerly called Pejepscot, I. 222; III. 86; Indian depredations at, II. 173; III. 399; expedition of Captain Church, III. 45.
- Buade*, Louis de, Comte de Frontenac, III. 30. See *Frontenac*.
- Buckingham*, Duke of, corrupt influence upon King James, I. 92.
- Buckinghamshire*, I. 225.
- Bulkeley*, Rev. Mr., ordained at Concord, I. 205; moderator at the synod, I. 205; father of Peter Bulkeley, II. 207.
- Bulkeley*, Peter, Speaker of the House of Deputies in Massachusetts, his descent and character, II. 207, 208; sent, as agent, to England, II. 207, 208; his instructions and letters, II. 208, 209; his action regarding the business intrusted to them, II. 210-228; report sent home, II. 215, 216; required to take the oath of allegiance to the King, II. 220, 222; weary of England, II. 221, 222; his departure for Boston, II. 226-228; arrives in Boston, II. 281; Charles II. dissatisfied with his want of fuller power, II. 231, favored by Randolph, II. 290; declines the command of the Castle, II. 297; representations of Randolph, II. 301.
- Bull*, Captain, sent to meet Sir Edmund Andros, II. 118-121; sent on an expedition to Schenectady, III. 38, 39, 202.
- Bull*, Henry, Governor of Rhode Island, III. 218; IV. 446.
- Bull*, Jeremiah, his house burned, II. 145.
- Bull* of Pope Innocent VIII., the, III. 116.

BUL

- Bullets* made a legal tender, I. 295.
- Bullivant*, Justice, the case of John Winslow, II. 367; lodged in gaol, II. 370, 371.
- Bunker's Hill*, Works at, laid out by Colonel Gridley, IV. 162; the battle of the Seventeenth of June, IV. 439.
- Burden*, Anne, II. 9; breaks the law against the Quakers, II. 9, 10.
- Burdet*, Rev. George, a spy of Laud, I. 215; deposed from office, I. 216; a person of consequence in Maine, I. 221; arrested, and departs for England, I. 221.
- Burgess*, Colonel, appointed Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, III. 315, 425; the question of the private bank, III. 355, 356; induced to resign his office, III. 356; his opposition to Bridger, III. 370.
- Burgesses*, the, sent from Agamenticus to the General Court at Saco, I. 222.
- Burgesses*, the, of Kent, IV. 378, 380.
- Burgundy*, comparison drawn relating to, I. 327.
- Burke*, Edmund, theory of the relation of colonies to their metropolis set forth by him, III. 14; possible author of the "Remarks on the Letter to Two Great Men," IV. 294, 295; petition sent to the House of Commons, IV. 403.
- Burke*, William, the petition to the House of Commons, IV. 403.
- Burnet*, Gilbert, Bishop of Salisbury, III. 10; favors certain religious changes, III. 11; attitude of the Protestant Church, III. 350; father of Governor Burnet, IV. 1; veneration for, in Massachusetts, IV. 3.
- Burnet*, William, son of Bishop Burnet, and Governor of Massachusetts, IV. 1, 441; his qualities, IV. 2; his theological work, IV. 2; his quarrel with the House of Representatives concerning a fixed salary, IV. 2-34, his reception in Massachusetts, IV. 3; lays before the Court his desire for a fixed salary, IV. 3, 4; his speech to the General Court, IV. 4; a grant of money to, IV. 6; his message to the Court, IV. 7; Address and Advice from the Court answered by the Governor, IV. 8, 9, 13, 14-16; contest concerning the fixed salary, IV. 8-34, 39, 124, 145; brings fresh influence to bear upon the House, IV. 15; communications sent to England in regard to the fixed salary, IV. 17, 18; removes the Court from Boston to Salem, IV. 19-24;

BYG

- objections to Boston, IV. 19-24; his paucity of support, IV. 20, 26, 27; contest concerning the lawful place of meeting for the Court, IV. 22-24; protest of the House against the removal to Salem, IV. 22, 25, 26; desires a copy of the Memorial from the House to the King, IV. 24, 25; his letter to England desiring a censure from Parliament, IV. 26; angry letter to the Duke of Newcastle, IV. 26; resolution concerning the public money, IV. 27; his speech on dissolving the Court, IV. 29, 30, payment refused the House, IV. 29, 30; quotes from a flattering letter from the Board of Trade, IV. 30; his rejection of the election of two Counsellors, IV. 30; the Representatives desire his warrant for their payment, IV. 31, 32; letter to the Lords of Trade desiring legal help from England, IV. 31, 32; adjourns the Court to Cambridge, IV. 33; the House endeavors to get payment for their agents, IV. 33, 36, 37, sends to the House a vindication of his action, IV. 34; accident and death, IV. 34, 39; costly funeral provided by the Court, IV. 34; grant of money to his children, IV. 36; his commission includes New Hampshire, IV. 59; the fixed salary granted from New Hampshire, IV. 60, 61; power to appoint the Attorney-General, IV. 193, 194.
- Burniston*, Surveyor of the Woods, III. 380, 429; supersedes Bridger, III. 380; appoints Armstrong as his Deputy, III. 380, 429.
- Burrill*, John, Speaker of the House, III. 377; elected Counsellor of Massachusetts, III. 377; IV. 442.
- Burroughs*, Rev. George, accused of witchcraft, III. 98; tried and executed, III. 100, 101.
- Burslem*, Mr., a contributor towards an expedition, I. 88; probably settled at Chelsea, I. 88.
- Bute*, Lord, IV. 390.
- Butterfield*, destroyed by Indians, I. 185.
- Butternut*, the, I. 23.
- Buzzard's Bay*, I. 20, 71, 89; dwelling-place of certain Indians, I. 29.
- Byfield*, Nathaniel, Counsellor of Massachusetts, III. 234; IV. 442; dropped from the Board, III. 234; his influence, III. 291; his election set aside, III. 315; appointed Judge of Admiralty, III. 326.
- Bygon*, Intendant-General of Canada, III. 390, his relation with Indians, III. 390.

CAB

- CABAL** Ministry, the, II. 80, 91; Act passed, imposing Customs, in foreign dependencies of Great Britain, II. 93, 94.
- Cabinet**, the British, question of Popish policy in, III. 463; Pitt forms a Ministry, IV. 409. See *English Ministry*.
- Cabot**, John, his voyage to America, I. 2.
- Cabot**, Sebastian, his voyage to America, I. 2.
- Cabots**, the, the claim of England to New England, II. 58, 59, 259, 314, 316.
- Cadets**, the, the accompanying guard of the Governor, IV. 168.
- Cæsar**, IV. 167.
- Cæsar**, sachem of Mohegans, III. 444.
- Calamy**, Rev. Mr., approves the executions for witchcraft, III. 117.
- Callender**, Rev. John, minister of the Baptist Church in Newport, IV. 133; his published Discourse on affairs in Rhode Island, IV. 133, 134.
- Callières*. See *De Cullières*.
- Calvin**, doctrines of, brought into Scotland by Knox, I. 322; the Prince of Orange a follower of, III. 29.
- Calvinism**, the need of New England, IV. 78, 79.
- Calvinists**, the, III. 384, 385; displeased with the administration at Harvard College, III. 384.
- Cambridge**, England, I. 106, 107; twelve gentlemen pledge themselves to emigrate to New England, I. 106; the charter of the Massachusetts Company to be transferred to New England, I. 106, 107; graduates of Emmanuel College, in New England, I. 107, 179, 248. See *Cambridge University*.
- Cambridge**, Massachusetts, I. 119; site chosen for a Governor's Residence, I. 119, 123; plan of establishing the capital at, I. 119, 123, 124, 125; the plan relinquished, I. 123-125; formerly called Newtown, I. 123, 248; the Governor changes his residence to Boston, I. 124; Revs. Hooker and Stone settled at, I. 179; emigration of a company to Connecticut, I. 179-182; enlargement of territory offered, I. 180, 181; arrival of a company under Mr. Thomas Shepard, I. 182; the Court meets to discuss the Antinomian troubles, I. 201, 202; meeting held on the Common, I. 202; the Synod of 1637 held in Mr. Shepard's Church, I. 205; Harvard College

CAM

- established, I. 247, 248, see *Harvard College*; the name changed from Newtown, I. 248; a printing-press established, I. 289; the synod of 1646 held in the church at, I. 329, see *Synod*; proceedings of the synod, I. 329-333; the Cambridge Platform, I. 330; a building to be erected for instructing the Indians, I. 376; II. 85; action of the Quakers, II. 15; home of the regicides, II. 22; departure of the regicides from, II. 23; account of, given by the Royal Commissioners, II. 85; Eliot's translation of the Bible printed, II. 167; action of the Court in regard to the danger to the charter, II. 222; Dudley to be censor of the press, II. 320; cases of witchcraft in, III. 91; first Rhode-Islander educated at a college, III. 331; home of Andrew Belcher, III. 356; IV. 38; proposal to transfer a session of the General Court to, III. 383; trouble at Harvard College, III. 384-386; erection of Massachusetts Hall, III. 386; the Court adjourned to, IV. 23, 33; accident to Governor Burnet, IV. 34; Andrew Belcher an inn-holder, IV. 38; early home of Governor Belcher, IV. 38, 75; Governor Belcher buried at, IV. 75; a vote against Whitefield, IV. 99; gift from George Berkeley to the College, IV. 133; the Church of England presided over by Rev. East Apthorp, IV. 324, 325; the General Court removed to, IV. 417; meeting of the General Court, IV. 418, 419; proceedings of General Gage, IV. 434; adjournment of the Provincial Congress to, IV. 434; the British troops attempt to destroy the stores at Concord, IV. 437, 438; arrival of George Washington to take command of the American armies, IV. 439. See *Newtown*.
- Cambridge Commencement**, the, I. 290; compared with a certain siege, IV. 162.
- Cambridge Platform**, the, I. 330-333. See *Synod*.
- Cambridge University**, England, graduates of, in New England, I. 107, 149, 179, 248, 286; position held by Rev. John Cotton, I. 135; the writings of Harvard graduates compared with those of Cambridge graduates, II. 89; Trinity Hall, IV. 108.
- Campbell**, Duncan, assistant postmaster in Boston, III. 307.
- Campbell**, John, owns the only newspaper in Boston, III. 316.

CAM

Camwood, IV. 366.

Canaan, settlement of, IV. 121.

Canada, II. 173; fugitives in Philip's War take refuge in, II. 173; English captives sold to the French in, III. 27; treachery of the French priests, III. 28, see *French*; beginning of a series of wars with the English, III. 29; make use of Indian allies, III. 29, 138, 147, 148, 386, see *French*; a line of French stations extend through the continent, III. 29; IV. 197, 199; the war with England, III. 29-146; population of New France, III. 30; position occupied by M. de Callières, III. 30; Frontenac returns as Governor of, III. 30; enterprise of Frontenac, III. 30, 31, 35-38; De Barre, Governor-General of, III. 33; De Nonville succeeds to the government of, III. 33; action of Frontenac against the English, III. 38-41; relation given to the Council in England of an expedition against, III. 67, see *Quebec*; troops sent from Plymouth against, III. 79, 80; proposal to reduce the French possessions, III. 81, 82, 143; English taken captives to, III. 87; new expedition against, III. 133; the expedition miscarries, III. 133, 134; influence of the missionaries upon the Indians, III. 138, see *French*; retreat of the Indians towards, III. 144; French support withdrawn from the Indians, III. 146; the peace of Ryswick, III. 146, 147; part taken by Connecticut in the war against, III. 202, 203; renewal and continuance of the war with the English, III. 236-265; Hertel de Rouville's expedition against Deerfield, III. 240-244, 254; captives carried to, III. 246; the expedition sent against, under Lord Hill, III. 258-265, 310, 332, 334, 447; the peace of Utrecht, III. 265, 447; IV. 148; Dudley accused of favoring the enemy, III. 281; Bygon, the Intendant-General of, III. 390; letter from Rhode Island containing threats, III. 433, war declared by the European powers, IV. 147; duration of the war, IV. 147-178; the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, I. v, vi; IV. 169, 173-180, 182, 262, 284; new plan for the conquest of, IV. 171, 172; expedition of D'Anville, IV. 172, 173, 261; the French Neutrals sympathize with the people of, IV. 186, 209-211; position occupied by M. de la Galissonnière, IV. 195; sterility of the soil, IV. 200; importance of holding

CAN

Nova Scotia, IV. 200; its situation and means of communication with other places, IV. 200, 208; outbreak of the last French war, IV. 205; duration of the war, IV. 205-255; the treatment of the French Neutrals, IV. 211-215; arrival of the exiles, IV. 215, 216; renewed expeditions against, IV. 216-245, 262-267, 275, 279-284; Montcalm's victory, IV. 239-241; loss of Quebec, IV. 245-250, 294; death of Montcalm, IV. 249; number of people made over to a foreign sway, IV. 250, 251; surrender of, IV. 250, 251, 255, 266, 267, 283, 294, 326, 372; logical sequence of the conquest, IV. 253, 254; lines of travel to, IV. 263; value of, as compared with the acquisition of Guadaloupe, IV. 294, 295; the treaty of peace between France and England, IV. 326, 327.

Canada, River of. See *St. Lawrence*.

Canadians, the, assisted in their war by the Indians, III. 147, 148, see *French*; troops under Dieskau, IV. 217, 219; troops under Montcalm, IV. 238-241, 248. See *Canada*.

Canadian Indians, the, renew hostilities against the English, IV. 185.

Canaries, the, II. 201.

Candles, III. 330; IV. 411.

Canker-worm, the, I. 26.

Cannibals Indians, the, III. 37. See the *Abenakis*.

Canonchet, sachem of the Narragansetts, II. 144; faithless to his promises to the English, II. 144, 160; action of the English, II. 144-150; slaughter of Captain Pierce's party, II. 158, 160; taken captive, and put to death, II. 160.

Canonicus, a Narragansett chief, I. 166, 302; Aquetnet Island bought from, I. 211, 212; the Shawomet offenders make a compact with, I. 312, 313; letter threatening Massachusetts, I. 313.

Canseau, plan for the capture of Quebec, III. 133, 134; Indian outbreak, III. 389; the fort at, captured by the French, IV. 147, 148; account given by a prisoner of the condition of Louisbourg, IV. 149, 150; plan to reduce Louisbourg, IV. 150, 156-158, 259, 273; arrival of the troops, IV. 156, 259, 273; the troops detained by the ice, IV. 153; arrival of Commodore Warren, IV. 158; the expedition sails for Louisbourg, IV. 159; arrival of Colonel Moore with troops, IV. 259.

CAN

- Canseau*, Straits of, IV. 148.
Canso. See *Canseau*.
Canterbury, Archbishop of. See *Archbishop*.
Canvass, IV. 127.
Cape Ann, fishing party settle at, I. 79; beginnings of settlement at, I. 89, 94; Rev. Mr. White plans a settlement, I. 94, 95; ownership of a grant of land on, I. 94, 95; Rev. Mr. Lyford engaged as a minister, I. 95; partners engage Mr. Conant to be the President of, I. 95; failure of the settlement, I. 95, 96; removal of the party inland, I. 96.
Cape Breton, French settlements on the Island, III. 355; the post at Canseau, IV. 147, 148; the building of the fortress of Louisburg, IV. 148, 149; the plan of capture proposed by Shirley, IV. 149, 150-153, 257-259, 278; the expedition put in command of William Pepperell, IV. 153-155; the plan put in operation, IV. 156-164; surrounded by ice, IV. 158; reduction of, IV. 165-169, see *Louisburg*; the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, IV. 169, 178; remark of William Pitt on the reduction of, IV. 169; plan of France to recover, IV. 172; repayment of the outlay on the expedition to, IV. 191, see *Louisburg*; reputation gained by Shirley, IV. 197; poor soil of, IV. 200; the capture of Louisburg by the English, IV. 243; one of the results of the campaign against, IV. 304, 305; ceded to Great Britain, IV. 326; regulations of the treaty of peace, IV. 326.
Cape Cod, landing effected by Gosnold, I. 4; named by Gosnold, I. 4; dwelling-place of the Nausets, I. 29; arrival of the Mayflower, I. 60; corn obtained by a relief party, I. 119; prosperous attempts at conversion of the Indians, II. 124; the Praying Indians serve the English faithfully, II. 169.
Cape Diamond, III. 47, 132.
"Cape Fishery," the revenue from, to support a school at Plymouth, II. 109, 110.
Cape Horn, arrival of the exiles from, Nova Scotia, IV. 215.
Cape Porpoise becomes a town of Massachusetts, I. 403; former name of Kennebunk Port, III. 239; wholly desolated by Indians, III. 239.
Cape Sable Indians, the, friendly compact made with, III. 413.
Capital Crimes, I. 147, 158, 281, 282; II. 10-12, 15, 239; III. 76,

CAR

- 122; number of, in the early laws, I. 281, 282; the Quakers punished, II. 12-16; the witches hanged, III. 91, 93, 99, 100-102, 104-124.
Captain-General, the office of, IV. 127.
Cards, I. 299.
Carolina, the nearness of French power, III. 29; the Tuscaroras join the Five Nations, III. 403; IV. 199; quarrel with Florida, IV. 58; instructions for the proposed war, IV. 171; arrival of the exiles from Nova Scotia, IV. 216; the slave-trade, IV. 366; the Huguenot artisans, IV. 384. See *North*, and *South Carolina*.
Carpenter, the, I. 293.
Carr, Caleb, Governor of Rhode Island, III. 216; IV. 446.
Carr, Sir Robert, one of the Royal Commissioners, II. 58; his unfitness for his position, II. 59; at Portsmouth, II. 60; instructions given to the Commissioners, II. 60-62; the Commissioners proceed to New Amsterdam, II. 63, 64; reduces the posts along the Delaware River, II. 64; further action of the Royal embassy, II. 64-69; letter from Roger Williams, II. 70; the Royal Commissioners return to Boston, II. 71-77; the Commissioners proceed to the Eastern settlements, II. 77, 78; proceeds to the Delaware country, II. 78; death of, II. 78.
Carteret, Lord, Earl of Granville, Secretary of State for the colonies, III. 454; Dummer dedicates his book to, III. 454; threats extended to the colonies, in regard to the fixed salary for the Governor, IV. 15; fear of, diminished, IV. 15, 16.
Carthagera, demand for troops, IV. 58, 59; a disastrous enterprise under Admiral Vernon, IV. 58, 59, 134, 272.
Cartier, explorer in the French Empire in America, IV. 251, 252.
Cartwright, Colonel George, one of the Royal Commissioners, II. 58; his unfitness for his position, II. 59; receives the surrender of Fort Orange, II. 64; sails for England, II. 78; taken at sea by a Dutch cruiser, II. 78, 79.
Cartwright, Rev. Thomas, his writings in favor of Presbyterianism, I. 322.
Carver, John, first Governor of Plymouth; one of the company of Puritans at Leyden, I. 54; solicits security for religious freedom, from the King, I. 54; goes to Southamp-

CAR

- ton, I. 57; result of his errand to the Virginia Company, I. 54-57; conditions insisted upon by the Merchant Adventurers, I. 55-57; sails with the Pilgrims for America, I. 57-60; the company embark on the *Mayflower*, I. 58, 59; the *Mayflower* anchors in Massachusetts Bay, I. 60; elected Governor of the Plymouth Colony, I. 61, 69; II. 387; sets out on an exploring expedition, I. 63, 64; returns to the *Mayflower*, I. 64; the name of Plymouth given to the place of landing, I. 64; first year at Plymouth, I. 64-69; visited by Indians, I. 66-69; treaty made with Indians, I. 67, 68; re-elected as Governor, I. 69; his illness and death, I. 69.
- Carver*, Mrs. John, dies soon after her husband, I. 69.
- Caryl*, Rev. Joseph, III. 356.
- Casco*, most remote English settlement, III. 235; treaty made with Indians, III. 235, 236, 239, 265; attack of the Indians, III. 239, 254.
- Casco Bay*, I. 223; extension of Massachusetts to, I. 403; desolation caused by the Indians, II. 175; Danforth assumes the government of Maine, II. 266; island in, owned by James Russell, II. 329; visited by Governor Andros, II. 352; outbreak of the Indians, II. 357; extent of the boundary line of Massachusetts, III. 24, 246; expeditions against the French and Indians, III. 23, 45, 86; danger from the Indians, III. 246; return of the fleet of Colonel March, III. 251.
- Casno*, Isaac, licensed to run stages, IV. 128, 129.
- Castine*, a French adventurer, his manner of life, II. 352, 353; visited by Governor Andros, II. 352, 353; offended, II. 361; rumors concerning him and Governor Andros, II. 361, 362; joins in an attack upon Fort Pemaquid, III. 142.
- Castine*, Baron de, III. 235.
- Castle Island*, a fort to be erected and equipped, I. 156, 157; the cross to be left in the colors of the Castle, I. 171; the King's arms to be shown, I. 171; national ensign displayed there, I. 175, 176.
- Castle William*, a fort erected on Castle Island, I. 156, 157; III. 131, 132; the King's colors to be shown, I. 171, 175, 176; volley of shot fired in honor of Mr Vane, I. 204; tax to be paid by vessels, I. 355; the arrival of the Royal Commissioners, II. 56-58; command of, declined by

CAT

- Bulkeley, II. 297; command given to Captain Wintthrop, II. 297; the garrison ordered to surrender, at the time of the Revolution, II. 374; the colonial militia take possession, II. 374; Captain Fairweather made Commander, II. 374; Lieutenant-Governor Povey made Captain of, III. 271; its defenceless condition, IV. 140; demonstrations of joy, at the surrender of Louisburg, IV. 164, 165, 167, 168; Shirley withdraws to, IV. 176; barracks ordered for soldiers, IV. 233; Bernard's visit to, IV. 391; the stamped paper to be kept in safety at, IV. 391, 392, 395; an artillery company provided for, IV. 411; the Commissioners of the Customs take refuge in, IV. 414; the British troops to be removed to, IV. 419; the arrival of the ships with tea, IV. 429; Governor Hutchinson retires to, IV. 430; proceedings of General Gage, IV. 434; troops sent to destroy military stores, IV. 436.
- Castragan*, I. 9.
- Catalogues of the library of Yale College*, IV. 276.
- Catamount*, the, I. 26.
- Caterpillars*, I. 23.
- Catholicism*, position of Charles I., in relation to, I. 93; dread of, in New England, I. 124, 125; II. 287; converts made among the Indians, I. 363; II. 81; III. 133, 139; IV. 207, see *French*; position occupied by Charles II., II. 53; future chances of, in southern New England, II. 64; rivalry with Episcopacy, II. 91; brother of Charles II. announces his belief in, II. 91, 288; prosecution of the Popish plot, II. 227; a Catholic King in England, II. 287, 288; Louis XIV. a devotee of, III. 3; suffering caused by a Popish plot in England, III. 113; conversion of the daughter of Mr. Williams, III. 294; the Popish Pretender, III. 355; no Romish priest to reside in British dominion, III. 392; feeling against, IV. 155.
- Catholics*, the, the Quakers thought to be emissaries of, in disguise, II. 6; persecuted in England, II. 210; courteous treatment extended to Mather, II. 358; treachery of the French priests, III. 28, see *French*; the bewitched women unable to say the Lord's prayer in English, III. 93; extirpation of witchcraft, III. 116; the succession in England passes to the Protestants, III. 303, 349-351, 463; the plots of, foiled,

CAT

III. 349, 350; excluded from the franchise, III. 433, 437; the wife of Governor Shirley, IV. 196; journal of a priest, explaining the conduct of Montcalm, IV. 231.

Cato, IV. 42.

Cattle, I. 83, 144, 238; III. 345.

"*Cautionary Towns*" of the Netherlands, garrisoned by the British, I. 59.

Cayugas, the, one of the Iroquois tribes, III. 31.

Cecil, I. 106.

Cedar, the, I. 23.

Censor of the Press, a, II. 320.

Census, the, some of the results of the United States census of 1860, I. ix; to be taken regularly in the colonies, I. 264; result in Rhode Island, III. 329, 330; IV. 128; instructions from the Board of Trade, IV. 330. See *Population*.

Chalmers, the Historian, I. 107; his remark about the New England Confederation, I. 267; opinion of the Counsellors of King George, III. 400.

Chamber of Deputies, the, II. 271. See *House of Deputies*.

Chamberlain, Richard, Counsellor of New Hampshire, II. 270, 394; his arrival in New Hampshire, II. 270; his commission, II. 270; office held by, II. 271; complaints of Cranfield, II. 272.

Champlain, one of the explorers of the French Empire in America, IV. 251, 252.

Champlain, Lake, plan for the capture of Albany, III. 30; expedition against Montreal, III. 46; expeditions against Canada, III. 203, 204, 256; IV. 171, 172; expedition under Hertel de Rouville, III. 254; expedition of Nicholson, III. 263; troops from Connecticut, III. 334; French forts, IV. 199; danger from the French, IV. 208; approach of Baron Dieskau, IV. 211; encounter of Dieskau with the English, IV. 217-220; advance of Montcalm's troops, IV. 228, 229; Montcalm's losses by desertion, IV. 231, 232; disasters of General Abercrombie, IV. 238-241; campaign against Quebec, IV. 244-250; advance of General Amherst, IV. 245, 251; the campaign brings new land into notice, IV. 359-361.

Chancellor, the, appointment given to Mason, II. 278, 274.

Chancellor of the Exchequer, the, IV. 356.

Chapeau Rouge, Bay of, IV. 148-150, 157, 158.

CHA

Chapel of the Rolls, the, II. 210.

Chappequiddick, II. 124.

Charles I., King of England, I. vii, 16; sold by the Scots to the English, I. vii, 339; names given to places in New England, I. 16, 64; his accession to the throne of England, I. 92; his quarrels with his Parliaments, I. 93, 98, 153, 154, 255, 256, 252; dissolution of Parliament, I. 93, 98, 153, 262; the charter granted to the Massachusetts Company, I. 96, 98, 99, 109, 152, 153, 170; II. 72, 314; IV. 70; position held by Theophilus Eaton, I. 107; dealings with Venn, I. 109; action of, after the Battle of Edgehill, I. 109; great emigration of his subjects to New England, I. 136; hostile to the charter of Massachusetts, I. 152, 153; action concerning the charter of Massachusetts, I. 152-160, 251-253; his attitude toward the Puritans, I. 153; the claims of Mason and Gorges laid before, I. 154, 160, 161, 163, see *Mason*, and *Gorges*; his coronation in Scotland, I. 155; the power of Laud, I. 155; dissensions between the Virginia Company and the Council for New England, I. 158; his desire to send a General Governor to New England, I. 160, 161, see *General Governor*; a *qu warranto* issued against Massachusetts, I. 159-161; II. 218; appeal of Wheelwright, during the Antinomian troubles, I. 207; letter of Winthrop, in answer to the demand for the charter, I. 252, 253; oaths of allegiance to, I. 255, 256, 263, see *Oath of Allegiance*; his time occupied with home troubles, I. 271; treaty of cession from the Narragansetts, I. 312, 313; movement against, in Scotland, I. 322; the Presbyterian Cabal, I. 322-328; the Westminster Assembly, I. 323; surrendered to the English Parliament, I. vii, 339; his execution, I. 363, 365, 392; estrangement of England with the Netherlands, I. 365; the regicides, II. 21-23, see *Regicides*. Whalley a member of the Court at his trial, II. 22; matters concerning grants and patents, II. 212, 220; the charter given to Massachusetts in danger, II. 218, 220, 221, 229-244; the charter vacated, by order of Charles II., II. 250-261, 288, 292-294, 316; III. 2, 9; IV. 6; office held by Locke, III. 18; influence over Massachusetts, III. 302; first post-office in England, III. 308; the non-conformist ministers, III.

CHA

359, 360; policy of the Parliament toward, IV. 54; questions of boundary, IV. 70.

Charles II., his accession to the British throne, II. 1; III. 2; affairs of New England and the trouble with the Quakers brought to his notice, II. 1, 2, 17, 30, 31; his popularity, II. 8; address from the General Court of Massachusetts, II. 21; messages sent to Massachusetts, II. 21, 26, 55, 60; search for the regicides, II. 21-26; relations with Massachusetts, II. 21-36; proposes to send commissioners to Boston, II. 25; Eliot's translation of the New Testament dedicated to, II. 27; the *Fifth Monarchy Men*, II. 27; Vennor's insurrection, II. 27; the Society for Propagating the Gospel, dependent on, II. 27; effort of Massachusetts to satisfy, II. 28; statement of the duties of allegiance, II. 29; proclaimed in Boston, II. 30; orders concerning the Quakers, II. 30, 31; letter sent to Massachusetts, II. 33, 34; action of the General Court, II. 34, 36; relations of the Plymouth Colony to, II. 37; proclaimed in the colonies, II. 37-39, 94; Address sent to, from Connecticut, II. 39; charter given to Connecticut, II. 40-44, 306; III. 2, 213; proclaimed King in Rhode Island, II. 48; charter granted to Rhode Island, II. 50-53, 306; III. 2, 359; IV. 285; sends edict to America concerning the Atherton Company, II. 51; Royal Commissioners sent to New England, II. 55, 56, 58-81, 104, 189; his claim to North America, II. 58, 259, 314, 316; grant of land given to the Duke of York, II. 58, 59, 117, 118, 332, letter and instructions given to the Royal Embassy, II. 60-62; a petition sent to, from Massachusetts, II. 63, 72; progress of the Commissioners with southern New England and Plymouth, II. 64-68; assurances of Rhode Island, II. 69; province erected called the King's Province, II. 70, 114, 279-282, see *King's Province*; sends his approval to Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Plymouth, II. 71; last conflict of the Embassy with Massachusetts, II. 71-78, 80, see *Royal Commissioners*; his wish concerning the Governor of Massachusetts, II. 73; further commands laid upon Massachusetts, II. 79, receives a present of masts from Massachusetts, II. 79, 80; III. 364, 365; condition of Maine, II. 81;

CHA

account of New England sent by the Royal Commissioners, II. 83-85; the condition and character of the New Englander, II. 88, 89; the Cabal ministry, II. 91; his views on Catholicism, II. 91; Lord Clarendon banished, II. 91; Episcopacy reestablished in Scotland, II. 91, 92; war with the United Provinces, II. 98; attitude of Connecticut, II. 99; peace declared with Holland, II. 116, 117; Duke of York obtains a new patent, II. 117, 118; IV. 359; attitude of England toward Massachusetts, II. 189; encounters opposition from Lord Say and Sele, II. 191; the patriotism in New England, II. 192; desire of Plymouth for a charter, II. 193, 277, 278; purposes hostile to New England, II. 194; the claims of Mason and Gorges to be attended to, II. 195-197; the Navigation Laws to be observed, II. 196, see *Navigation Act*; letter sent by Randolph to Massachusetts, II. 197-201; agents to be sent from Massachusetts to England, II. 197, 199, 200-202; Randolph sent as a special messenger to Massachusetts, II. 198; answer from Massachusetts, II. 200, 201; great sympathy with, in parts of New England, II. 202, 203; Address and petition sent from Massachusetts, II. 206, 207-209; agents chosen to deliver the Address, II. 207, 208; the claims of Gorges and Mason protested by Massachusetts, II. 208, 209; the agents perform the business intrusted to them, II. 210-228; his wishes concerning Massachusetts, II. 212-215; laws repugnant to England to be repealed, II. 213-215, see *Laws*; petition of New Hampshire to remain under Massachusetts, II. 215, 216; outwitted in the purchase of the Gorges claim, II. 216, 217; the report of the Crown lawyers, II. 220, 221; advised to send a *quo warranto* against Massachusetts, II. 221, 234, 235; the oath of allegiance taken in Massachusetts, II. 219, 220, 222, 223; Address prepared in Massachusetts, II. 223, 224; suggestions of Randolph, II. 225, 226; a rebuke sent to Massachusetts, II. 227; division of opinion in Massachusetts in regard to, II. 229; his letter to Massachusetts, II. 231, 232; orders Massachusetts to return the Province of Maine, II. 232; answer from Massachusetts, II. 233; sends an angry letter to Massachusetts, II. 235, 236; his advantage over Parliament, II.

CHA

237; his letter answered, II. 239; an important letter sent to Massachusetts, II. 240; his power in England, II. 241; another Address sent to, II. 241; action taken upon the receipt of his letter, II. 241, 242; agents despatched to, from Massachusetts, II. 241, 244; the compliance of Massachusetts, II. 242, 243; statements of Randolph, II. 243, 244; statements of the agents, II. 249, 250; design of the King to humiliate Massachusetts, II. 250-256; power and limitations of the agents, II. 251-253; the writ of *quo-warranto* issued, II. 253; Randolph to deliver the *quo-warranto* and "Declaration" against Massachusetts, II. 253-255; the "Declaration," II. 254; the royal message delivered in Massachusetts, II. 255; the agents have leave to depart, II. 255; another Address sent to, II. 258; decree vacating the charter of Massachusetts, II. 258, 259-261, 288, 292-294, 316; III. 2, 9; IV. 6; person selected to govern Massachusetts, II. 260, 289; protest made to, II. 260, 261; an absolute monarch, II. 261; a memorial sent from Maine, II. 266, 267; government of New Hampshire, II. 267-277; a portrait of the King to be erected in New Hampshire, II. 268; interference of Mason concerning New Hampshire, II. 270; Cranfield removed from office, II. 275, 276; hope of Plymouth to obtain a royal charter, II. 277, 278; Address sent from Plymouth, II. 277; his letter to the colonies, II. 279, 280; his orders concerning the Narragansett Country, II. 279-282; statement of Sanford of Rhode Island, II. 281; Address from Connecticut, II. 283; his death, II. 288, 305; contest of Massachusetts and its result, III. 1, 2; legislation regulating destination of cargoes, III. 15, 16; his Council for Trade, III. 18; colonial affairs, III. 148; the pretensions of Rhode Island, III. 214; pamphlet arraigning Dudley, III. 283-89; the control of the militia in Rhode Island given to the Governor of Massachusetts, III. 325; the non-conformist ministers, III. 359, 360; boundary questions in Rhode Island, III. 450-453, see *Rhode Island*; his grant to Connecticut, III. 452; statutes concerning writs of assistance, IV. 308; civil rights of Massachusetts, IV. 316.

Charles V., I. 8.

CHA

Charles River, the, I. 20, 71, 72; extent of land granted to Massachusetts, I. 97, 243; efforts made to improve and convert the Indians, I. 334, 377; questions concerning boundaries, III. 212-214, 335, 336.

Charleston, II. 81; disposal of the tea cargoes, IV. 428.

Charlestown, Massachusetts, I. 89, 118; Thomas Walford, one of the first settlers in, I. 89; its former name, *Mishawum*, I. 89, see *Mishawum*; visited by an exploring party, I. 97, 98; settlement at, I. 100, 118; first church organization, I. 115, see *Church of Charlestown*; Rev. Mr. Wilson settles as Pastor in, I. 115; first Cis-atlantic Court of Assistants held here, I. 115; a ferry established, I. 117; epidemic at, I. 117; removal of the settlers to Shawmut, I. 117; removal of Rev. Mr. Wilson, I. 128; the church engages Rev. Mr. James, I. 128; fortifications erected, I. 156; death of John Harvard, I. 248; home of Robert Sedgwick, I. 373; fortifications repaired, II. 108; Rev. Mr. Morton invited to settle, II. 299; III. 356; extortions of Andros, II. 328, 329; complaints against Rev. Mr. Morton, II. 344; the story of Joseph Lynde, II. 347, 348; troops ready to join in the general uprising, II. 373; an important town, III. 81; cases of witchcraft, III. 91; accusations against John Phillips, III. 278; career of James Davenport, IV. 91; preparations of General Gage, IV. 434; return of the British troops, IV. 438; semicircle of troops surrounding General Gage, IV. 438, 439; attempt of General Gage to escape, IV. 438, 439; the battle of Bunker's Hill, IV. 439.

Charlestown, New Hampshire, Indian ravages, IV. 261, 263; successful action against the French, IV. 261-264; family carried away by Indians, IV. 266.

Charlevoix, accounts of French attacks upon the English, III. 239, 241, 244; his account of the attack at Norridgewock, III. 409, 410.

Charter Oak, the, II. 341; III. 206.

Charters, a bill to restore colonial charters, lost, III. 12, 13; a bill seeking to annul the privileges of, and repeal the colonial charters, defeated, III. 180, 431, 454; IV. 181; occasion of the publication of, and arguments in, Mr. Dummer's "Defence of the American Charters," III. 431, 454-456; dangers ensuing from miscon-

CHA

- struction of, IV. 290, 291. See *Dummer, Jeremiah*, and the names of colonies and institutions receiving charters.
- Charlton*, one of the names for Charles-town, I. 100.
- Chatham*, Lord, the name dear and honored, IV. 253; Pitt made Earl of, IV. 409; his appeal in the House of Lords, IV. 436. See *Pitt*.
- Chaudière*, the, French settlements, IV. 206; operations against the French, IV. 222, 227.
- Chauncy*, Rev. Charles, President of Harvard College, his arrival at Plymouth, I. 240; assists Rev. Mr. Rayner, I. 240; his views on baptism, I. 240; withdraws from the Plymouth Church, I. 240; his writings, II. 89; growth of Harvard College under his Presidency, II. 106, 248; his death, II. 106.
- Chauncy*, Rev. Charles, D. D., settled over the Old Church in Boston, IV. 77; excitement caused by an earthquake, IV. 77; does not sign the declaration against Davenport, IV. 91; his share in the religious excitement, IV. 105, 106-108; his characteristics and position, IV. 106; his opinion on the revivals, IV. 106-108; congratulations offered to Pepperell, IV. 165; extols the troops, IV. 165, 166.
- Chebuctoo*, wreck of a part of D'Anville's fleet, IV. 173.
- Chebuctoo*, Harbor of, IV. 186; the town of Halifax established, IV. 186.
- Cheese*, IV. 305.
- Chelmsford*, England, I. 179.
- Chelmsford*, Massachusetts, suffering caused by Indian ravages, II. 156, 159; III. 258; Indian settlements, II. 184; on the frontier line of Massachusetts, III. 24.
- Chelsea*, former name of, I. 88.
- Cherries*, the, I. 24, 292.
- Chesapeake Bay*, the, I. 10, 25.
- Chesebrough*, William, his plantation, I. 401, 402; settlement given to Massachusetts, I. 401, 402; the plantation since called Southertown and Stonington, I. 402.
- Chester*, town of, III. 407, 429; Indian murders, III. 407.
- Chestnut*, the, I. 23.
- Chickahominy River*, the, I. 11.
- Chickatabot*, chief of the Massachusetts Indians, I. 129; visits Winthrop, I. 129, 130.
- Chief Justice of Massachusetts*, the, position of, given to Hutchinson, IV. 299-301; inquiry into the ac-

CHU

- tion against the Gaspee, IV. 422, 423.
- Chief Justice of New Jersey*, the, IV. 422, 423.
- Chief Justice of New York*, the, IV. 137, 138, 422, 423.
- Chief Justice of Rhode Island*, the, IV. 423.
- Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas*, the, IV. 302, 336.
- Chief Justice of the King's Bench*, the, III. 9.
- Chiffinch*, Thomas, pimp of Charles II., II. 51; rumor about, related to the King, II. 51, 52.
- Child*, one of the Remonstrants in the Presbyterian Cabal, I. 327; searched, I. 327; important papers found, I. 327, 328; goes to England, I. 328; fined, I. 328; his reliance upon the Presbyterians, I. 339, 340; one of his partisans, I. 347; his plot, I. 358.
- Children*, instruction of, I. 289, 290.
- Chisels*, I. 33.
- Christ*, I. 174; personated by one of the Quakers, II. 5.
- Christ Church*, Boston, Dr. Timothy Cutler settled over, IV. 108.
- Christ Church*, England, II. 89, 101.
- Christianity*, first Missionary Society of Protestant Christendom, I. 333, 334; converts made among the Indians, I. 334, 335, 364, 375-379; II. 124, 169, 182, 183; III. 444, 446; IV. 125, 132, 133, see *Indians*; hostility of the Praying Indians, II. 167-169, 182, 183; punishment of witchcraft, III. 115; introduced into Rhode Island, Episcopal version of, III. 437.
- Christians*, the, II. 188; IV. 96; views in New England concerning witchcraft, III. 120, 121; number of new communicants and Christians, IV. 102; numbers in Rhode Island, IV. 134.
- Christison*, Wenlock, a Quaker, II. 14; condemned but not executed, II. 14.
- Christmas Day*, disregarded, I. 289; repeal of the law against keeping, II. 238.
- Chubb*, Captain, commander of the fort at Pemaquid, III. 141, 146; refuses to surrender to the French, III. 142; terms of capitulation, III. 142; his trial, III. 142; killed by Indians, III. 146.
- Church*, Captain Benjamin, his service in the colonies, II. 167; takes prisoners from Philip's tribe, II. 167; on the track of Philip, II. 171; attacks Philip, II. 172; capture of

CHU

a party commanded by Annawon, II. 173; beheads certain Indians, II. 183; expeditions against the French and Indians, III. 28, 29, 44, 45, 79, 85, 142, 143, 249, 250, 332; plan of the expedition against Quebec, III. 44, 45; failure of his expedition, III. 45; joins Phipps, III. 132; his search for the Indians, III. 132; expedition to the Eastern country, III. 249, 250; Colonel Hilton serves with, III. 258; his expedition referred to in the pamphlet arrainging Dudley, III. 288, 289; his reception at home, III. 250; his old age provided for, by the General Court, III. 355.

Church, the, reforms in, I. 47; the Puritans, I. 47, see *Puritans*; worship regulated by Parliament, I. 47; meetings of dissentients at Scrooby, I. 48; the Brownists, I. 48, see *Brownists*; the Separatists, I. 48, see *Separatists*; the Scrooby congregation, I. 48, see *Scrooby*; the Puritans emigrate to Amsterdam, I. 48-50; organization at Leyden, I. 50; at Leyden, I. 50, see *Leyden*; the growth of Puritan influence, I. 91-94; the progress of religious liberty, I. 100, 101; organizations at Salem, Charlestown, and Plymouth, I. 100-102, 115, 128; first organization in the Massachusetts colony, I. 101-103, see *First Church*, etc.; established at Charlestown, I. 115, see *Church of Charlestown*; religious settlements at Watertown and Mattapan, I. 115, 116; the religious test applied to the citizens, I. 121, 122, 272, see *Elections*; laws regarding, I. 172, 173, 283, 397; III. 211, 341-343; the clergy in America, I. 149, see *Clergy*; the Antinomian faction, I. 196-210, 217, 218, 226; II. 6; IV. 94, 95; custom of sergeants carrying halberds to, I. 202, 291; position occupied by Rev. John Davenport, I. 225; religious movement at Quinnipiac, I. 226-228; need of, in New England, I. 247; the customs and tenets of, in New England, I. 285-289; officers of, I. 286-288; the members of, constitute the General Court, I. 288; men attend service armed, I. 288; description of the service, I. 288, 289; the periodical festivals disregarded, I. 289; description of, in Dedham, I. 296; the conflict between Presbytery and Independency, I. 322-329; the Independents, I. 323, see *Independents*; work

CHU

of the clergy of New England for freedom, I. 323, 324; Synod held at Cambridge, I. 329-333; the Congregational system, I. 350, 332; the conversion of the Indians, I. 333-335, 375; II. 124, see *Indians*; the Society for Propagating the Gospel, I. 335, 375, see *Society for Propagating*, etc.; questions of admission to the rites of, II. 17-19; the Synod at Boston, in 1657, II. 19, 20; the Colonial Synod in 1662, II. 20; the churches of Rhode Island, II. 83, 84; formation of the Third Church in Boston, II. 101, 102, see *Third Church*, etc.; a day of fasting to be observed, II. 225; effort to establish the Church of England in Boston, II. 260, 291, 298, 301, 303, 318, 322, 323; III. 169, 170; power of the Selectmen, II. 345; number of churches in Massachusetts and Plymouth Colony, III. 81; establishment of the Fourth Congregational Church in Boston, III. 170, see *Fourth*, etc.; the Synod at Saybrook, III. 341-343, 440, 456; the Saybrook Platform, III. 341; IV. 113, 114; a General Association of Churches to be held, III. 342; excommunication allowed, III. 342; the "Heads of Agreement" between Presbyterian and Congregational Ministers, III. 342, 343; a consociation of churches, III. 342, 343, 440, 456; number of churches, in Connecticut, III. 439; the Rogerenes and Seventh-Day Baptists, III. 440; religious matters in Connecticut, III. 440-442, 444; the "Great Awakening" in the Churches of New England, IV. 76-116; the Lecture at Dr. Colman's on Tuesday evening, IV. 78, 88; work of Whitefield, IV. 81-86, 87, see *Whitefield*; first stated evening lecture, IV. 86, 88; the custom of *intoning*, IV. 113; the General Association of Ministers, IV. 113-119; ecclesiastical restrictions, IV. 117, 118; matters in Rhode Island, pertaining to, IV. 133, 134. See *Religion*, and the names of the sects.

Church and King, the, I. 270.

Church and State, the, policy of the friends of freedom, I. 92; the dawn of a union between, I. 125, see *Elections*; excitement in England over the great emigration, I. 136; institutions in New England to be carefully erected, I. 151; growing despotism of Parliament, I. 152; institutions of, erected in New Haven, I. 230; intimately con-

CHU

nected in New England, I. 287, see *Elections*; attitude of the government of New England to, I. 332, 333; plan of Eliot for managing the Indians, I. 378; condition of things in New England, I. 406; Governor Law approves an intimate union of, IV. 121.

Church at Amsterdam, the, settlement of Rev. Mr. Davenport, I. 225.

Church in Boston, Massachusetts, the, establishment of, I. 128. See *First, Second, Third, and Fourth Church of Boston, Brattle Square, Christ, King's Chapel, North, Old, Old South, South, and West Church*.

Church of Boston, England, the, persecution of Rev. Mr. Cotton, I. 185; religious work of Mr. Cotton, I. 185, 196. See *St. Botolph's Church*.

Church of Cambridge, the, I. 178, 179; plan of removal to Connecticut, I. 178-183; Rev. Mr. Hooker settled over, with Mr. Stone as Teacher, I. 179; Mr. Thomas Shepard buys the goods of the people, I. 182; Synod held during the Antinomian faction, I. 205; IV. 96; the Synod of 1646 held, I. 329-332; the Cambridge Platform, I. 330-332.

Church of Charlestown, the, organization of, I. 115; ordains the Rev. Mr. Wilson, I. 115; the people of Boston worship with, I. 115, 120, 127, 128; Mr. Wilson takes a temporary leave of, I. 120, 127; return of Mr. Wilson, I. 127; separation of a portion of, I. 128; the Boston dwellers organize a church in Boston, I. 128; settle the Rev. Mr. James, I. 128; call the Rev. Mr. Morton, II. 299.

Church of Cochecho, the, preaching of Mr. George Burdet, I. 215.

Church of Concord, the, absent from the Synod of 1646, I. 829.

Church of Danvers (Salem Village), the, cases of witchcraft in the parish, II. 94-100; action of Rev. Mr. Parris, the minister of, II. 94-100; Mr. Parris driven from this place, II. 105, 106; declaration of Ann Putnam concerning her share in witchcraft, recorded in the books of, II. 107.

Church of Dorchester, England, the, I. 94; schemes of Rev. Mr. White, I. 94-96.

Church of Dorchester, the, in Massachusetts, I. 115; settle Rev. Mr. Warham, and Mr. Maverick, I. 115,

CHU

116; removal to Connecticut of a portion, I. 178, 180-183.

Church of Duxbury, the, established, I. 144.

Church of England, the, the Reformation, I. 47; origin of Puritanism, I. 47, 48, see *Puritanism*; persecution of the dissenters, I. 48-54; II. 91; position of Charles I., I. 92, 93, 155; rejected by the colonists, I. 101; the parting Address of the Massachusetts Company, I. 111; the ritual of, I. 122; persecutions of Archbishop Laud, I. 122, 134, 155, 174, 179; the clergy in America, I. 149; power of Laud, I. 155, 174, 225; position occupied by Roger Williams, I. 162; position held by Knollys, I. 216; Davenport persecuted, I. 225; matters regulated by Parliament, I. 323; to be allowed in Massachusetts, by the Royal order, II. 84, 214, 225, 231, 232; fears of the Commissioners pertaining to, II. 85; devotion of Lord Clarendon, II. 91; position of, in Massachusetts, and establishment of, in Boston, II. 242, 249, 260, 291, 298, 301, 303, 318, 322, 323; III. 169, 170, see *Christ Church and King's Chapel*; effort of Randolph to control the marriage rite, II. 244; condition of, in Connecticut, II. 309; III. 339, 441, 444, 460; position of William III. towards, III. 4, 5; alterations in the Liturgy and Articles, III. 11; exclusive policy of, III. 12; remarks of Randolph concerning, III. 60, 64; Queen Anne a devotee of the High Church, III. 224; Dudley's complaints, III. 270, 271; Dudley an attendant of, III. 277, 289; matters of interest pertaining to Harvard College, III. 292-294; attitude towards, of several of the governors of Massachusetts, III. 359; opinion of England with regard to the projected synod in Boston, III. 421, 422; established in Rhode Island, III. 487; Rev. Mr. Cutler conforms to, and is discharged from Yale College, III. 444; Governor Belcher's relations with, IV. 62, 78; Whitefield ordained a priest of, IV. 81, 98, 99; view taken by, of the work of Wesley and Whitefield, IV. 108, 109; plans of, in New England, IV. 183, 184; power of establishment of, in Parliament, IV. 326; at Cambridge, IV. 324. See *Episcopalianism*.

Church of Exeter, the, I. 214.

Church of Hassanamisitt, the, a congregation of Indians, II. 124, 125.

CHU

- Church of Hingham*, the, absent from the Synod of 1646, I. 329.
- Church of Leyden*. See *Leyden*.
- Church of London*, the, I. 174, 225. See *St. Sepulchre's* and *St. Stephen's Church*.
- Church of Mount Wollaston*, the, in charge of Rev. Mr. Wheelwright, I. 198.
- Church of Natick*, the, devoted to the conversion of the Indians, I. 377, 378; II. 124, 125, 127.
- Church of New Haven*, the, I. 228; in charge of Rev. Mr. Davenport, I. 228. See *First Church of New Haven*.
- Church of Newburyport*, the, ministry of Jonathan Parsons, IV. 101; Whitefield buried under the pulpit in, IV. 101.
- Church of Newtown*. See *Church of Cambridge*.
- Church of Northampton*, the, IV. 77; service of Mr. Solomon Stoddard, IV. 77; succeeded by Jonathan Edwards, IV. 78.
- Church of Oxford*. See *Christ Church, England*.
- Church of Plymouth*, the, Mr. Brewster to accompany the departing Pilgrims, I. 57; Rev. Mr. Robinson remains in Leyden, I. 57, 84, 85; the plan of settling Mr. Robinson frustrated, I. 84, 85, 142, 239; the views and tenets of, I. 101; invited to attend the church covenant at Salem, I. 102; new arrivals from Leyden, I. 141, 142; settles the Rev. Mr. Rogers, I. 142; Mr. Rogers succeeded by Mr. Smith, I. 142; relations with Roger Williams, I. 163; Rev. Mr. Smith resigns, I. 239, 240; progress of, and settlement of Rev. Mr. Chauncy, I. 240; ministrations of Rev. Charles Chauncy, I. 240; settlement of Revs. Norton and Rayner, I. 240; condition of, I. 393.
- Church of Rome*, the, controversy between Boston and Watertown, I. 124, 125. See *Catholicism* and *Catholics*.
- Church of Rotterdam*, the, settlement of Hugh Peter, I. 174; service of Thomas Hooker, I. 179.
- Church of Roxbury*, the, organized under Mr. Eliot and Mr. Welde, I. 127.
- Church of Salem*, the, organized under Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson, I. 101, 102; manner of ordaining ministers, I. 102, 128; the death of Mr. Higginson, I. 114; invites Roger Williams to succeed Higginson, I. 162, 163; trouble caused by Wil-

CIA

- liams, I. 164, 165; Roger Williams banished from Massachusetts, I. 165, 166; settlement of Hugh Peter, I. 174; absent from the Synod of 1646, I. 329.
- Church of Scotland*, the, work of Laud, I. 160.
- Church of Scrooby*, the, I. 48, 49, 54. See *Scrooby*.
- Church of Southhold*. See *Southhold*.
- Church of Watertown*, the, I. 115; Rev. Mr. Phillips, I. 115; disaffection in the congregation, I. 124, 125, 127; removal to Connecticut, I. 178, 182, 183.
- Church of the State*, the, I. 101.
- Cider*, I. 299.
- Circular Letters*, II. 197; IV. 374, 388, 398, 412, 424.
- Citizenship*, action of the Massachusetts General Court concerning, I. 121-123. See *Elections*.
- City*, a, government of, instituted at Agamenticus, I. 222; first government of, in New England, I. 275; difference in law, from a town, I. 275.
- Claim of Right*, the, III. 5, 54.
- Clapp*, Rev. Thomas, Rector and President of Yale College, IV. 125; settled over the church at Windsor, IV. 125, 275; succeeds President Williams, IV. 275; receives a charter for Yale College, IV. 275, 276; his treatise entitled "The Religious Constitution of Colleges," IV. 276; the election of a Professor of Divinity, IV. 276, 277; defeats the opposition to the control of the corporation of Yale, IV. 277.
- Clarendon*, Lord, Lord Chancellor of England, I. 108; II. 91; letters to, commending the cause of Massachusetts, II. 32; his schemes against New England, II. 42; his reason for enlarging Connecticut, II. 42; III. 2; his interest in Rhode Island, II. 50; III. 2; the Royal Commissioners to be sent to New England, II. 55, 112; IV. 284, 285, see *Royal Commissioners*; creates a precedent, to use against Massachusetts, II. 52, 53; purchase of Long Island, II. 58; censures Massachusetts, II. 72; fallen from power, II. 80, 91-93, 194; his power of rule followed by the Cabal ministry, II. 91; his emissaries discomfited, II. 189; his scheme of colonial policy, II. 191; his attempt to reduce Massachusetts, II. 194; his jealousy of Massachusetts, III. 185.
- Clarke*, Captain, Deputy for Boston,

CLA

- II. 57; to keep the patent of Massachusetts safe, II. 57.
- Clarke*, Rev. John, a Baptist Minister and a Physician, I. 211, 382; removes from Boston, I. 211; one of the founders of Rhode Island, I. 211; settles on Aquetnet Island, I. 211; the religious teacher and physician of Newport, I. 382; opposition to Coddington, I. 383-387; his absence from, and return to Massachusetts, I. 384; holds a Baptist meeting at Witter's house, I. 385; arrested, I. 385; his sentence, I. 385, 386; return to Newport, I. 386; sails to England to defeat Coddington, I. 386, 387; his journey successful, I. 387; interferes with Winthrop, II. 48; to prosecute the interests of Rhode Island at court, II. 48, 49; procures a charter for Rhode Island, II. 50-54; recites his grievances from Massachusetts to Clarendon in England, II. 50; his plan concerning the eastern boundary of Connecticut, II. 50; action with Winthrop concerning the two charters, II. 50, 51, 282; his charter passes the seals, II. 52; returns to Rhode Island, II. 69; discord in Rhode Island on his account, II. 111, 112; arrangement made with him by the Governor of Connecticut, II. 114; his death, II. 189, 190; called the father of Rhode Island, II. 189; his activity at the British Court, II. 190.
- Clarke*, Mary, a Quaker, II. 9; imprisoned and scourged, II. 9, 10.
- Clarke*, Nathaniel, Counsellor of Massachusetts, II. 383, 389; Andros gives him land improperly obtained, II. 349, 350; seized by the Plymouth people, II. 383.
- Clarke*, Walter, Governor of Rhode Island, II. 334, 392; III. 216; IV. 446; one of the Counsellors from Rhode Island, II. 334; the charter of Rhode Island demanded by Andros, II. 334; petition to restore him to office, II. 381, 383, 384; III. 216; succeeds Caleb Carr as Governor of Rhode Island, III. 216, 217; IV. 446; refuses to remain in office, III. 216; complaints of, III. 218; letters to Lord Bellomont, III. 223.
- Clarke's Island*, Indians sent to, II. 169; unjustly disposed of, by Andros, II. 349, 350.
- Cleaves*, George, sent by Rigby to look after his property in America, I. 224; his course of action with Richard Vines, I. 224.
- Clergy*, the, service rendered in the

COC

- cause of liberty, I. vi, vii, 323, 324; of the Puritan party, I. 47, 48; many of the, emigrate to America, I. 99; manner of installation and ordination in New England, I. 101, 102, 115, 123, 134, 287, 332; their position and condition in New England, I. 149; invited by the Governor to consider the condition of affairs in Massachusetts, I. 156; the marriage rite, I. 177, 289; graduates of Cambridge University, I. 179; from Massachusetts, favored by Cromwell, I. 223; support of, I. 283, 286, 287; II. 323; III. 127; offices of Pastor, Teacher, and Ruling Elder, I. 286, 287; many of them from the Established Church, I. 286; the clerical functions, I. 287; power of conferring the franchise, I. 287; religious services, I. 288, 289, see *Baptism*, *Lord's Supper*, *Marriage*, etc.; efforts in behalf of the Indians, I. 334, see *Indians*; appointed to consider the condition of affairs in Massachusetts, II. 29; new law in relation to the franchise, II. 63; interest taken in Harvard College, II. 106; changes in the body, II. 246, 247; misrepresentations of Randolph, II. 298, 299, 301, 302; a Convocation of, summoned, III. 12; number of, in Massachusetts, III. 81; the meeting at Saybrook, III. 341; the trustees of Yale College to be of that profession, III. 344; ministers exempt from taxes, III. 346; number of, in Connecticut, III. 346, 439; their rights, III. 346; the Great Awakening in New England, IV. 76-109; law restricting their movements, IV. 114; provisions made for ministers of the Church of England, IV. 183; efforts in behalf of education, IV. 363. See *Church* and *Religion*.
- Clerk*, the, of Plymouth, I. 241; one of the town officers, I. 276.
- Clifton*, Rev. Richard, preaches at Serooby, I. 48; emigrates with the Puritans to Amsterdam, I. 48-50; remains at Amsterdam, I. 50.
- Clinton*, Governor of New York, IV. 273; projects the campaign against Crown Point, IV. 273.
- Cloth*, I. 298; III. 357, 367, 399.
- Clothing*, I. 297, 298; for servants, I. 298; III. 373; of the colonists, IV. 333.
- Cloyse*, Sarah, her conduct against witches, III. 97.
- Club*, the, I. 83.
- Cochecho*, settlement made at, I. 78, 88; former name of Dover, I. 78,

COC

219; fresh settlers, I. 215; one of Laud's spies there, I. 215, 216; Underhill made Governor of, I. 216; party opposed to annexation in Massachusetts, I. 217; place themselves under the care of Massachusetts, I. 219. See *Dover*.

Cocheco River, Indian attack on the garrison-houses, III. 25-27.

Cod, the, I. 4, 24, 293, 299.

Cod-fishery, the, France ambitious to obtain the control of, III. 29.

Coddington, William, Governor of the Providence Plantations and of Rhode Island, serves in Massachusetts as Assistant, I. 120; II. 388; returns to England for his family, I. 120; chosen Treasurer, I. 139; gives his sanction to Mrs. Hutchinson, I. 197; chosen Deputy for Boston, I. 202; his course of action, I. 203; ordered to remove from Massachusetts, I. 208, 211; settles on Aquetnet Island, I. 211; chosen to be judge, I. 211; removed from office, I. 212; founds Newport, I. 212; elected Governor of the Newport and Portsmouth Colonies, I. 212; II. 392; chosen Governor of Aquetnet Island, I. 213; his house, I. 296; Gorton assists in the deposition of, I. 305; not a party to the scheme of Roger Williams, I. 345; Assistant for Newport, I. 346; declines to serve as President, I. 346; sails for England, I. 346; desirous to unite the settlements in Rhode Island with the Confederacy, I. 346, 347, 383, 384; a commission obtained from England, I. 381; his journey to England, I. 381; return to New England, I. 381-386; action of Clarke detrimental to, I. 384-386; assumes his powers, I. 387; his commission revoked, I. 387-389; II. 48; his withdrawal from office, I. 388; offices held by, I. 391; II. 112; hostile to the government, I. 391; neglected by office-choosers, II. 52; enrolled with the Quakers, II. 112, 286; his work and position in Rhode Island, II. 190, 286; founder of one of the communities of Rhode Island, II. 286; his death, II. 286.

Coddington, William, Jr., made Governor of Rhode Island, II. 305, 392.

Coffee, I. 299.

Coffin, Ebenezer, accusations against, III. 278; his trial, III. 279, 280, 281.

Coggeshall, John, Deputy-Governor of Rhode Island, disfranchised during the Antinomian troubles, I. 206; made President of the new community, I. 346; offices held by,

COL

I. 391; II. 392, 393, 399; one of the Counsellors of Andros from Rhode Island, II. 334, 399; different ways of spelling the name, II. 399; elected Deputy-Governor of Rhode Island, III. 216; IV. 446; declines to govern Rhode Island, III. 216.

Cohannet, former name of Taunton. I. 243; sends Deputies to the General Court, I. 243. See *Taunton*.

Coin, I. 157, 295; certain coin forbidden to circulate, I. 157; a mint established, I. 407; denominations coined, I. 407, 408; II. 33; arbitrary valuation of, in New Hampshire, II. 274, 275; found by Sir W. Phipps, II. 380.

Coinage, right granted by patent, I. 6; Massachusetts exercises the right of, I. 407, 408; II. 33, 315; forbidden by the King, in New England, II. 213, 318; the royal permission asked, II. 224, 242.

Coke, Sir Edward, I. 162; his views concerning Ireland, II. 317.

Colbert, government of Canada supervised by, III. 30.

Colchester, Pomeroy's preaching at, IV. 116.

Colebrook, settlement of, IV. 121.

Coleman Street, I. 225.

Collectors of Customs, appointed to collect duties in New England, II. 94; Randolph seeks the appointment of, II. 221; Randolph receives the appointment of, in New England, IV. 232, 241; action of the General Court, to control the office, II. 241; Randolph's misrepresentations, II. 244; operations at Plymouth, II. 269; affairs in Connecticut, II. 268; the tea ships in Boston Harbor, IV. 429. See *Commissioners of the Customs*.

Colleges, I. 247, 248, 271; II. 87-89; III. 212, 442-444; IV. 325; scheme of George Berkeley, IV. 132, 133. See *Brown University*, *Cambridge University*, *Dartmouth College*, *Emmanuel College*, *Harvard College*, *Oxford*, *Trinity College*, *William and Mary*, *Williams College*, *Yale College*.

College Corporation, the, III. 385.

Collins, Rev. John, a minister of London, II. 106; intrusted at London with the affairs of the colony of Massachusetts, II. 106.

Colman, Rev. Benjamin, D.D., minister of the church in Brattle Square, III. 385; one of the College Corporation, III. 385, 386; supposed to have written a letter against Governor Belcher, IV. 73; account of re-

COL

- ligious excitement in Massachusetts, IV. 80, 81; invites Whitefield to come to America, II. 81; his colleague, IV. 81, 83, 106; preaching of Whitefield in his meeting-house, IV. 82; sermon entitled "Souls flying to Jesus Christ," etc., IV. 86; the Tuesday evening lecture, IV. 86; meeting of ministers to consider the ways of Mr. Davenport, IV. 95-98; invitation to Whitefield to administer the communion, IV. 98; his death, IV. 106.
- Colonels*, the, the term applied to the Regicides, II. 22, 23.
- "*Colonial Administration*" by Pownall, IV. 342.
- Colonial Congress*. See *Congress*.
- Colonial Council*, the, III. 96, 291, see *Council*.
- Colonial Empire of England*, the, III. 14; IV. 383.
- Colonial Department*, the, instituted, IV. 412.
- Colonial Secretary*, the, IV. 412.
- Colonial System*, the, III. 14-18.
- Colonial Treasurer*, the, II. 296.
- Colonial Union*, the, scheme of, IV. 202-205, 278, 293.
- Colonists*, the, conditions with which they had to cope, I. 19-26; naming of the vegetable and animal kinds, I. 24; dealings with natives, I. 131. See *Indians*.
- Colonization*, the, difficulties and chances of, II. 86-89.
- Colony House*, in Rhode Island, III. 331.
- Columbus*, his expedition to America, I. 2.
- Commander-in-Chief*, the, of the British Army in North America, II. 313, 346; III. 218; IV. 221, 223, 227, 233-236, 241, 431; of the militia, III. 72.
- Commander of the Forces*, the, I. 7.
- Commencement Day*, I. 290; III. 292; IV. 96; IV. 364; a certain siege compared with, IV. 162.
- Commerce*, I. 294, 295; II. 13, 14; IV. 126, 128, 304, 305, 410, 430; growth of, and laws concerning, III. 13-18; contraband trade, IV. 305, 306; duties on goods exported to the colonies, IV. 331; of Rhode Island, IV. 365; annihilated in Boston by the Port Bill, IV. 432.
- Commission Court*, the, III. 104. See *High Commission Court*.
- Commission for the Plantations*, the, scheme for, I. 161.
- Commissioned Officers*, I. 291.
- Commissioners*, of military matters, I. 157, 158; colors arranged for all

COM

- companies, I. 171; appointed to govern Connecticut, I. 183; to settle boundary questions, I. 243, 244, 365, 366; II. 282; III. 328, 329, 335, 336, 451, 452; IV. 68-72, 286; in charge of the expedition to Jamaica, I. 404, 407; appointed to assess taxes, II. 325-327, 345, 346; to consider the questions of war, III. 41, 42; to arrange matters and treaties with the Indians, II. 132; III. 147; IV. 119, 201, 202; appointed by the Crown to collect duties in New England, IV. 410, 411; arrive in Boston, IV. 411; take refuge in the Castle, IV. 414, 416. See *Royal Commissioners*.
- Commissioners for Foreign Plantations*. See *Lords Commissioners*, etc.
- Commissioners for New Haven*, the, II. 46.
- Commissioners of the Confederation*, the, origin of the Confederacy, I. 262; rules of meeting and Articles of the Confederation, I. 263-269; questions before, I. 308, 314-321; appealed to in the case of the Shawomet affair, I. 308, 309; blockade Shawomet and take prisoners, I. 310, 311, 312; the result of the Shawomet affair, I. 310-314; complaints against the Swedes, I. 314, 315; affair of La Tour and D'Aulnay, I. 315-317, 336; business relating to the conversion of the Indians intrusted to, I. 333-335; connection of, with the Society for Propagating the Gospel, etc., I. 335, 375, 376; II. 96; action in the matter of Stuyvesant and the Dutch claim, I. 336-338; desire of Coddington to unite his colony with the Confederacy, I. 346, 347, 383, 384; meet to consider the danger from the Narragansetts, I. 348; dealings with the Indians, I. 350; action in the case of the debt of Connecticut to George Fenwick, I. 352-355; the election of, I. 361; aid asked in the Indian War from New France, I. 364; action in the quarrel of the Dutch with Connecticut and New Haven, I. 365, 366-373; dissensions in the Confederacy, I. 368-373; missionary operations among the Indians, I. 374-377; II. 80, 96; prescribe a system of laws for the Indians, I. 375; generous comprehensiveness of their work, I. 380; request the General Courts to collect material for history, I. 330; proposed aid for Harvard College, I. 380; Massachusetts represents the

COM

- remissness of Plymouth in regard to her churches, I. 394; decision in the case of Winthrop's settlement, I. 395; decision in boundary questions, I. 401; action against the Quakers, II. 8, 9; the enlargement of Connecticut, II. 46; the loss of one of the colonies from the Confederation, II. 46, 65, 82, 94, see *New Haven*; annual meeting held, II. 65; meetings appointed every third year, II. 65, 95; dissolution of the Confederacy, II. 94; attempt to renew the Confederacy, II. 94-98; number of, II. 95, 96; the recapture of New York from the Dutch, II. 98, 99; precautions against Philip, II. 132; first regular meeting after the amendment, II. 139-141, 144-146; action relative to Philip's War, II. 139-146, 152; meeting of, II. 190; condition of the Confederacy, II. 262, 263; action taken concerning the ownership of certain lands, II. 280, 281; last of the meetings, II. 286, 287; their names, II. 394-398; great benefit of the Confederacy to the colonies, IV. 202.
- Commissioners of the Customs*, the, II. 94, 283; ask to prohibit the sending of powder to Boston, III. 56; Randolph bespeaks their vengeance, III. 61; appointed by the Crown, IV. 410, 411; arrive in Boston, IV. 411; take refuge in the Castle, IV. 414, 416.
- Commissioners of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians*, the, II. 302; complained of by Randolph, II. 302, 303. See *Society for Propagating*, etc.
- Commissioners of Trade*, the, Dudley expresses their regret about the matter of Pemaquid, III. 272. See *Lords of Trade*.
- Committee* appointed to prepare a plan of colonial union, IV. 202.
- Committee for Trade and Plantations*, the, formation of, III. 55; measures concerning Massachusetts, III. 55.
- Committee of Plymouth*, the, to act as Deputies, I. 242.
- Committee of Public Safety*, the, II. 378.
- Committee of Religion*, the, I. 109, 110.
- Committee of Safety*, the, II. 384.
- Committee of the Privy Council*, the, complaints against Massachusetts dismissed, I. 132, 133.
- Committees of Correspondence*, IV. 347, 424, 425.

CON

- Common Council*, the, I. 222.
- Common Law*, the, I. 278, 279, 280.
- Common Prayer*, effort of the Brownes to establish the worship of, I. 103; complaints made by Randolph, II. 303; effort to establish the worship in Boston, II. 322, 323; Randolph's reference to, III. 60; book of Mather against, III. 60.
- Commons*, the, in Massachusetts, permanence given to the Representative power of, I. 138, 139. See *House of Commons*.
- Commons*, land taken unlawfully by Andros, II. 329. See *Boston* and *Newtown*.
- Commonwealth*, the, I. 12; of New England, I. 108; of Massachusetts, I. 158, 173, 247; II. 376; III. 294; formed in Connecticut, I. 232, 233; the word to be changed in certain places, II. 241.
- Commonwealth of England*. See *British Commonwealth*.
- Communion*. See *Lord's Supper*.
- Comprehension*, a measure of, taken in England, III. 11.
- Comptroller of Customs*, the, action of the mob in Boston, IV. 393.
- Comptroller of the Revenue*, the, report concerning the oath of office, IV. 367, 368.
- Conanicut*, a separate government sought for, I. 381.
- Conant*, Roger, appointed Governor of the Plantation at Cape Ann, I. 95; letter from Mr. White, I. 96; represents Salem, I. 127.
- Concord*, date of the engagement at, I. iii; the fight inaugurates the Second Revolution in New England, I. iii; IV. 437, 438; beginning of the Third Period of New England History, I. iii; representatives attend the Synod at Cambridge, I. 205; party from, join the settlement at Fairfield, I. 234; Eliot preaches to the Indians, I. 334; its distance from the coast, II. 82, 83; the home of Simon Davis, II. 134; Major Willard leaves, II. 152; residence of Peter Bulkeley, II. 207; former name of, III. 429; meeting of the Provincial Congress, IV. 434; deposit of arms, etc., IV. 436, 437; action of British soldiers with the militia of Massachusetts, IV. 437, 438.
- Concord*, New Hampshire, Indian ravages, IV. 261.
- Concord River*, the fight on the bridge, IV. 437.
- Confederacy of the Five Nations*, the, III. 248. See *Five Nations* and *Iroquois*.

CON

Confederacy of the Low Countries, the, I. 259.

Confederation of the Colonies of New England, the, I. 259; scheme of, I. 259; founded on a foreign Confederacy, I. 259; preamble to the Articles of, I. 259, 260; objects of, I. 260-263; first propositions made from the western colonies, I. 261; Articles of Agreement, I. 263-268, 369-373; II. 46, 140; the colonies constituting, I. 262, 263; II. 80, 82; settlements of Gorges refused admission to, I. 263; Rhode Island refused admission to, I. 263, 347; government and laws in vogue at the time, I. 269-284; the state of religion, and social life, in the colonies, I. 285-301; first period of, with the questions to be settled, I. 302-321; Congregationalism and missionary action, I. 322-338, 375-379; troubles in the Narragansett Country, I. 339-351; superiority of Massachusetts to the other colonies of the Confederation, I. 352; dissensions in, I. 352-355, 368-373; reconciliation takes place, I. 372, 373; miscellaneous business before, I. 379, 380; standing of Plymouth, I. 393; an iron manufactory started, I. 394, 395; the Protectors not proclaimed by, II. 1; hostility of Lord Clarendon, II. 42, 43; III. 2; effect of the new charters upon, II. 43-55, 80; the question concerning the jurisdiction of New Haven, II. 64-67; annual meeting, II. 65; the loss of New Haven, II. 80, 94; meeting of, at Hartford, II. 80, 95; its crippled condition, II. 80; proposal for a new compact, II. 80; end of the Confederacy of the Four Colonies, II. 82; scheme of a second Confederacy, II. 94-99; raise additional troops, to serve in the Narragansett country, II. 145; influence of Winthrop and Clarke in dissolving, II. 190-193; a strong power in the world, II. 190; IV. 202; its condition, II. 262, 263; its last days, II. 286, 287; prayer of the Commissioners regarding papacy, II. 287; custom of electing the President, II. 394. See *Commissioners of the Confederation*.

Confession of Faith, I. 102; III. 343.

"*Confessions and Retractions*" of James Davenport, IV. 103.

Congregationalism, the *Book of Discipline*, I. 330, 333; a Council or Synod, I. 331; growth of, in New England, I. 331-333; the platform,

CON

I. 332; questions concerning the rite of baptism, II. 17-20; fears of oppression, II. 92; approves the Half-Way Covenant, II. 103, 104; causes for alarm, II. 322, 323; relaxation in, III. 170-172; part taken by the ministers in the government of Harvard College, III. 173; changes in the church governments in Connecticut, III. 341-343; false charges against Governor Belcher, IV. 73, 74; remarks from an Episcopal standpoint, IV. 108, 109; certain sects exempt from church taxes, IV. 125; number of churches in Rhode Island, IV. 134; interest of the ministers in education, IV. 361, 362. See *Church and Religion*.

Congress, meets at Albany to consider questions of war, III. 41, 42, 79, 80; meeting at Albany, IV. 200, 201, 206; scheme of colonial union, IV. 201-204, 278, 293.

Congress, the Colonial, meeting of, in New York, IV. 388, 398-403; colonies represented in, IV. 398-400; number of its members, IV. 399; duration of session, and constitution of, IV. 399, 400, 423; petition to the House of Commons, IV. 400-402; Address to the King, IV. 400-403; Memorial to the House of Lords, IV. 400-403; the manifestoes of, IV. 400-403; ends served, IV. 403; the United Colonies, IV. 404; organized resistance against unjust taxation, IV. 404; the action of, reported in England, IV. 406; meeting of, at Philadelphia, of a Second Colonial Congress, IV. 433; proceedings of, IV. 433; a Declaration of Rights, IV. 433; Address to the King, IV. 433; Address to the people of Great Britain, IV. 433; third meeting at Philadelphia, IV. 433, 439; appoints George Washington to be General-in-Chief of the American forces, IV. 439. See *Provincial Congress*.

Connecticut, one of the New England States, I. viii, note, I; troops furnished in the Civil War of the United States, I. viii, note; sandstone and marbles of, I. 23; patentees of, I. 108, 181, 182, 235, 365; II. 39, 41, 49, 191; Dutch settlements in, I. 145, 146, 178, 181, 182; fertility of, I. 178; factory established by the Plymouth people, I. 178; early settlements made by the English, I. 178-184, 234; origin of the colony of, I. 179-182; the emigration from Massachusetts, I. 181-183, 239, 270; John Winthrop brings a commission from the pat-

CON

entees of, I. 181, 182; II. 40; lands granted to Lord Say and Sele, and to Lord Brooke, I. 181, 235, 236; II. 39, 49, 191; origin of the settlement and name of Saybrook, I. 182, 235; a fort built on a site afterwards called Saybrook, I. 182, 235, 236, 352, see *Saybrook*; towns established in, I. 183; Pynchon's settlement, I. 183, 235; the settlement at Springfield, I. 183, 235; the General Court, established, I. 183, 184, see *General Court*; her "Committees," I. 183, 184; the officers of government, I. 183, 232, 233, 272-274; II. 41, 389-391, 394-399; IV. 445, 446; population of, I. 184, 271, 396; II. 82; III. 345, 439; IV. 138, 372, 373; the Deputies, I. 183, 184, 232, 233, 273, 274, see *Deputies*, etc.; government of, I. 183, 184, 232-235; II. 41; the Pequot War, I. 184-194; number of ploughs in, I. 194; sufferings of the settlers, I. 194, 195; expenses of the Pequot War, I. 194, 195, 232; representatives from, attend the Synod at Newtown, I. 205; its constitution the first example of a written constitution, I. 232; arrangements made with the Indians for food and safety, I. 232; Haynes elected Governor, I. 233; II. 389, 390; the Magistrates of, I. 232, 233; II. 390, 391; IV. 445, 446, see *Magistrates*; the Assistants of, I. 232, 233; II. 41, 390, 391; IV. 445, 446, see *Assistants*; laws passed, I. 233, 234, 276, 282, 283, 395, 397; II. 85, 86, 89, see *Laws*; questions relating to boundaries, I. 235, 236, 387, 398, 395, 396, 401, 402; II. 39, 41, 49-51, 66, 113, 114, 117, 118, 278-282; III. 212-214, 328, 329, 335, 336, 431, 432, 439, 450-453; IV. 129, 130, 274, 275, 350, 358-361; arrival of George Fenwick, I. 235; Springfield passed over to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, I. 235; the settlement at Southampton unites with, I. 236; the accession of the settlement at Saybrook, I. 236, 352; bargain made with Fenwick, I. 236, 352; covenant to obtain land granted in Warwick's patent, I. 236; duties to be levied on certain vessels, I. 236, 352-355; suffers repeated annoyances from the Dutch, I. 261, 315, 337, 364-373; makes the first proposal of a Confederation, I. 261; Commissioners assemble at Boston to form the Confederation, I. 232, 263; the Articles of the Confederation agreed upon, I. 263-268; duration of the league of the four

CON

colonies, I. 269; II. 190; office of Governor and of Deputy-Governor, I. 272-274, see *Governor*; right of suffrage, I. 271, 272, 288; III. 209, 210, 346, see *Elections*; number of towns in, I. 275, 396; II. 82; III. 346, 433; copies the system of Plymouth in regard to certain matters of law, I. 276; religion introduced by the founders, I. 285-289; church-membership not obligatory upon citizenship, I. 288; alarmed by the Indians, I. 303; Indians promise thirty days' notice of war, I. 314; Hooker's work in the cause of liberty, I. 323; Governor Stuyvesant's claim to land in, I. 337, 338, 365, 366; furnishes men for the Indian war, I. 348; mode of paying her debt to George Fenwick, I. 352-355; her dispute with Massachusetts, I. 352-355, 360; the commissioners favor her claim, I. 353, 354; her vessels to be taxed on entering Boston Harbor, I. 355; suspends the toll, I. 355; dissensions in the Confederacy, I. 365-373; renewed trouble with the Dutch, I. 365, 366; Commissioners appointed to settle boundary claims, I. 365, 366; II. 232; III. 328, 329, 335, 336, 451, 452; the fort at Saybrook, put into a state of defence, I. 366; Massachusetts refuses to aid in the war with the Dutch, I. 366-373; II. 96; her Commissioners charge Massachusetts with breach of covenant, I. 370, 372, 373; peace declared with Holland, I. 373; reconciliation with the Confederacy, I. 373; preaching to the Pequots, I. 379; extension of her settlements, I. 394-396; the Bill of Rights, I. 396; the settlement at New London, I. 396; embraces the scheme of Cromwell for the conquest of New Netherlands, I. 396, 397; number of people taxed in, I. 396; annoyed by Rhode Island marauders, I. 396, 397; election of officers, I. 397; missionaries sent to the Indians, I. 397, 398; a liberal patron of Harvard College, I. 398; a refugee clergyman fabricates the "Blue Laws," I. 399; claims certain lands, I. 401; departure of Hopkins from, I. 408; position and services of John Haynes, I. 408; action against the Quakers advised, II. 19; delegates from, attend a Synod to discuss the rites of baptism and communion, II. 18-20, 100, 101; current of opinion in, agrees with the Synod, II. 19, 20; Charles II. proclaimed King, II. 39; Governor

CON

Winthrop to present an Address to the King, II. 39, 40; Winthrop to act as agent for, in England, II. 39, 40; seeks to obtain a royal charter, II. 39, 40, 49; obtains her charter, II. 40-44, 278; III. 2, 452, 464; name of the corporation of, II. 41; her boundaries defined by charter, II. 41, 50, 51, 113, 114, 278-283; III. 452; Clarendon's reason for enlarging, II. 42, 50, 191; III. 2; her charter includes New Haven, II. 42-48; treatment of New Haven by, II. 43-48, 64-67, 80, 82, 94, 95; action concerning her new charter, II. 44-46; John Allyn, Secretary of the colony, II. 45; answer from New Haven to the General Assembly of, II. 45; Winthrop's letter to, suppressed, II. 45; her claim protested, II. 46; her persistence, II. 46-48; the charter for Rhode Island conflicts with that of Connecticut, in relation to grants of land, II. 48-54, 113, 114, 190-192, 278-282; Atherton Company chooses to come under her jurisdiction, II. 51, 53; arrangement made by Winthrop, with Clarke about the conflicting charters, II. 51, 114, 190, 282; effect of her charter upon the Confederacy, II. 55; events following the receipt of her charter, II. 55, 56; volunteers join the Royal Commissioners for the conquest of New York, II. 63, 64; settlement of the dispute with New Haven, II. 64-67; promises acquiescence with the demands of the Royal Commissioners, II. 70; meets with the King's approval, II. 71; Leete serves as Commissioner for, II. 80; the incorporation and annexation of New Haven, II. 80, 82, 94, 95, 100, 114, 190-192; III. 431, 432; described by the Royal Commissioners, II. 83-85; social system of, II. 85, 86, 89; gives offence to the older colonies, II. 94; her attitude toward England, II. 94, 95; views concerning the new Confederation, II. 96, 97; proportion of troops to be raised in, II. 97, 98; alarm at the recapture of New York by the Dutch, II. 98, 99, 115; arrest of William Harris, II. 112; faithfulness of the electors to the trusts reposed in them, II. 115; Governor Winthrop continued in office, II. 115; Mason chosen Deputy-Governor, during ten years, II. 115, 390; Leete succeeds Mason as Deputy-Governor, II. 115, 390; the peace in England restores New York to the English, II. 116, 117;

CON

Governor Andros claims jurisdiction over Connecticut for the Duke of York, II. 117, 118; news of the rising of the Indians, II. 118, 122; action with Sir Edmund Andros concerning the surrender of a part of the territory, II. 118-121; the Duke of York's patent read to the people of, II. 119, 120; departure of Andros, II. 120, 121; King Philip's War, II. 122-193; treaty made with the Narragansetts, II. 132; forces sent to, II. 137; its exposed situation, II. 137; to furnish troops against King Philip, II. 140; expeditions against and engagements with the Indians, II. 146-151, 160, 162-165; great loss of men, II. 149; the troops withdrawn to Stonington, II. 151; losses of Indians, II. 162, 163, 166; share of, in Philip's war, II. 188; death of John Winthrop, II. 190; relations of, with Randolph, II. 203, 277, 278; internal condition of, II. 278; III. 208-212, 345-348, 463-465; IV. 372, 373; report of Commissioners on boundary claims, II. 282, 283; the Governor takes the oath respecting the laws of Trade and Navigation, II. 283; Address sent to the King, II. 283; manifestations of loyalty, II. 283; promises assistance to Randolph, II. 283, 284; service and death of Governor Leete, II. 284, 285, 390; Robert Treat succeeds Leete as Governor of Connecticut, II. 284, 390; Randolph seeks to procure a writ of *quo warranto* against, II. 290; the Winthrops serve in Dudley's Council, II. 292; history of, during Dudley's government, II. 304; fear of the King, II. 304; complaints against, II. 306, 309; Dudley discharges the people of the King's Province from the government of, II. 307, 308; James II. proclaimed King, II. 308; Address to King James, II. 309; laws repugnant to England must be repealed, II. 309, 464; IV. 122, 123, see *Laws*; Articles of High Misdemeanor, sent by Randolph to England, II. 309; summoned to surrender to the King, II. 310; letter from Randolph sent to, II. 309, 310, 311; a writ of *quo warranto* served against, II. 309, 310; threatened annexation of, to Massachusetts or to New York, II. 310-313, 339; III. 199, 200; another Address to the King, II. 311; a confidential letter to, II. 311; the writ served by Randolph, II. 311, 312; intrusts her agency to the King with Mr. Whiting, II. 312; arrival of

CON

Governor Andros in New England, II. 313; Andros's grudge against, II. 319; prospectively included in Andros's government, II. 336; her charter demanded by Andros, II. 336-341; the charter surrendered to Andros, II. 336-342; III. 2; her charter hidden in a tree, II. 341; III. 206; Charter Oak, II. 341; III. 206; surrender of the government, II. 341, 342; annexed to Massachusetts, II. 342; her seal delivered to Andros, II. 342; government arranged by Andros, II. 343; laws passed by Andros extended to, II. 344; the Revolution of the Seventeenth Century, II. 370-386; petition for their ancient privileges, II. 381; action on the removal of Andros, II. 384-386; III. 2; resumption of the charter, II. 384-386; III. 2, 77; a General Court constituted, II. 384, 385; her laws reinstated, II. 385; the month in which elections were held, II. 339; names of her Governors and Deputy-Governors, II. 389, 390; IV. 445; names of the Assistants or Magistrates, II. 390, 391; IV. 445, 446; names of Counsellors in Andros's government, II. 338, 339; names of the Commissioners of the Confederacy, II. 394-398; the Navigation Act to be observed, III. 15; difference in her condition politically from Massachusetts, III. 19; French oppression, III. 29; the Mohegans partly ruled by the Mohawks, III. 31; conference with Indians, III. 37; sends a force to protect Schenectady, III. 38, 39; troops sent to defend the towns on the Upper Connecticut, III. 41; plan of the campaign, III. 44, 45; confusion and disagreement among the troops, III. 46; her position in regard to her charter, III. 77, 199; concurrence of troops against the enemy, III. 79; matters pertaining to witchcraft, III. 90, 116; John Allyn accused of witchcraft, III. 103; authority given to Governor of Massachusetts in relation to the militia, III. 126, 137, 153, 205, 207, 218, 219, 339; authority given to the Governor of New York in relation to the militia, III. 137, 205-207, 218, 219, 333, 339; IV. 292; disputes about the command of the militia, III. 137, 205-208; IV. 292; alliance sought with the Five Nations, III. 140, 248; threatened danger from Indians, III. 168, 169; attitude of the King towards, III. 198, 199; de-

CON

sires to have her charter confirmed, III. 199; Fitz-John Winthrop sent as agent to England, III. 199; Addresses to the King and Queen, III. 199; her charter to be inspected, III. 199, 200; manner of government, III. 200; her conduct in the defence from the Indians, III. 200, 201; help sent to Jacob Leisler, III. 201, 202; aid rendered by, against the French and Indians, III. 202; expenses of the war, III. 202; works erected at Saybrook and New London, III. 202; plan of the expedition against Canada, III. 202-204; her chartered rights concerning the disposition of military forces, III. 205-208; rights of appeal to England, III. 204, 205; resolve to send Fitz-John Winthrop to England to arrange matters relating to the militia, III. 206, 207; change in the constitution of the Connecticut Legislature, III. 208; its Governors and Deputy-Governors, III. 208; death of Deputy-Governor Bishop, III. 208; the free schools, III. 209, 212, 347, 348; IV. 373; the relations with England, III. 209; safety of position, from French and Indian inroads, III. 209, 334, 465; her ferries, III. 210, 218; payment of her civil officers, III. 210; her tax-payers, III. 210; her taxable property, III. 210; purchases of land, III. 210, 211; office of Justice of the Peace, III. 211; a revised edition of the laws published, III. 211; matters of probate, III. 211; ports of entry III. 211; a Naval Officer to superintend the ports, III. 211; her churches and the ministry, III. 211, 346, 439, see *Church and Religion*; business relating to the professions, III. 211, 212; Act regarding a collegiate school, III. 212; towns obliged to keep schools, III. 212; controversy with Rhode Island, III. 215; encourages the mails with free ferriage, III. 217, 218; the Post-Office, III. 217, 218, 335; aid asked by Massachusetts in the French and Indian wars, III. 248, 250, 269, 446, 447; refuses aid to Massachusetts, III. 250, 333, 446, 447; Indian ravages, III. 258; complaints against, III. 328, 339; the Queen prejudiced against, III. 328; supposed number of fighting-men, III. 333; Rev. Gordon Selstonstall, elected Governor, III. 333, 334; raises troops for the French wars, III. 334; bills of credit issued, III. 334, 335, 345; IV. 126, 146, 147, 447, 448; a portion of

CON

the bills redeemed, III. 345; the depreciation in currency, moderate in degree, III. 448; IV. 271, 278; order to issue no more bills of credit, IV. 278; happy condition of affairs under Governor Saltonstall, III. 334, 347, 348, 456-462; proceeds of land given to the infant college, III. 336; controversy with the Mohegan Indians, III. 336-340; designs of Dudley upon her charter, III. 338, 339-341; violations of Navigation Laws, III. 339; a Synod held at Saybrook, III. 341-343, 440, 456; IV. 110; the Saybrook platform, III. 341, 343; IV. 113; change in her ecclesiastical constitutions, III. 341-343; General Association of churches to be held annually, III. 342, 343, 456; IV. 110, 113-115; establishment of Yale College, III. 343, 344; matters pertaining to Yale College, III. 345, 442-444; IV. 124, 125, 275-277; valuation of estates, III. 345; her militia, III. 345; commerce and exports, III. 345; drinking, III. 346; the Lord's Day, III. 346; the General Court, and the Council, III. 346; rules regarding ships sailing on Sunday, III. 346; liberty of worshipping God, III. 346; elections, III. 346; her laws printed and circulated, III. 346; salary of the governor, III. 346; ministers exempt from tax-paying, III. 346; number of ministers in, III. 346, 439; kindness to Indians, III. 347; counterfeit bills, III. 347; care of the insane and sick, III. 347; news of Queen Anne's death, III. 348; Address to George I., III. 348; effort to obtain a revision of her laws for the Crown, III. 430, 431; mines of, III. 439, 440; occupations of the people, III. 439; number of negroes in, III. 439; business with the West India Islands, III. 439; ship-building, III. 439; fishing interests, III. 439; the State prison, III. 440; keeping the Sabbath, III. 440, 441; religious condition of, III. 440, 441; Episcopalianism in, III. 441; grants made to Yale College, III. 443; IV. 124, 125; Elihu Yale, III. 443; number of students in Yale, III. 444; rumors of Indian plot, III. 444, 445; representatives sent to an Indian Convention, III. 445; peace made with the Indians, III. 447; her expenditure in the Indian war, III. 447; her financial affairs, III. 447, 448; effect of Queen Anne's war upon Connecticut troops, III. 448; state of morals, III. 448; popular

CON

tumults, III. 449, 450; fines, III. 450; corporal punishment, III. 450; the *posse comitatus*, III. 450; accused of defacing monuments of boundary lines, III. 451; plan of annexation to New Hampshire, III. 452, 453; communication to the Board of Trade, III. 453; danger to her charter, averted by Dummer's book, III. 453-456; example of Rhode Island, III. 456; death of Governor Saltonstall, III. 456; case of John Liveen's will, III. 457, 458; insecurity of titles, III. 458; validity of her laws, III. 458, 464; the political force of, III. 463, 464; career of Davenport, the revivalist, IV. 90, 91, 115, 116, 119, 120; opinions concerning the revivals, IV. 99; number converted during the revivals, IV. 102; the government takes cognizance of the revivals, IV. 110; revival work in, IV. 110-120; religious work of Whitefield, IV. 111, 112, 118, 119; religious work of Tennent, IV. 112; work of Davenport, IV. 113, 115, 116; conflict of the government with Rev. Mr. Davenport, IV. 113, 115, 116; a General Association convened on the Saybrook platform, IV. 113, 114, 117; the government passes laws concerning the disorders among ministers and parishes, IV. 114, 115, 117, 118; accession of Governor Law, IV. 115, 120, 121, 128, 445; second visit of Whitefield, IV. 118, 119; death of Governor Talcott, IV. 120; change in ecclesiastical affairs, IV. 121; dates of settlement of several towns in, IV. 121; George II. to be proclaimed King of England, IV. 122; Address of congratulation from, to George II., IV. 122; complaint of John Winthrop concerning a certain law, IV. 122, 123; law concerning a daughter's inheritance, IV. 122, 123; questions concerning land-titles, IV. 123; letter to Belcher concerning the charter, IV. 124; Belcher to unite with Dummer in the agency for, IV. 124; the charter endangered, IV. 124; annual gift to Yale College, IV. 124, 125; gift to the church at Windsor, IV. 125; gifts to Ben Uncas and wife, IV. 125; the internal government, IV. 125-127; the "New London Society united for Trade and Commerce," IV. 126, the legal profession, IV. 126, 127; manufactures, IV. 127; improved military system, IV. 127, 128; election of Lieutenant-Governor Wolcott, IV. 128, 445; forts to be built,

CON

IV. 148; expeditions sent against Louisburg, IV. 153, 272-273; troops rendezvous at Canseau, IV. 156; troops to be furnished for the new plan of conquest, IV. 171; alarming news of French invasion, IV. 172, 173; omitted from the Congress, but sends delegates, IV. 200-205; scheme of Colonial Union, IV. 200-205, 278, 279; encounter of troops with Dieskau, IV. 216-220; Major-General Lyman, IV. 217; a conference of Governors, IV. 222, 223, see *Governors*; anger of Lord Loudoun, IV. 233; number of troops sent on expeditions against the French and Spanish, IV. 272, 273, 372; expedition against Crown Point and Quebec, IV. 273; discreditable action of, in regard to boundary settlement, IV. 274, 275; administration of Governor Law, IV. 277; accession of Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Fitch, IV. 277, 445; accession of Governor Roger Wolcott, IV. 277, 445; death of Governor Law, IV. 277; alleged official negligence of Governor Wolcott, IV. 277, 278; Thomas Fitch succeeds Governor Wolcott in office, IV. 277, 278, 445; accession of Lieutenant-Governor Pitkin, IV. 278, 445; service of troops at Lake George, IV. 279; troops of New York, raised in, IV. 279; French Neutrals brought to the colony, IV. 279, 280; activity of, in the war, IV. 279-281; troops under Lord Loudoun, IV. 280; influence of Pitt, IV. 280; response to the call for troops, IV. 280, 281; taxation of, IV. 281; number of troops in the field in the French war, IV. 281; troops conveyed by sea, IV. 282; forms of government under William III., IV. 288, 289; propositions in relation to, by Governor Bernard, IV. 298, 299; money voted by Parliament as a reimbursement, IV. 329; money paid for the debts of war, IV. 329, 330; illicit trade, IV. 332; settlers depart for the new towns in New Hampshire, IV. 360; the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, IV. 361, 362; writs of assistance, IV. 362; report of trade with the French, IV. 372; her service during the war, IV. 372; her revenue from taxes, polls, etc., IV. 373; exports and imports, IV. 373; shipping interests, IV. 373; the arguments raised against the stamp duties, IV. 373, 374; excitement caused by the passing of the Sugar Act and the threatened Stamp Act,

CON

IV. 373-376; Ingersoll and Jackson to act in England as agents for, IV. 374-376; debate on the Stamp Act, IV. 375; her charter almost republican, IV. 381; the Puritan element, IV. 383; Jared Ingersoll accepts the position of Distributor of Stamps, IV. 389, 390; opposition to the Stamp Act, IV. 386, 397; the Colonial Congress, IV. 400-403; Johnson stands second on the Address to the King, IV. 402; Governor Fitch displaced from office, IV. 427; disposal of the cargoes of tea, IV. 428; her readiness for action, IV. 435; the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, IV. 437, 438; her militia sent into Massachusetts, IV. 438.

Connecticut River, the, its course, I. 20, 226, 302; II. 132; fertility of the region of, I. 22; nearness of the dwelling-place of the Mohegans, I. 29, 302; the colonists invited by an Indian to visit the country bordering on, I. 130; also called the Fresh River, I. 145, 146, 178; Dutch and English forts erected on, I. 145, 146; land adjoining, given to the Duke of York, II. 58, 59, see *York, Duke of*; the travel on, II. 83; Andros visits Connecticut, II. 118; danger from the neighboring Indians, II. 125, 144, 186, 187, 357; III. 41, 246, 406, 446; towns on, held by the English, II. 143; Mrs. Rowlandson's wanderings, II. 156; attack upon the Indians near, II. 162-166; questions of boundary, II. 312; IV. 359-361, see *Connecticut*; towns on, belonging to New York, III. 24; towns on, defended, III. 202; rules regarding vessels on Sunday, III. 346; religious excitement in towns on, IV. 80, 85, 106; danger from General Montcalm's forces, IV. 232; battles fought with the French and Indians at Charlestown, II. 261-266; extension of the Province of New Hampshire, IV. 271; the New Hampshire grants, IV. 358-361; survey of lands, IV. 359.

"*Considerations respecting the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*," etc., IV. 324, 325.

Consociation of Churches, the, III. 456. See *Churches*.

Conspiracy, laws under the title of, repealed, II. 241.

Constables, I. 241, 277; II. 345, 346; IV. 309.

Constitution, of Connecticut, I. 232, 233; III. 461; first example of a written order of government, I. 232; the principal security of constitu-

CON

- tional governments, I. 256, 257; of churches, I. 330; of the Commonwealth, III. 294; of the United States, III. 433; of the Province of Massachusetts, alleged innovation of, IV. 423; opposition to the receipt of salaries from the Crown in Massachusetts, IV. 426; of England, see *British Constitution*.
- Continental Congress*. See *Congress*.
- Continental Troops*, number furnished from New England in the Revolutionary War, I. vii; number furnished by the Southern States, I. vii.
- "*Continuation of the History*," etc., by Minot, I. vi, note.
- Contracts of Sale*, IV. 376.
- Convention of Governors*. See *Governors*.
- Convention of Representatives*, the, Addresses sent to the King and Queen, III. 56, 57.
- Converse*, Captain, sent to defend Wells, III. 87; his trip against the Indians, III. 132; a treaty made with the Indians, III. 147.
- Convocation of the Clergy*, the, III. 12; defeat of the liberal religious party, III. 12, 77.
- Conway*, General, Secretary of State in England, IV. 396; letter from Governor Wentworth in relation to the Stamp Act, IV. 396; Address presented to George III., IV. 403; contest over the repeal of the Stamp Act, IV. 406, 407; the Stamp Act repealed, IV. 407.
- Conway*, town of, Lovewell's fight, III. 411, 412.
- Cooke*, name thought to be assumed by one of the regicides, II. 284.
- Cooke*, Elisha, Deputy and Magistrate of Massachusetts, II. 246, 370, 389; IV. 442; of the popular party, II. 246; escorted to the Council Chamber, II. 370; to aid Mather in the agency for Massachusetts in England, III. 61, 62, 79; the people of Massachusetts dissatisfied with the charter, III. 75; loses an appointment to office, III. 79; takes the place of John Richards, III. 128; rejected by the Governor from office, III. 129; attitude of Lord Bellomont, III. 155; antagonism to Dudley, III. 155, 315, 377; an opponent of President Mather, III. 133, 184, 377; his election set aside, III. 233, 234, 270, 277; Dudley relents in his opposition, III. 315; grant to, III. 355; excluded from the Council, III. 370; charges against Bridger, III. 370; his death, III. 377.

COR

- Cooke*, Elisha Jr., Magistrate of Massachusetts, III. 377; IV. 442; his nomination as Speaker of the House opposed by the Governor, II. 377, 378; his argument against the royal claim to timber, III. 380; to proceed to England as agent for the House of Massachusetts, III. 417; trouble with Shute, III. 417, 418; Shute refuses to see him, III. 418; the agents enjoined to stop the encroachments on the forests, III. 419, 420; an explanatory charter granted, III. 419, 420; draws a reply from the House in regard to the Governor's salary, IV. 13; made Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, IV. 46.
- Cooking of the Indians*, the, I. 32.
- Cooper*, Rev. William, colleague of Dr. Colman, IV. 81, 88, 106; reception prepared for Whitefield, IV. 81; the result of Tennent's preaching, IV. 88; contributes his services in Portsmouth, IV. 88, 89.
- Coote*, Richard, Earl of Bellomont, III. 150. See *Bellomont*.
- Copeland*, John, a Quaker, treatment of, II. 9, 10.
- Copper*, I. 23.
- Copps Hill*, I. 129; Davenport's preaching, IV. 92, 93.
- Coram*, Thomas, his scheme of settlement, IV. 61, 62.
- Cordovan*, I. 298.
- Cordwainer*, the, I. 293.
- Corey*, Giles, accused of witchcraft, III. 101; his noble conduct, III. 101, 102; pressed to death, III. 101, 102.
- Corléar*, term used by the Indians for the planters at New York, III. 36; different uses of the term, III. 38.
- Corléar*, the name of a Dutchman, III. 38.
- Corn*, I. 298; II. 83; made a legal tender, I. 295; used in various ways for food, I. 298; exported from Massachusetts, II. 84; certain amount to be given annually to the Indians, II. 180.
- Cornbury*, Lord, Governor of New York, III. 235; his indifference to New England, III. 248; an ally of Dudley, III. 339; complaints made to the Privy Council about American colonies, III. 454.
- Cornwall*, name given to the land beyond the Kennebec, II. 78, 317, 332; described by the Royal Commissioners, II. 84; a part of, taken by Massachusetts, II. 108; in danger from Indians, II. 180; a fort erected

COR

- at Pemaquid, II. 180; administration of Palmer and West, II. 332, 354.
- Cornwall*, town in Connecticut, date of settlement, IV. 121.
- Cornwallis*, Edward, English Governor at Nova Scotia, IV. 210.
- Coroner*, the, of Plymouth, I. 241.
- Corporal Punishment*, law in Connecticut, III. 441, 450.
- Corporation Act*, the, III. 10, 11.
- Corporation*, the, of Harvard College, III. 295, 385, 386.
- Corselets*, I. 291.
- Cortereal*, Gaspar, his voyage to America, I. 2.
- Corwin*. See *Curwin*.
- Cotton*, I. 292, 293; III. 390, 357, 399.
- Cotton*, a barrister, father of John Cotton, I. 134.
- Cotton*, Rev. John, an eminent preacher of liberal views, I. vi, 43, 100, 135, 323; arrives in America, I. 134; associates with Wilson at Boston, I. 134; his early training and antecedents, I. 134, 135; his labors in England as rector of St. Botolph's Church, I. 135; persecuted by Archbishop Laud, I. 135; his election sermons, I. 140, 170; his lesson concerning permanence in office, I. 140, 170, 175, 176; feeling against his doctrine, I. 175; Hooker thought to be jealous of, I. 179; his address to the General Court, concerning the power of the Magistrates, I. 181; Mrs. Hutchinson follows his preaching, I. 196, 197; explains himself to the ministers, I. 198; Greensmith's affirmation concerning, I. 200; his answer to the Magistrates, I. 204; his action concerning the Synod, I. 205; his views concerning Mrs. Hutchinson and Antinomianism, I. 205, 209, 210; his correspondence with Davenport, I. 225; his "Abstract of the Laws of New England," etc., I. 279; champion of the Independents, I. 323; desires a permanent system of supervision in the churches, I. 330, 331; approves of the term "Congregational," I. 332; his compend of laws to be consulted by New Haven, I. 399; his death, I. 408; II. 7; his talents, II. 89; his "Milk for Babes," III. 92.
- Council*, the, matters pertaining to settling Roger Williams, I. 162; rule of, in church organizations, III. 342.
- Council Chamber*, the, III. 267, 378; the Magistrates escorted to, II. 369,

COU

- 370; reception given to Pepperell, IV. 168; action concerning the impressing of seamen, IV. 175-178; the Boston Massacre, IV. 418, 419.
- Council for Foreign Plantations*, the, its constitution, II. 30; order to proclaim the King in Boston, II. 30; consolidated with the Council for Trade, II. 93; further changes made in the Board, II. 93; frequent reconstruction of, II. 194, 195. See *Lords Commissioners for Foreign Plantations and Lords of Trade*.
- Council for New England*, the, the patent of, I. 73; II. 259, 314; the patent obtained by the Plymouth Colony held by John Pierce, in trust for the Merchant Adventurers, I. 73, 244; IV. 284, see *Merchant Adventurers*; feud with the Council of Virginia, I. 77, 158; its proceedings regulated by Parliament, I. 77; the grants given to Mason and Gorges and their heirs, I. 77, 161; II. 196; III. 186, 187, 320, 321; grant of land given to Sir W. Alexander, I. 78; Robert Gorges appointed General Governor of the Country of Northern New England, I. 78; action concerning the patent given to John Pierce, I. 79; fraud practised by John Pierce, I. 79; complaints from the Merchant Adventurers, I. 79; desire of the London Adventurers to be friendly with, I. 84; grants a patent of land on the Kennebec to Allerton, I. 87; account of the affair at Merry Mount sent to, I. 88; land granted to Lord Sheffield, I. 95; land granted to the Massachusetts Bay Company, I. 97, 98, 109, 159, 161; II. 314; its dissensions and troubles, I. 158, 159; offers upon certain conditions to resign its charter, I. 158, 159; gives profuse and inconsistent grants of land, I. 158, 159, 161; grants given by, conflict with the grants held by the Massachusetts Company, I. 158-161; attempt to oust the colonists in Massachusetts Bay from their lands, I. 159-161; Mason Secretary of, I. 161.
- Council for Plantations*, the, II. 93. See *Lords of the Committee and Lords Commissioners*, etc.
- Council for the Colonies*, the, attitude of Massachusetts towards, I. 406.
- Council for the Safety of the People and Conservation of the Peace*, the, II. 377.
- Council for Trade*, the, II. 93; consolidation with the Council for Foreign Plantations, II. 93, 194, 195, see

COU

Lords of the Committee, etc.; John Locke the Secretary of, III. 18. See *Council for Plantations and Lords of the Committee.*

Council for Trade and Plantations, the, II. 93.

Council of Commerce, the, organized, III. 17.

Council of Conanicut, the, I. 381.

Council of Connecticut, the, military preparations ordered, II. 145; appointed to take charge of business in the intervals of the General Court, II. 338; submission of, to the King, II. 339; affairs more free than in Massachusetts, III. 200; division of the Legislature into two branches, III. 208; proceedings with regard to Yale College, III. 344; rules and regulations of, III. 346. See *General Court and Legislature of Connecticut.*

Council of England. See *Privy Council.*

Council of Maine, the, II. 265. See *Standing Council and Legislature of Maine.*

Council of Massachusetts, the, under the Presidential Government, II. 296; formal possession taken of the government, II. 296; letters from Randolph to England describing, II. 298-303; Danforth discharged from office in Maine, II. 304; meeting called in Rhode Island, II. 306, 307; Act arranging the government of the King's Province, II. 307, 308; government arranged for the Narragansett Country, II. 307, 308; at the time of Governor Andros's rule, II. 317; first members appointed by the King, II. 317; regulations of, II. 318; their duties, II. 320; meeting of, appointed, II. 320; the meetings thinly attended, II. 320, 321; Act passed establishing Rates, Duties, and Imposts, II. 321, 326; innovations and excessive taxation made by the, II. 323-331; nominations for vacancies in, II. 324; arbitrary taxation, II. 325, 328; encroachments of, II. 326; Andros partial in his decisions, II. 330; dissatisfaction in the Board, II. 330, 331; representatives to, II. 333; first meeting in Boston, II. 333; Rhode Island summoned to, II. 334-336; Rhode Island negligent in sending her members, II. 335; the usurpation in Connecticut, II. 336-342; the Governor and others in Connecticut to join the Board of, II. 342; members from Connecticut, II. 342; complaints against Mr. Mor-

COU

ton, II. 343; meeting at Boston, II. 343; Act extending obligations of laws to Connecticut, II. 344; an Act for the consolidation of New England, II. 344; Act passed, for Additional Duties, etc., II. 345; an Act passed, forbidding more than one annual town-meeting, II. 345; taxes imposed on the town, II. 345; all local laws to cease their power, II. 346; Act passed, for settling the Militia, II. 346; new laws made, II. 346; ill-treatment offered to Rev. Mr. Wiswall, II. 349, 350; powers of, II. 355, 356; its rights regarding taxes and laws, II. 355, 356; number of Counsellors, II. 355; proposals of Mather to the Lords of the Committee, II. 360; affair of the Indian, and the Sudbury men, II. 363, 364; the Sudbury men examined, II. 364, 365; reference made to, in the Declaration of the men of Boston, II. 371, 372; delicately treated in the Declaration, II. 371, 372; position of, after Andros's deposition, II. 377; a new Board organized, II. 377; new Order of Government formed, II. 377; desired to act as a Committee of Public Safety, II. 378; a new General Court formed, II. 378, 379; debate as to the new form of government, II. 378, 379; to assume the duties conferred by the charter upon the Magistrates, II. 382, see *Magistrates*; names of the members of Andros's Council, II. 398, 399; Addresses sent to the King and Queen, III. 56; propositions made by the agents in England, III. 69; provided for, by the new charter, III. 71, 72; number of, III. 71; its powers, III. 72; the finances of the government, III. 79; an irregular proceeding of, III. 125; matters of probate, III. 129; trouble in the matter of electing Counsellors, III. 129, 233-235, 270, 277, 301; IV. 30, 74; Address sent to the King, III. 157; representations of Lord Bello-mont, III. 160, 161; a message sent to Captain Kidd, III. 167; the effort to obtain a charter for Harvard College, III. 174, 175; refuses to concur in the resolution in favor of Stoughton, III. 176; chief executive authority in Massachusetts, III. 180; the officers of elective, III. 200; Dudley meets with, III. 226; Address of Dudley, III. 227, 228; the matter of the Governor's salary, III. 228, 230, 269-272, 274, 299; IV. 41-46, 52, 54, see *Governor*; the fort at Pemaquid to be rebuilt, III. 228-230, 275, 276;

COU

difference in the two bodies composing the General Court, III. 231, 232; letter from Dudley describing, III. 232; election of officers, III. 233, 234; action concerning money granted to Dudley, III. 236; three members despatched to Colonel March, III. 251, 252; quarrel with the House of Representatives, III. 267, 268; alleged criminal proceedings in Nova Scotia, the case brought before, III. 278-281; order for printing the exculpatory votes about Governor Dudley, III. 283; pamphlet arraigning Dudley, III. 283-289; management of Harvard College, III. 291, 292; Harvard College obtains its charter, III. 292-294; Address to the Queen, III. 298; grants made to Governor Dudley, III. 299; questions concerning bills of credit, III. 311, see *Bills of Credit*; a petition for renewal of the commission of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, III. 315; a committee to receive Governor Burgess, III. 315, 316; members attend the Governor to Newport, III. 325; Cooke excluded from the Council, III. 370; quarrel with the Representatives, III. 374; choice of a Speaker, III. 377; John Burrill promoted to, III. 377; quarrels of the Governor with the Legislature, III. 378-380; the question of adjournment of the House, III. 383; the Governor's displeasure called forth, III. 383, 384; trouble concerning Harvard College, III. 385, 386; complaints of the Governor, III. 393; Governor Shute desires more liberty, III. 393; rejects the vote of the Court concerning the war, III. 395; Walton appears before, III. 397; measures for the conduct of the war, III. 401, 402; manner of making payments for public service, III. 402, 403; the House of Representatives desired to withdraw a vote, III. 404; bills of credit issued, III. 414; expenses of the government and the war, III. 414, 415; encroachments of the House of Representatives, III. 415; difference of opinion with the House, III. 416, 417; new memorial against, III. 417; Shute's complaints of the House, III. 417, 418; accepts the Explanatory Charter, III. 419, 420; approves of the projected Synod, III. 421; demand of the King for a fixed salary of the Governor, IV. 3-34; vote of money to the Governor, IV. 6-8; declined to co-operate with the House in regard to Mr. Francis

COU

Wilks, IV. 25; refuses to concur in the protest against the removal to Salem, IV. 25, 26; refuse to concur in the action of the House, IV. 28; proposal to choose an Attorney-General, IV. 30, 31; vote to issue bills of credit, IV. 31; differs from the House with regard to the bills of credit, IV. 33, 35; differs from the House with regard to the payment of its agents, IV. 33; Lieutenant-Governor Dummer adjourns the Court, IV. 34, 35; refusal to pay the agents of the House, IV. 35-37; refusal to choose an Attorney-General, IV. 36; disapproves of the grant to Governor Burnet's children, IV. 36, 37; proposal concerning the fixed salary, IV. 44; Memorial to the King concerning the salary of the Governor, IV. 45; generous gifts to the Governor, IV. 45, 46; controversy concerning supplies and public payments, IV. 47-52; Address to the King and the House of Commons, concerning the supplies, IV. 50, 51; redemption of the bills of credit, IV. 52-58; Memorial to the King concerning the bills of credit, IV. 53; plan of a Land Bank, IV. 56-58; matters needing attention, IV. 140, 141; refuses to dismiss Wilks from office, IV. 142; renewed dispute concerning the salary of the Governor, IV. 143-145; restrictions upon its power, IV. 144; the President joins the Committee of War, IV. 147; plan to reduce Louisburg, IV. 149-152; reception to Pepperell, IV. 168; action taken concerning the impressing of seamen, IV. 175-178; the reform of the currency, IV. 186-192; effort to revise the laws of Massachusetts, IV. 192, 193; dispute concerning the right to appoint the Attorney General, IV. 193, 194; superseded by Thomas Pownall, IV. 232; farewell Address to Governor Pownall, IV. 255; reply to the speech of Bernard, IV. 296, 297; place held by Hutchinson, IV. 301; opposition to the demands of the Memorial relating to the neglect of the Sugar Act, IV. 303, 304; opposition to the question relating to the legal tender, IV. 317; petition from Salem and Marblehead, IV. 318-321; statement prepared by the House as a vindication of their course, IV. 322-324; manner of election of, IV. 334; effort to have Hutchinson act in England as agent, IV. 335, 336; a petition to be sent to the House of Commons, in relation to the Sugar

COU

Act, IV. 348; Address sent to Governor Bernard complaining of the Sugar Act, IV. 348, 349; attitude towards George III., IV. 386; the mob in Boston, IV. 390, 391; opinion in regard to the stamps, IV. 391; a reward offered for the detection of the rioters, IV. 394; delay in the action of the Courts, IV. 408, 409; refuses to provide barracks, IV. 416; the Counsellors pass through the ranks of soldiers, in the Town House, IV. 416; trouble of the troops with the people, IV. 418; place of meeting for the Court, IV. 420; gives the Governor no encouragement, at the time of the destruction of tea, IV. 430; Counsellors to be appointed by the Crown, IV. 431; Counsellors nominated in England, IV. 432, 433; the Mandamus Counsellors, IV. 433, 444; names of the Counsellors, IV. 441-444. See *General Court and Legislature of Massachusetts*.

Council of New France, the, I. 364.

Council of New Hampshire, the, military preparations to be made, II. 145; rights and duties of, II. 267; to be consulted on matters of legislation, etc., II. 268, 269; code of laws arranged, and other matters attended to, II. 268, 269; Mason causes trouble by his claims, II. 269, 270; changes in the elections of the members, II. 270; arrangements made by Mason and Cranfield, II. 271; proceedings of Mason and Cranfield, II. 275; quarrel of Phipps with Usher, III. 191, 192; summoned by Usher, III. 193; Bellomont's correspondence about New Hampshire, III. 196, 197; its officers appointed by the King, III. 200; claim of Governor Allen to lands, III. 319; Waldron to be admitted to, III. 323; question of bills of credit, III. 426; quarrel between Vaughan and Shute, III. 426, 427; disagreements with the House, IV. 59, 60; persons appointed, disaffected to the Governor, IV. 64; opposition to Governor Belcher, IV. 63, 64; the matter of boundary between the province and Massachusetts, IV. 66-72; differs from the House, IV. 71; question of the redemption of the bills of credit, IV. 258; payment of Mason's claim, IV. 267-269; names of the members of, IV. 450, 451. See *General Court and Legislature of New Hampshire*.

Council of New York, the, II. 356, 357.

COU

Council of Newfoundland, the, IV. 326, 327.

Council of Nova Scotia, the, III. 382; IV. 326, 327.

Council of Plymouth, the, II. 145, 212; to make preparations for war, II. 145. See *General Court of Plymouth*.

Council of Quebec, the, IV. 326, 327.

Council of Rhode Island, the, I. 381; to order military preparations, II. 145; attempt to control the military forces of, by England, III. 218-221, 331; description of the Counsellors, III. 222; claim of Governor Dudley, III. 325; effort of Dudley to control the militia, III. 325; choice of military officers, III. 333; matters pertaining to the militia, III. 333. See *General Court and Legislature of Rhode Island*.

Council of State, the, commission given to Coddington, I. 381; Coddington's commission revoked, I. 387, 388; matters pertaining to the government of the Providence Plantations, I. 388, 389; order sent to America to proclaim the younger Cromwell, II. 1.

Council of Virginia, the, I. 7, 10. See the *Virginia Company*.

Counsellors, the office identical with Assistants and Magistrates, I. 273; lists of their names, II. 387-394, 398, 399; IV. 441-451; Mandamus Counsellors, IV. 431, 433, 444.

Counsellors of Connecticut, the, displaced from office, IV. 427. See *Assistants and Magistrates*.

Counsellors of Gorgeana, the, I. 221.

Counsellors of King Charles I., the, I. 152.

Counsellors of Maine, the, I. 221. See *Assistants and Magistrates*.

Counsellors of Massachusetts, the, arrangements of the Provisional Government, II. 291; members of, II. 292; political history of several of the colonies, combined under their rule, II. 304; the oath of office administered, II. 319; summoned from different colonies, II. 320; appointed to represent Maine and New Hampshire, in Andros's Council, II. 333; appointed to represent Rhode Island, II. 334, 335; enlarged rule of Governor Andros, II. 355; referred to in the Declaration of the men of Boston, II. 371, 372; a message sent to Andros, II. 373; arrangements made in the new charter, III. 71, 233; troubles in the election of, III. 129, 233, 234, 235, 270, 277,

COU

- 301, 315, 370; IV. 30, 74; contents of the pamphlet arraigning Dudley, III. 283-289; to be appointed by the Crown, IV. 431, 433; names of, IV. 441-444. See *Assistants and Magistrates of Massachusetts*.
- Counsellors of New Hampshire*, the, duties of, II. 271; names of, II. 394; IV. 450, 451.
- Counsellors of New Jersey*, the, to settle a question of boundary, IV. 68-72.
- Counsellors of New York*, the, to settle a question of boundary, IV. 68-72.
- Counsellors of Nova Scotia*, the, to settle questions of boundary, IV. 68-72.
- Counsellors of Rhode Island*, the, to settle a question of boundary, IV. 68-72; described by Lord Bellomont, III. 222.
- Counties*, in Massachusetts, I. 256; in Rhode Island, IV. 129.
- County Courts*, the, I. 334; punishment of Quakers, II. 16.
- County of Cornwall*, II. 317. See *Cornwall*.
- County of Devonshire*, II. 109.
- County of Middlesex*, II. 327.
- Court of Appeal*, the, desire of the Royal Commissioners, II. 75.
- Court of Assistants*, the, I. 115-117; III. 205; rights of appeal to England, III. 204, 205.
- Court of Chancery*, the, British forms copied from, for Agamenticus, I. 222; passes a decree vacating the charter of Massachusetts, II. 258, 259; its decree, II. 261; plot of Mason and Cranfield, II. 270, 271; vacation of the charter of Massachusetts, III. 9; a revision of the decree against the charter of Massachusetts, solicited, III. 58, 65; in Massachusetts, III. 129; alleged rumors of establishment in America, III. 285; Governor Bernard a practitioner in, IV. 255.
- Court of Common Pleas in England*, the, verdict concerning the claims of Mason and Gorges, II. 211, 212; powers of, III. 158.
- Court of Common Pleas in Massachusetts*, the, III. 128, 158; IV. 46, 154, 302; position in, desired by Shirley, IV. 136; James Otis made Judge of, IV. 336; forbears to enforce the use of stamped paper, IV. 408.
- Court of Deputies*, the, I. 198. See *Deputies*.
- Court of Elections*, the, I. 121, 242; II. 71, 103, 238; IV. 147; permission

COV

- necessary to speak in, III. 210. See *Elections*.
- Court of Equity*, the, III. 156.
- Court of Exchequer in England*, the, III. 158; authorized to grant writs of assistance, IV. 308; matter of the writs of assistance, IV. 308, 311; questions in relation to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, IV. 308, 313; power of, over the custom-house officers, IV. 309.
- Court of Gorgeana*, the, I. 221.
- Court of Judicature*, the, I. 221; II. 271.
- Court of Justice*, the, for the King's trial, I. 109, 155, 171.
- Court of King's Bench*, the, verdict concerning the derelictions of Massachusetts and the Mason and Gorges claims, II. 211, 212; a *quo warranto* to be brought against Massachusetts, II. 240, 250-253; case of Massachusetts tried before, II. 255; John Holt, the new Chief Justice of, III. 9; vacation of the charter of Massachusetts, III. 9; efforts of the agents of Massachusetts in behalf of her charter, III. 65; powers of, III. 158; IV. 308.
- Court of Magistrates*, the, in Plymouth, I. 147; of New Haven, I. 231; methods of administration in Connecticut, I. 232, 233; none but church-members enabled to sit, in Massachusetts and New Haven, I. 287, 288. See *Magistrates*.
- Court of Oyer and Terminer*, the, III. 99, 100; called to try the witches, III. 99, 100.
- Court of Probate*, the, forbears to enforce the use of stamped paper, IV. 408.
- Court of Providence Plantations*, the, I. 391; disturbances in, I. 391.
- Court of Sessions in Massachusetts*, the, III. 128, 129.
- Court of Special Commission*, the, cruelty shown to those accused of witchcraft, III. 104.
- Court of Vice-Admiralty*, the, III. 149; for New England and New York, III. 159.
- Courts*. See *Admiralty Court*, *Commission Court*, *General Courts*, *High Commission Court*, *High Court of Justice*, *Inferior Courts*, *Merchants' Courts*, *Plantation Courts*, *Quarterly Courts*, *Recorder's Court*, *Strangers' Courts*, *Supreme Court*, *Superior Court*, *Town Courts*.
- Court Orders*, I. 147.
- Court Street*, former name of, II. 12.
- Coventry*, Henry, Secretary of State

CRA

in England, II. 199; a letter sent to, II. 204; letters from Massachusetts, II. 216; dispute about a piece of land, III. 449, 450; disturbance about Fitch, III. 456; vote of the borough, IV. 74.

Cradock, Matthew, chosen to be Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company, I. 99; reads propositions concerning the Government before the General Court, I. 105; the charter transferred to America, I. 105, 106; Winthrop chosen Governor of the Company, I. 106; one of the Long Parliament, I. 108; Mystic assigned to, I. 118; appears for the colony, I. 132, 133; ordered to produce the charter of the Massachusetts Company, I. 136, 137; transmits a copy of the royal Order of Council, I. 152; pleads the defence for the Massachusetts Company, I. 159.

Cranberry, the, I. 24.

Crandall, John, his experience in Lynn and Boston with Clarke, I. 385, 386; his sentence, I. 385, 386.

Cranfield, Edward, Governor of New Hampshire, plot with Mason, II. 270, 271; made Governor of New Hampshire, II. 271, 398; his course of action in New Hampshire, II. 271, 272; his despotism, II. 271-274; falls out with Mason, II. 272; rage of the people, II. 273; arbitrary value set on coin, II. 274, 275; his revenge on the Assembly, II. 274, 275; convokes the Legislature, II. 274, 275; determined to raise money, II. 274, 275; rebuked by powers in England, II. 275; arrangements with New York for troops, II. 275; glad to leave New Hampshire, II. 275, 276; departure of, for the West Indies, II. 275-277; one of a commission to inquire into the claims to the Narragansett country, II. 281, 282; Mason's claims, III. 197.

Cranston, Colonel Samuel, Governor of Rhode Island, III. 326; IV. 446; commissions to armed vessels, III. 326; his death, III. 430; IV. 130; his term of office, IV. 130.

Crime. See *Capital Crimes*.

Crocker, Rev. Josiah, revival preaching of, IV. 120.

Cromwell, Oliver, victory of, I. vi; angry with Vane and Adams, I. 109; his second and third Parliaments, I. 109; favors the clergy of New England, I. 223; the Independents in sympathy with, I. 323; the Levelers and Ranters, I. 340; his death,

CUD

I. 363, 393; II. 1, 27; troops sent to America, I. 373; his victory at Worcester, I. 392; scheme to conquer New Netherlands, I. 396; overtures to Massachusetts, I. 404, 406; conquest of Jamaica, I. 404, 408; his influence over Massachusetts, I. 405, 406; II. 28; III. 302, 303; his action regarding the Navigation Act, I. 405, 406; II. 28, see *Navigation Act*; attitude of Massachusetts towards, I. 406, 407; made monarch of England, I. 406; unproclaimed in New England, II. 1; difficulty in restraining the Quakers, II. 6; Whalley, the regicide, cousin of, II. 22; employs Whalley in Scotland, II. 22; his Major-Generals, II. 22; book of Eliot published at the time of his death, II. 27; Clarke's business with, II. 48; his good will sought by Rhode Island, II. 48; independence of Massachusetts in the time of, II. 81; Leverett an old soldier under, II. 204; position of Massachusetts, II. 259; military strength of England, IV. 287.

Cromwell, the son of the Protector, II. 1; unproclaimed in New England, II. 1.

Cross, the Red, obliterated from the colors of the train-band, I. 169, 170, 171, 175; origin of its use in the King's colors, I. 169; the King's colors to be shown from the Castle, I. 171, 175.

Crown Lawyers, the, report of, on the legal condition of Massachusetts, II. 220, 221; disallow the claim of the colonists, in the Great Charter, III. 5.

Crown Point, expeditions against the French, IV. 172, 217, 220-223, 227, 228, 245, 265, 266, 273; French posts established, IV. 182, 199, 208; expense of one of the expeditions, IV. 221; taken by Amherst, IV. 245.

Crowne, John, loss sustained by his father in regard to Nova Scotia, II. 279, 280.

Crows, I. 25.

Cuba, exports and imports, IV. 331.

Cudworth, Major James, Deputy-Governor of Plymouth, one of the principal inhabitants of the town of Scituate, II. 37; degraded from office, II. 37, 38; reinstated in the Magistracy, II. 109; his tenderness for the Quakers, II. 109, 387; assumes command against the Indians, II. 131; presents an Address to the King, II. 277; elected Deputy-Governor of Plymouth, II. 277, 387; his death, II. 277.

CUL

- Culpepper*, Lord, account of New England given to the Lords of the Committee, II. 237; recommended for General Governor of New England by Randolph, II. 238.
- Cumberland*, III. 381.
- Cummaquid*, Indian name for what is now Barnstable, I. 71.
- Cupheage*, former name of Stratford, I. 231.
- Currency*. See *Bills of Credit*.
- Currier*, the, I. 293.
- Curwin*, Jonathan, a member of the Colonial Council, III. 96; IV. 441; tried for witchcraft, III. 96, 97; his mother-in-law accused of witchcraft, III. 102.
- Cushing*, Thomas, Speaker of the House, his course in regard to the quarrel with Governor Bernard, IV. 318-324, 336; member of the House in Massachusetts, IV. 336.
- Cushman*, Robert, a Puritan, I. 50; solicits security for religious freedom, from the King, I. 54; sent to arrange terms with the Virginia Company, I. 55; goes to London, I. 57; one of the Mayflower's Company, I. 59; emigrates to America, I. 59; returns to England, I. 73, 74.
- Custom-House*, the, distinction made between money paid at, and taxes strictly so-called, IV. 354, 355; the Stamp Act fails of execution, IV. 408; Act passed giving the control of certain provincial moneys to England, IV. 410, 411; rude treatment of a servant of, IV. 419. See *Commissioners of the Customs*.
- Customers or Collectors of the Customs*, the, II. 283.
- Customs, Law of*, II. 93, 94, 269, 283.
- Customs of Puritanism*, I. 299-301.
- Customs, Surveyor of*, III. 149; IV. 307.
- Cutler*, Rev. Mr., remonstrates against the Synod, III. 421.
- Cutler*, Rev. Timothy, D. D., minister of Stratford, III. 443, 444; made rector of Yale College, III. 443, 444; IV. 108; conforms to the Church of England, III. 444; dismissed from Yale, III. 444; Episcopal minister of Christ Church, Boston, IV. 108; his animadversions upon the revivals in Boston, IV. 108, 109.
- Cutts*, Lord, III. 181.
- Cutts*, John, President of New Hampshire, II. 267, 270, 398; III. 140; his death, II. 270; his widow killed by Indians, III. 140.
- Cuttyhunk*, I. 4.
- Out-worms*, I. 26.
- Cycles*. See *Periods*.

DAN

- DAGGETT*, Rev. Naphtali, elected Professor of Divinity at Yale, IV. 276.
- D'Ailleboust*, Governor of New France, I. 364.
- Dalrymple*, Colonel, commanding officer of the British troops at the time of the Boston Massacre, IV. 419.
- Damariscotta*, fight with Indians at, III. 146.
- Dana*, Francis, Chief Justice, the debate on the Stamp Act, IV. 375.
- Danby*, Lord, his party in the ascendant, II. 210; at one time Lord High Treasurer of England, III. 8; his favor sought, III. 63; rules, in Parliament, III. 77; his disposition toward Massachusetts, III. 186.
- Dancing*, Indian dances, I. 37; rules against, in New England, I. 299, 300.
- Dand*, one of the Remonstrants in the Presbyterian Controversy, I. 327; effort to establish Presbyterian Churches in Massachusetts, I. 327, 328; fined, I. 328.
- Danforth*, Thomas, Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts, of committee to consider the condition of affairs in Massachusetts, II. 28, 29; his position in New England, II. 29, 192, 242; III. 228; report in relation to the charter of Charles I. to Massachusetts, II. 29; matters pertaining to the proclamation of Charles II. in Massachusetts, II. 29, 30; a Magistrate of Massachusetts, II. 77, 389; sent with other Magistrates to arrange matters in Maine, II. 77, 78; elected Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts, II. 231, 388; III. 20; IV. 441; Randolph uses his influence against, II. 238; leaves the government in Maine to attend the General Court, II. 242; instructions to the agents in relation to trade, coinage, etc., II. 242, 243; head of the popular party, II. 245, 246; one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, II. 248; appointed President of Maine, II. 266; takes part in the proclamation of James II., II. 289; complained of by Mr. Randolph, II. 301; discharged by Dudley's Council from the Presidency of Maine, II. 304; the revolution under Andros, II. 370; escorted to the council chamber, II. 370; elected Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts after the Revolution, III. 20; IV. 441; occupied with the affairs of Maine, III. 22; to draw up complaints against Andros, III. 53; dropped from office under the new charter, III. 79;

DAN

- treachery of the Indians, III. 85, 86; associate of the Chief Justice of the Superior Court, III. 128; restored to power by popular favor, III. 130; his daughter married to Andrew Belcher, IV. 88.
- Dangerfield*, III. 114.
- Danvers*, originally called Salem Village, III. 94; declaration of Ann Putnam concerning her connection with witchcraft, III. 107.
- D'Anville*, Duke, IV. 172; his expedition against New England, IV. 172, 173, 213, 261; his sudden death, IV. 113.
- Dartmouth*, Earl of, assists the College which is named for him, IV. 362.
- Dartmouth*, Lord, Secretary of State in England, III. 255, 260; letter sent to, concerning the expedition against Quebec, III. 313.
- Dartmouth*, town in America, inhabitants of, butchered by Indians, II. 131; destitution of inhabitants, caused by Philip's War, II. 182.
- Dartmouth*, town in England, I. 320; affair showing the attitude of Massachusetts towards the Parliament, I. 320, 321.
- Dartmouth College*, first President of, IV. 112; founders of, IV. 361, 362; number of graduates, at the first graduation of, IV. 362.
- D'Aulnay*, head of a fur-trading company, I. 315; his quarrel with La Tour, I. 315-317, 336, 357; goes to France, I. 316; ordered to arrest La Tour, I. 316; copy of the King's commission to, I. 317; his treatment of a Boston vessel, I. 336; his death, I. 336.
- Davenport*, Captain, commands the Castle in Boston Harbor, II. 57; the Royal Commissioners expected, II. 57, 58; serves in the Pequot war, II. 148.
- Davenport*, Captain, Jr., killed in Philip's War, II. 148.
- Davenport*, Rev. James, minister at Southhold, IV. 89; his doctrine, IV. 90; his career in Massachusetts, IV. 91-94, 103; tried at Boston, IV. 93; publishes his "Confessions and Retractions," IV. 103, 106; intoning adopted by his followers, IV. 113; his revival work in Connecticut, IV. 113, 115, 116; arraigned before the Assembly, IV. 115, 116; to be conveyed to Southhold, IV. 116; effects of his work in Rhode Island, IV. 119, 120.
- Davenport*, Rev. John, Vicar of St. Stephen's Church, in London, I.

DEC

- 135, 205, 225; arrival of, in New England, I. 205, 226; attends the Synod at Newtown, I. 205; to deal with Mrs. Hutchinson, I. 209; one of a company of settlers at Quinnipiack, I. 226-229; hopes regarding Winthrop's place of settlement, I. 396; prepares a letter of warning, concerning the dispute about the baptismal rite, II. 19; harbors the Regicides, II. 23-25; assurances given by Winthrop to, II. 43; depreciates the proposed union of New Haven with Connecticut, II. 44, 100; presents grievances of New Haven, II. 47, 48; pastor of the First Church in New Haven, II. 100; his attachment for New Haven, II. 100; installed in Boston, II. 101; opposition to his opinions, II. 101-103; his death, II. 104.
- David*, the census in Israel, IV. 330.
- David's*, James, name assumed by Dixwell, the regicide, II. 26.
- Davis*, Captain, serves in the Eastern country, II. 877.
- Davis*, Captain Isaac, killed at Concord, IV. 437.
- Davis*, Nicholas, leaves Massachusetts, II. 11, 12; puts the law banishing Quakers to the proof, II. 11, 12.
- Davis*, Simon, assumes command at Brookfield, in Philip's War, II. 134.
- Davis*, Captain William, his instructions concerning the Royal Commissioners, II. 56, 57.
- Davison*, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, I. 48.
- Dead*, the, no religious service at the burial of, I. 289.
- Dean of Christ Church*, the, II. 101.
- Deane*, Thomas, the Royal Commissioners declare their intention to try his case, II. 76; the hearing does not take place, II. 76; summoned by the Court, II. 77.
- Death*, penalty of, I. 281, 282. See *Capital Crime*.
- De Barre*, Governor-General of Canada, III. 33; expedition led by, against the Five Nations, III. 33.
- De Bourgainville*, officer of Montcalm, IV. 249; his correspondence with Pitt, IV. 249; his action after the battle at Quebec, IV. 249.
- Debts*, requirements of the Stamp Act, IV. 376.
- De Callières*, Royal Governor of Montreal, III. 30; his plan for attacking the northern English colonies, III. 30; succeeds Frontenac in office, III. 237; his influence upon the Indians, III. 237, 238; his death, III. 238.

DEC

- December*, the twenty-second, a memorable day, I. 64.
Declaration issued by New Haven, II. 47.
Declaration of Breda, the, II. 254. See *Breda*.
Declaration of Charles II., the, against Massachusetts, II. 254, 255.
Declaration of Independence, the, a declaration similar to, in sentiment, I. 281.
Declaration of Indulgence, the, by James II., II. 344, 356, 358.
Declaration of Right, the, III. 12.
Declaration of Rights, the, of the second General Congress, IV. 433.
"Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston," etc., read from the gallery of the Town House in Boston, II. 371, 372; a copy of, presented to the Privy Council, III. 56.
"Declaration of the Rights and Grievances," etc., IV. 400, 401.
Declaratory Act, the, passed by Parliament, IV. 407, 409.
Dedham, I. 343; II. 146, 170; description of primitive meeting-house in, I. 296; Eliot preaches to the Indians, I. 334; its distance from the coast, II. 82, 83.
Deeds, regulations of the Stamp Act, IV. 376.
Deer, I. 31, 80; sinews of, used in making fishing nets and bows, I. 32, 33; skins of, used for clothing, I. 298.
Deer Island, in Boston Harbor, II. 169; Indians withdrawn to, II. 169; unjust treatment of Samuel Shrimpton, II. 348, 349.
Deerfield, attacked by Indians, II. 137, 141; III. 254, 255, 332; the action and fate of Captain Lothrop's party, II. 141-143; the town abandoned, II. 141-143; Bloody Brook, II. 142; a memorial stone for the dead erected at South Deerfield, II. 142; rumors of war, III. 235; sacked by French and Indians, III. 240-244, 254, 269; religious awakening, IV. 79.
"Defence of the Charters," the, by Jeremiah Dummer, III. 417, 431; arguments of, III. 454-456; of publication of, III. 454.
Defoe, Daniel, a pupil of Rev. Mr. Morton, II. 344.
De la Jonquière, his fleet destroyed by Admiral Anson, IV. 178.
De Lancey, Lieutenant-Governor of New York, IV. 200; relations with Thomas Pownall, IV. 232.
Delaware, claims of Stuyvesant, to land adjoining, I. 337; interests of

DEP

- Carr, II. 78; excepted from Andros's jurisdiction, II. 355; delegates from, sent to the Colonial Congress, IV. 399.
Delaware Bay, one of the early boundaries of New England, I. 1; II. 39; settlement of Swedes, I. 260; extent of Andros's Commission, II. 118; return of Captain Kidd, III. 166; boundary of New York, IV. 359.
Delaware River, project of settlement, by the New Haven people, I. 314; Dutch efforts at settlement, I. 366; land adjoining, given to the Duke of York, II. 58, 59, 118; called the South River, II. 64.
De Lévi, General, IV. 250; succeeds Montcalm in command, IV. 250; engagement with the English, IV. 250; withdraws to Montreal, IV. 250, 251.
Delft-Haven, I. 57; departure of the *Speedwell*, I. 57, 58.
Delloway, Bay of. See *Delaware Bay*.
Delusions. See *Witchcraft*.
Demonology, treatise on, by James I. of England, III. 117.
Denison, Daniel, Major-General, I. 368; presents a statement to the Conference, I. 368; retracts the distinctions in relation to the Articles on War, I. 873; rumors concerning, reported to Charles II., II. 51, 52; assumes command against the Dutch, II. 115, 116; Mugg, an Indian, surrenders to, II. 178; disposed to yield to the encroachments of the King, II. 229; Randolph's suggestions, II. 238; his death, II. 247; his wife, a sister of Governor Dudley, II. 248.
Denison, George, Captain, II. 160; attacks the Indians in the Narragansett Country, II. 160, 161; takes Canonchet prisoner, II. 160.
Denmark, I. 107; Theophilus Eaton sent to, in a diplomatic capacity, I. 107, 225.
De Nonville, Marquis, succeeds to the government of Canada, III. 33; attacks the Senecas, III. 33, 34.
Deplorable State of New England. See *"The Deplorable,"* etc.
Deptford, town of, II. 308.
Deputies, sent to the General Court, I. 126, 137; powers of, I. 137, 259, 278; elected by the freemen of the towns they represented, I. 141; their negative voice, I. 141, 254, 259; prospect of hostility from England, I. 155, 156; trouble with those from Salem, I. 165; number sent from each town, I. 172, 250; sanction

DEP

given to a party desiring to remove to Connecticut, I. 180; sent to the General Court at Connecticut, I. 183; exempt from being church members, I. 220; the Legislature of Maine, I. 221; meetings of, provided for, in Connecticut, I. 232, 333; rules and regulations of, in Plymouth, I. 242, 243; number of, increased in Massachusetts, I. 250; of Massachusetts do not consent to the demands of the King, I. 257; termination of a controversy with the Magistrates, I. 257; division of the Legislature of Massachusetts into two branches, I. 257-259; the formation of the Confederacy, I. 262-268; requirements concerning place of residence, I. 273; III. 130, 131, 416; manner of election, I. 273, see *Elections*; manner of payment in Massachusetts and other colonies, I. 273, 274; must be church members, I. 287, 288; no prefix to their names, usually, I. 300; changes in their administration, I. 318, 319, 356; opposition to the matter concerning Vassall, I. 326; appoint John Norton for election preacher, I. 357; quarrel of Hobart with the Magistrates, I. 357-360; the triumph of Governor Winthrop in Court, I. 358-360; position assigned them, I. 361; pronounce their decision in the case of the Dutch, I. 368; number to be sent from Yorkshire County, I. 403; contest in Massachusetts against the law banishing the Quakers, II. 11; appointed on a committee to consider the King's mandate, II. 36; privileges granted by the new charter of Connecticut, II. 41; sent from the disbanded colony of New Haven to Connecticut, II. 67; to reconstruct the government of Maine, II. 81; discussions concerning the questions of the Synod, II. 102, 103; action concerning the division in the First Church in Boston, II. 102, 103; their indifference to office in Rhode Island, II. 110, 111; of committee to draw up an Address to the King, II. 205; indifferent to prerogative principles, II. 237; belonging to the popular party, II. 245, 246; strength of the popular party in, II. 245; Massachusetts desires to preserve her government intact, II. 252; difference of opinion with the Magistrates, about a question of an Address, II. 257; to be sent from Maine to the General Court, II. 265; one of the branches of the Legislature in Maine, II. 235, 236; rules and regu-

DER

lations of, in New Hampshire, II. 267, 271, 272; no arrangement for, as House of Assembly, under Randolph's commission, II. 291; scheme of government proposed by Randolph, II. 290, 291; refused recognition as officials by Dudley and Randolph, II. 292; matters pertaining to, in Connecticut, under Andros, II. 338; surrender of the charter of Connecticut, II. 338-342; the Revolution in New England, II. 370-386; assume their new duties and form a new General Court, II. 378, 379; their part in the new government, II. 379; charges sent against the oppressors of New England, II. 382; meeting in Massachusetts, after the deposition of Andros, II. 382; assembling of the House, II. 382, 383; resumption of the government in Massachusetts, II. 382-386; their pay in Connecticut, III. 210; their pay in Rhode Island, III. 217; disapproval of rebuilding the fort at Pemaquid, III. 233; to prepare the laws of Rhode Island for the press, III. 434; from the French Neutrals, refuse to take the oath of allegiance, IV. 210; dispute with Governor Wentworth, IV. 269-271. See *General Court*, *House of Representatives*, and *Legislature*.

Deputy-Governor, election of, in Massachusetts, I. 98, 118, 123, 126, see *Elections*; matters pertaining to, in New Haven, I. 231; to act with the Assistants, I. 273; office of, exists in all the colonies excepting Plymouth, I. 273; manner of payment in Massachusetts, I. 273; manner of payment in other colonies, I. 273, 274; his rights and duties, I. 273; privileges granted, in the charter of Connecticut, II. 41; the oath of allegiance taken, in Massachusetts, II. 222; to be appointed in New Hampshire, II. 271; surrender of the charter of Connecticut, II. 338-342; resumption of the government in New England, II. 382-386; names of, in New England, II. 387, 388, 390-392, 394; IV. 441, 445-447, 450. See *Governor*.

Deputy-President of Massachusetts, the, officer in the Provisional Government instituted in 1686, II. 291, 292.

Deputy-President of the Narragansett Country, the, I. 247, 348.

Deputy-Secretary, under Andros the, II. 330. See *West*.

Dermer, Captain, his expeditions to

DER

- America, I. 16, 18; his death, I. 18.
- De Rouville*, Hertel, III. 40; expedition against Salmon Falls, III. 40.
- De Rouville*, Hertel, Jr., the expedition against and sack of Deerfield, III. 241-244; expeditions against Haverhill and other towns, III. 254.
- Derry*, the Deanery of George Berkeley, IV. 182.
- Desborough*, General, I. 229.
- Desborough*, Samuel, brother of General Desborough, arrives at New Haven, I. 229.
- Deserters*, law against, III. 261, 262.
- D'Estourelle*, successor to D'Anville in the expedition against America, IV. 173; commits suicide, IV. 173.
- De Vaudreuil*, Governor of Montreal, III. 238; succeeds De Callières in office, III. 238; proposes a truce, III. 248; his attack upon Nicholson, III. 263; information from, quoted by the Indians, III. 388; his anger with the English, III. 390; letters to Rasle, III. 390, 391; his intentions towards the English, III. 390, 391, 433; letter from Governor Shute, III. 392; letter from Rhode Island to, III. 433; the taunt to Montcalm, IV. 248; signs the capitulation surrendering Canada to George II., IV. 251.
- Devon*, County of, I. 73.
- Devonshire*, England, IV. 153.
- Devonshire*, County of, organized in Massachusetts, II. 109; deserted by the inhabitants, II. 180.
- Devonshire*, Duke of, his ministry, IV. 236.
- Dexter*, Gregory, elected President of Providence, I. 387.
- Diamond*. See *Cape Diamond*.
- Dice*, I. 299.
- Dickinson*, Rev. Mr., a Presbyterian clergyman, IV. 94; a treatise of, published, IV. 94.
- Dictator of England*, the, I. 406. See *Cromwell*.
- Dieskau*, Baron, his arrival in America, IV. 211; his arrival at Quebec, IV. 216; encounter with the English troops, IV. 217-220; his troops, IV. 217, 218; his defeat, IV. 219, 220, 279; his loss, IV. 219; carried to England a prisoner, IV. 219; liberated and returns to France, IV. 219, 220; succeeded by Marquis de Montcalm, IV. 228; service of Blanchard against, IV. 263; his defeat due to Phineas Lyman, IV. 279.
- Diet*. See *Food*.
- Dinwiddie*, Governor of Virginia, IV.

DOR

- 204; proposes two Confederacies, IV. 204; complains to the French commander of maltreatment of his subjects, IV. 205.
- "*Discipline, the, agreed upon by General Council*," etc., III. 343.
- Dissenters*, severe measures against, I. 48-50; affairs under James I., I. 92-94; conflict between Presbytery and Independency, I. 322-333; the Declaration of Indulgence, II. 344; position of, under James II., II. 351, 358; position of William III., III. 3-12, 350, 359, 360, 463; ministers in England favor Dudley, III. 182; Sir Henry Ashurst, the head of the Dissenting interest in Parliament, III. 312; fears of England concerning, III. 421, 422; charges against Belcher, IV. 73, 74; oaths and obligations required of, in England, IV. 117; in New England, IV. 183; conduct of, in England, during Queen Anne's reign, IV. 289; lack of sympathy among English Dissenters with the colonists, IV. 291. See *Non-Conformists* and *Puritans*.
- Distributor of Stamps*. See *Stamp Distributors*.
- Dixwell*, Colonel, the regicide, II. 26; name assumed by, II. 26; his life in America, II. 26.
- Dogbane*, affords a substitute for hemp, I. 24; used in fishing-nets, I. 32.
- Dogs* executed for complicity in witchcraft, III. 102.
- Dongan*, Governor of New York, II. 275; effort to annex Connecticut to New York, II. 313; succeeds Andros in office, II. 332; his management of the affairs at Cornwall, II. 332, 354; his extortion in Cornwall, II. 332, 354; his levy of taxes rescinded, II. 357.
- Dorchester*, America, I. 115; name of, in Indian times, I. 115; establishment of a church, I. 115, 116; settlement at, I. 118; fortifications erected, I. 156; people wish to go to Connecticut, I. 178, 180-183; party travels to the Connecticut, I. 181-183; Mason is Deputy for, I. 187; Plymouth rivals complain of the Connecticut settlement, I. 239; Eliot preaches to the Indians, I. 334; the Atherton Company, II. 49, 50, see *Atherton Company*; cases of witchcraft, III. 91; death of Governor Stoughton, III. 176; semicircle of troops surrounding General Gage, IV. 438, 439.
- Dorchester*, England, I. 94; furnishes large numbers of emigrants, I. 94.

DOR

- Dorchester*, Lord, I. 153; assists in procuring the charter for Massachusetts, I. 153.
- Dorchester Adventurers*, the, I. 94; formation of, I. 94, 95; settlement at Cape Ann, I. 95; failure of their attempt at Cape Ann, I. 95, 96.
- Dorchester Heights*, works laid out by Colonel Gridley, IV. 162.
- Dorset*, I. 94.
- Dort*, Synod of, III. 3.
- Dotey*, Edward, passenger in the Mayflower, I. 59.
- Douglas*, a Scottish historian, IV. 162.
- Dover*, former name of, I. 78, 219; settlement established at, I. 78; places itself under the protection of Massachusetts, I. 219; application to the General Court, II. 77; suffers from Indian attacks and cruelties, II. 174, 176; III. 24-27, 40, 41, 88, 139-141, 183, 245, 246, 254, 406, 407; four hundred Indians offer to make a treaty, II. 176; prisoners taken by Waldron, II. 183; III. 25, commissions granted by Massachusetts vacated, II. 232; courts of justice to be held at, II. 268, 269; on the frontier line of Massachusetts, III. 24; Indian attack on the garrison-houses and Major Waldron, III. 25-27; attack of French and Indians, III. 139; town of New Hampshire, III. 324, 411. See *Cochecho*.
- Dowdney*, Richard, a Quaker, treatment of, II. 9, 10.
- Downing*, Emmanuel, I. 170; his daughter, the wife of Governor Bradstreet, II. 230.
- Downs*, the, I. 135.
- Drake*, III. 165.
- Dress*, in New England, I. 249, 297, 298; III. 399.
- Drinking healths*, the custom forbidden, I. 249.
- Droughts* in New England, I. 21.
- Druggets*, III. 399.
- Druillettes*, Gabriel, seeks aid from New England, for New France, I. 304.
- Drum*, the, I. 291.
- Drunkenness*, I. 86.
- Duck*, the, a native of New England, I. 25.
- Duck* manufactured in New England, IV. 127.
- Dudley*, Edward, son of Joseph Dudley, II. 372; sent by Andros to invite a conference of the citizens, II. 372.
- Dudley*, Joseph, President and Governor of Massachusetts, a son of Thomas Dudley, II. 205, 248, 294;

DUD

of committee to draw up an Address to the King, II. 205; a Magistrate of Massachusetts, II. 205, 229; inclined to yield to the encroachments of the King, II. 229; favored by Randolph, II. 238, 244, 290; receives instructions as agent in England for Massachusetts, II. 241-244, 251, 252; his early circumstances, II. 248, 294-296, 376; the ruling spirit in the moderate party, II. 247, 248; educated at Harvard College, II. 248, 376; his military position, II. 248; his name in New England history, II. 248; his many offices, II. 248, 249; his intimacy with Bradstreet, II. 249; arrival in England, II. 249; statements of the agents, II. 249, 250; receives special instructions from the General Court, II. 251, 252; Assistant of Massachusetts, II. 256; urges the Court to submit to the King, II. 256, 257; dropped from the Assistants, II. 257; private letter to, concerning the vacating of the charter, II. 258; his satisfaction, II. 260; his position and sympathy with the foe, II. 263; of Commission to inquire into the claims of the King's Province, II. 281, 282; put forward by Randolph, II. 290; disaffection towards, II. 291; left out of the Magistracy, II. 291; appointed President of the new Government in Massachusetts, II. 292, 306; lays his commission before the General Court of Massachusetts, II. 292, 293; his character, II. 294-296, 376; his profession and walk in life, II. 295, 296; his ambition and course of action, II. 294-296; complained of by Mr. Randolph, II. 301, 302; his relations with Randolph, II. 295, 296; III. 227; chief trustee for the "Society for Propagating the Gospel," etc., II. 302; the political history of the colonies united under his government, II. 304; his act with reference to the government of the Narragansett country, II. 307, 308; his visit to the King's Province, II. 308; his clearness of mind, II. 308; his government inaugurated in Massachusetts, II. 309; a letter urging union between Massachusetts and Connecticut, II. 311; his desire to annex Connecticut to Massachusetts, II. 311-313; Sir Edmund Andros appointed to take the chief magistracy of New England, II. 313; his territory comes under Andros, II. 317; appointed a censor of the press, II. 320; relations with An-

DUD

dros, II. 321; relations with Stoughton, II. 321; III. 177; judge of the Superior Court, II. 321; judges the Ipswich offenders, II. 327; the Sudbury men examined by, II. 365; his commission considered illegal, II. 371; the Revolution in the Seventeenth Century, II. 371; informed of the uprising in Massachusetts, II. 375; taken under guard to Roxbury, II. 376; his position, and the feeling of the people towards, II. 376; charges against, II. 382; taken to Roxbury, but remanded to gaol, II. 382, 383; the laws revised by the General Court, III. 20; an order to send the prisoners to England, III. 53; summoned before the Lords of the Committee, III. 62; sails for Boston, III. 62; commissioned as Counsellor of New York, III. 62; contemptuous conduct of, III. 184; prosecutions instituted against Phipps, III. 188; Chief Justice of New York, III. 149; his treatment of Leisler, III. 149, 155, 181; seeks to be Governor of Massachusetts, III. 149, 150, 181; Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Wight, III. 150, 181; his seat in Parliament, III. 150, 181; opposition of Lord Bellomont to, III. 150, 155; attitude of Massachusetts towards, III. 176; succeeds Lord Bellomont in office, III. 181-184, 224, 225, 284; attitude of Massachusetts towards, III. 181, 182; the opposition of the Mathers towards, III. 181, 182, 227, 291, 294-297; the opposition of the Mathers weakens, III. 182, 183, 227; curries favor with the Dissenting ministers in England, III. 182, 183; produces a petition from Massachusetts men in his favor, III. 183; obtains his appointment as Governor of Massachusetts, III. 184; IV. 441; his age, III. 184; his return to Massachusetts, III. 184; Hezekiah Usher, Counsellor under, III. 188; his administration favored by the English, III. 224, 225; his administration as Governor of Massachusetts, III. 224-349; his arrival in Boston, III. 225; offices held by, III. 225; IV. 441; treacherous to the old charter, III. 225; feeling towards Massachusetts, III. 226-228; Address to the Legislature, III. 227, 228; meets the Council, III. 226; his manifesto, III. 227; introduces the subject of the fixed salary, III. 228; IV. 2; matters relating to his salary, III. 228, 229, 269-274, 299, 301, 317, 328, 466, 467; IV. 2, 145; application

DUD

for salary for himself and assistant, III. 228, 229; goes to Pemaquid, III. 229; a Court convened in the name of Queen Anne, III. 231, 232; letter from Colonel Quarry, describing, III. 232, 233; his anger concerning the government, III. 232; his reception of, and remarks to, the Legislature, III. 233; rejects the election of Counsellors, III. 233, 234, 270, 277, 301, 315; letter to the Lords of Trade, III. 234, 235; his expedition to the Indians, III. 235, 236; sends two parties of men into the Eastern country, III. 240; seeks aid from other colonies, during the French war, III. 248; suspicions against, III. 250; message to Colonel March, III. 251; his chagrin, III. 253; meets the General Court, III. 255; ambition of Lord Bolingbroke, III. 260; to hasten matters in the expedition against Canada, III. 260; impresses seamen, III. 263, 265; treaty with Indians, III. 265; quarrels with the General Court, III. 266-276; his relations to the Representatives, III. 298-301; election of a Speaker of the House, III. 273, 274; complaints about, reach England, III. 277; disaffection towards, III. 277, 278; trials of Rouse and Vetch, III. 277-281; attitude towards the Church of England, III. 277, 359; hostility against, inflamed anew, III. 281; a memorial against presented to Queen Anne, III. 281-283; the pamphlet entitled "The Deploable State of New England," etc., III. 283-289; receives a copy of the memorial, III. 282; referred to in the "Defence," etc., III. 289; his character considered, III. 289, 290; President of the Colonial Council, III. 291; enmity of the Mathers for, III. 291; relations with the Mathers, III. 291, 294, 295; his interest in Harvard College, III. 292; his remarks to the General Court, III. 292; Harvard College obtains its charter, III. 292-294; promotion of President Leverett, III. 294; accusations against, III. 295; grants of money to, from the House, III. 299, 301; his military management, III. 301, 302; collisions with the government of Massachusetts, III. 301; report to the Lords of Trade in the seventh year of his administration, III. 304, 305; Act providing for a Post-Office, III. 305; increase of paper money, III. 310; suggests the public bank, III. 311; opposition to

DUD

Sir William Ashurst and to Dummer, III. 312; his anxieties, III. 313; letter concerning Quebec, III. 313; attempt to conciliate his opponents, III. 314; attitude of Massachusetts towards, III. 314, 315; his continuance in office after the death of the Queen, III. 314, 315; his estimate in England at the time of Queen Anne's death, III. 314; retires from office, III. 315, 454; prorogues the Court for the last time, being reinstated for a short time in office, III. 315, 316; his age, III. 316; his death, III. 316; notice of, in the newspaper, III. 316; his reception at New Hampshire, III. 317; salary from New Hampshire, III. 317; renders Usher a service, III. 318, 319; Allen's claims in New Hampshire, III. 319, 320; friendship with Usher, III. 321, 322; Usher's letter complaining of, III. 322, 323; orders concerning Waldron, III. 323; his opinion of Usher, III. 323; letter describing New Hampshire, III. 324; petition in favor of, from New Hampshire, III. 324; commissioned to command the militia of Rhode Island, III. 325; relations with Rhode Island, III. 325-333; his claim to exercise admiralty jurisdiction, III. 326; letter to the Board of Trade describing Rhode Island, III. 326, 327; his complaints of Rhode Island, III. 326, 327; serves the charges of the Privy Council upon Rhode Island, III. 327, 328; questions concerning land-titles, III. 329; troops requested from Rhode Island, III. 332; proposal to Connecticut to assist in the war against Acadia, III. 333; opinion about the fighting men of Rhode Island and Connecticut, III. 333; to examine into the controversy between Connecticut and the Mohegans, III. 337-340; letter to the Lords of Trade, complaining of Connecticut, III. 338; his prospects depending on Queen Anne, III. 352; his enemy Elisha Cooke, III. 355; William Dummer, son-in-law of, III. 356, 357; Indian wars conducted by, III. 358; policy of the people towards, III. 358; letter concerning the naval stores in New England, III. 366, 367; Bridger appointed to be Surveyor-General of Woods, III. 368, 370; relations with Bridger, III. 370, 371; the death of Cooke, III. 377; expedition sent against Rasle, III. 387, see *Rasle*; his treaty at Portsmouth renewed, III.

DUM

388, 389; feeble tenure of office, III. 425; effort to injure the charters of New England, III. 453, 454; met with resistance from Massachusetts, III. 466, 467; his attitude in the first Revolution, IV. 384.
Dudley, Mrs. Joseph, a sister to Mrs. Willard, III. 292.
Dudley, Matthew, Sir, a company formed for exploring mines in New England, III. 292.
Dudley, Paul, son of Governor Joseph Dudley, III. 279; Attorney-General in Massachusetts, III. 279; a letter in relation to his father quoted, III. 285, 295; reappointed to office, IV. 31.
Dudley, Thomas, Governor of Massachusetts, emigrates to America, I. 106; elected the first Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts, I. 106; II. 388; elected to fill the place of John Humphrey, I. 106; one of the Massachusetts Company, I. 106, 107; elections and service as Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts, I. 106, 120, 123, 202, 249, 400; II. 388; his early life and military service, I. 107; enters into a Church covenant, I. 115; to take charge of the public worship, I. 120; a ruling elder of Boston, I. 120, 124; his house at Newtown, I. 123; dissension on account of moving the capital from Newtown, I. 123, 124; sends his resignation, I. 124; elections and service as Governor of Massachusetts, I. 126, 189, 169, 170, 250, 251, 254, 400; II. 388; abandons Newtown, I. 127; differences with Winthrop, I. 139; placed on a committee of war, I. 156; elected to the Standing Council, I. 176; described by Winthrop, I. 250, 251; his disgust at the election of Bellingham, I. 255; one of the Federal Commissioners, I. 262, 318; deposed from office of Commissioner, I. 318; events happening while Governor, I. 356; the affair of Hobart, and the trouble in Hingham, I. 357, 358; the triumph of Winthrop over his enemies, I. 358-360; is succeeded by Winthrop as Governor, I. 360; his many titles, I. 400; his death, I. 408; his daughter the wife of Governor Bradstreet, II. 230; his son Joseph Dudley, II. 248, 294, 295, 376; his position, character, and attainments, II. 294, 296, 376; III. 228.
Dudley, town of, Indian attack, II. 165, 166.
Dumb-reading, I. 288.
Dummer, Rev. Mr., minister at York,

DUD

III. 87; killed by Indians, III. 87.

Dummer, Mrs., her fate, III. 87.

Dummer, Jeremiah, his influence in England, III. 258, 259; chosen to be agent for Massachusetts, III. 812, 856; grandson of a former Assistant, Richard Dummer, III. 312; his education, III. 312, 313; goes to England, III. 313; letter to Connecticut, announcing the death of Queen Anne, III. 348; opposition to Bridger, III. 371, 372; "Defence of the Charters," III. 417, 431; occasion of the publication of his treatise, III. 454; arguments in his treatise, III. 454-456; chosen agent by the House, III. 417; Cooke to be united with, in the agency in England, III. 417; his effort to bring Shute and Cooke together, III. 418; his communication to Massachusetts concerning the projected Synod, III. 422; sends a present of books to Yale College, III. 443; agent for Connecticut, communicates the scheme of annexation, III. 452; advised to write to the Assembly of Massachusetts, conveying threats of Parliament, IV. 15; conversation with Lord Carteret in relation to the charter, IV. 15; vote of money to, IV. 36; the scheme of Thomas Coram, IV. 61, 62; Belcher to unite with, in the agency of Connecticut, IV. 124.

Dummer, Richard, chosen Assistant of Massachusetts, I. 171; II. 389; gives his sanction to Mrs. Hutchinson, I. 197; slight put upon him, I. 202; his grandson, Jeremiah Dummer, III. 312.

Dummer, William, Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, III. 356; IV. 441; supersedes Lieutenant-Governor Tailor in Massachusetts, III. 356, 357; Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, III. 401; his character, III. 401; grants made to, III. 401; his authority, III. 401, 402; his administration, III. 401-422; affronts offered to, III. 402, 403; Walton remains unpaid, III. 402, 403; conference with the Iroquois, III. 403, 404; strange treatment from the House, III. 403, 404; causes displeasure by affixing his private seal to a present made to Indians, III. 404, 417; Westbrook despatched to the Penobscot, III. 406; his prudence with Indians, III. 413; dispute with the Representatives, III. 414; the House condemned by the Privy Council, III. 418, 419; his report of the House

DUT

to the Duke of Newcastle, III. 420; censured by York and Wearg for his part in the projected Synod, III. 421, 422; excuse for his part in the projected Synod, III. 422, 423; matters pertaining to the salary of the Governor, IV. 2, 35-37; a precedent of, quoted by the House, IV. 28; reappearance at the Council Board, IV. 34, 35; discontinued in office, IV. 40; a day of fasting appointed in Boston, IV. 77; treaty with Indians renewed, IV. 184.

Dummer, Fort. See *Fort Dummer*.

Dunbar, David, Colonel, IV. 61; appointed Surveyor of the King's Woods, IV. 61; succeeds Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth in New Hampshire, IV. 61, 63; his arrival in New Hampshire, IV. 63; his claim to be Chief Magistrate of New Hampshire during the Governor's absence in Massachusetts, IV. 63, 64; memorial to the King against Belcher, IV. 63, 64; efforts of Belcher to obtain his dismissal, IV. 64, 65; departure for England, IV. 65; his political ambition, IV. 67; withdraws to Pemaquid, IV. 67; his plot against Belcher, IV. 67; his trouble as Surveyor of the Woods, IV. 71; money paid to, in reference to the office of Surveyor of the Woods, IV. 256, 257; effort to obtain the government of New Hampshire, IV. 256.

Dunfish, I. 299.

Dunstable, on the frontier line of Massachusetts, III. 24; Indian attack at, III. 86; John Lovewell's fight, III. 411, 412.

Dunster, Henry, made President of Harvard College, I. 290; wonderful growth of the College, I. 290; his residence at Scituate, II. 37; befriends the Quakers, II. 37; succeeded by President Chauncy, II. 106.

Duquesne, Fort. See *Fort Duquesne*.

Durham, former name of, III. 27.

Dustin, Hannah, Mrs., attacked by the Indians, III. 144; her sad adventures, III. 144; her escape, III. 144.

Dutch, the, encroachments of, repelled by Massachusetts, I. v; immigrants in America, I. ix; offers made to the Puritans and Non-Conformists, I. 53; settlements made by, I. 60, 89; original settlement at New Amsterdam (New York), I. 89, 90; purchase Manhattan Island, I. 90; settlement on the Connecticut, I.

DUT

145, 146; English post erected on the Connecticut River, I. 146; skirmish between the posts, I. 146; English settle near their stockade on the Connecticut, I. 182; quarrel with the Indians, I. 218; plantations of Connecticut come between theirs and that of New Haven, I. 234; referred to in Winthrop's letter to England, I. 253; probable result of a combination of Massachusetts settlers with the Dutch, I. 254; mentioned in the preamble of the Articles of Confederation, I. 260; annoy Connecticut and New Haven, I. 261; coasting voyages to, I. 294; troubled by Indians, I. 315; complaint from, to the Commissioners of New England, I. 315; apply to New Haven for aid, I. 315; circulation of a petition among, I. 326; relations with New England, I. 336-338; complaint of their sale of arms to the Indians, I. 337; rumored plot of a union with the Indians, I. 366; quarrels with Connecticut, I. 364-373, 396-398; decision regarding their claim, I. 366; further trouble with the English, I. 366-373; troops raised to fight against, I. 367; war declared against, I. 372; peace declared with Holland, I. 373; war renewed with the English, I. 387; Clarke's representations concerning, I. 387; their vessels to be seized, I. 388; blockade the port of Fairfield, I. 389; a prize taken into Fairfield, I. 389; Cromwell's war with, I. 392, 406, 407; settlements given to Connecticut, II. 41; Massachusetts refuses to join the Royal Commissioners against the Dutch, II. 62, 63; capture of New Amsterdam by the English, II. 63, 64; Massachusetts refuses to aid the Royal Commissioners against, II. 96; recapture of New York and other places by the Dutch, II. 98, 99, 115; cruisers in Long Island Sound, II. 108; the colonists fit out ships against, II. 108; claim the submission of Long Island towns, II. 115, 116; news of peace from the mother country reaches New York, II. 116; restitution of New York to the English by royal order, II. 116, 117; possibility of a Dutch alliance with Massachusetts and New England, II. 193, 262; at peace with England, II. 194, 198, 262; at war with France, II. 198; William III. a Dutch Calvinist, III. 3, 4; citizens in New York, III. 35; killed at Schenectady, III. 39; Indians wavering in their alliance, III.

EAS

41; their pusillanimity, III. 41; their colonies, III. 65, 66; possible change in the fortune of William III., III. 74; request of William III. denied, concerning the Dutch guards, III. 166; captain of a vessel taken by Kidd, III. 167; trade with, III. 248; control of New York, IV. 171; fur-traders of New York, IV. 383. See *Holland* and *New Netherland*.
Dutch Colony, the, I. 60.
Dutch East India Company, the, I. 89.
Duties, I. 274; II. 320; IV. 303. See *Taxation* and *Stamp Act*.
Duxbury, settlement of, I. 144; committee to codify the laws, and revise the constitution of government, and the result, I. 241-243; sends Deputies to the Plymouth General Court, I. 243; unjust treatment shown to the minister of, II. 349, 350.
Dwelling-houses, I. 296, 297.
Dy, John, his patent, I. 223, 224; the Plough Patent, I. 223.
Dyer, John, Secretary of Rhode Island, his wife a Quaker, II. 9.
Dyer, Mary, a Quaker, II. 9; her imprisonment, II. 9; puts the law banishing Quakers to the proof, II. 11, 12; her son intercedes for her, II. 13; leaves Boston, II. 13; returns to Boston, and is executed, II. 13.
Dyer, William, brings from England the news of the revoking of Codrington's "Commission," I. 388; acts as freebooter against the Dutch, I. 388, 389.

EARTHQUAKES felt in New England, I. 21, 239; IV. 77.

East, the, empire in, founded by England, IV. 383.

East Greenwich, town in Rhode Island, situated in Providence County, IV. 129; size of the Episcopal congregation in, IV. 134.

East Haddam, date of settlement, IV. 121.

East Hampton, a fishing-station, I. 396.

East India Company, the, alarmed at the course of Captain Kidd, III. 165; Elihu Yale, Governor of, III. 443; action in America, with the probable result of coercing the Company into soliciting a repeal of the duty on tea, IV. 421, 427; the accumulation of tea, IV. 427; resolution to export the tea to America, IV. 427, 428.

EAS

- East Indies*, the, residence of Elihu Yale in, III. 443; English empire established in, IV. 254.
- East Jersey*, Andros assumes the government of, II. 356. See *Jerseys* and *New Jersey*.
- East Windsor*, religious work of Whitefield in, IV. 111.
- Easter*, disregarded by the colonists, I. 289.
- Eastern Country*, the, consequence of war in, II. 206, 208; matters pertaining to, II. 264-276; offensive interference with the traffic of Massachusetts, II. 332, 333; winter campaign against the Indians, III. 23; war with the French and Indians, III. 41-43; the hostility of Indians in, requires the Governor's attention, III. 130; excuse of Governor Phipps, for his delayed passage to England, III. 138; French claims in, III. 183; Indian hostilities, III. 228, 229; disorders among the Indian tribes, III. 236; expedition under Major Church, III. 249, 250; the Iroquois disclaim any part in the war in, III. 404. See *Maine* and *New Hampshire*.
- Eastern Massachusetts*, minerals in, I. 23.
- Eastern Province*, the, II. 332, 333. See *Maine*.
- Eastern Seas*, the, piracy in, III. 163.
- Eastern Tribes*, the, used by the French as allies in their wars, III. 28, 37, 38; hostility of, towards the English, III. 43, 168, 169; expedition against, III. 45; Dudley holds a conference with the chiefs of, III. 235, 236; numbers lost in war, III. 265; effort to enlist the Iroquois against, III. 394, 404; compact made with whites, III. 412, 413; measures of Massachusetts against, III. 446; negotiations with, IV. 184, 197.
- Eastern World*, the, I. 2.
- Eastham*, town in Plymouth Colony, formerly called Nauset, I. 71, 393.
- Easthampton*, religious work of James Davenport in, IV. 90.
- Easton*, John, Governor of Rhode Island, III. 216; IV. 446; his inability to raise troops, III. 216.
- Easton*, Nicholas, President of the Providence Plantations, and Governor of Rhode Island, an adherent of Mrs. Hutchinson, I. 214; his movements after leaving Boston, I. 214; settles in Rhode Island, I. 214; elected President of the Providence Plantations, I. 347, 386, 387; II. 392; elected Governor of Rhode Island, II. 112, 392; offices held by

EDW

- him, II. 112, 392; enrolled with the Quakers, II. 112.
- Eaton*, Nathaniel, placed at the head of Harvard College, I. 290; his misconduct, I. 290.
- Eaton*, Rev. Samuel, Magistrate of New Haven, assists in founding the settlement at Quinnipiack, I. 226-229; elected Magistrate at Quinnipiack, I. 228; II. 391.
- Eaton*, Theophilus, Governor of New Haven, one of the original members and assistants of the Massachusetts Company, I. 107, 225; early life of, I. 107, 225; his arrival in New England, I. 226; proceeds to Quinnipiack, I. 226; elected Governor of New Haven, I. 231; II. 391; his death, I. 297, 408; inventory of his wearing apparel and other goods, I. 297; statement made in relation to the trouble with the Dutch, I. 368; to present a compilation of laws to the Court of New Haven, I. 399; great confidence reposed in him, I. 399.
- Ebenezer*, feeling of Whitefield in relation to his work in New England, IV. 85, 86.
- Ecclesiastics*, power of the French priests over the Indians, III. 28, 244, 404, 405; IV. 252. See *French*.
- Edgehill*, the battle of, I. 109.
- Education*, matters pertaining to, I. 289, 290, 406; II. 85, 87, 109, 110; the Royal Commissioners desired to report of the methods of, II. 61, 73, 83-85; dear to the early colonists, II. 87-90, see *Colleges* and *Schools*; affairs in Connecticut, III. 209.
- Edward*, Fort. See *Fort Edward*.
- Edwards*, Rev. Mr., father of Jonathan Edwards, and pastor at East Windsor, IV. 111.
- Edwards*, Rev. Jonathan, settled at Northampton, IV. 78; the awakening in religious matters, IV. 78-201; his preaching, IV. 78-80; youthful converts, IV. 80; a letter describing the religious excitement published in London, IV. 80, 81; compared with Whitefield, IV. 85; his share in the religious excitement, IV. 105, 106; his "Thoughts concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England," IV. 105; mention of his religious work, by Colman, IV. 106; religious movement at Northampton, IV. 111, enthusiasm in regard to the revivals, IV. 111; accompanies Whitefield to East Windsor, IV. 111.
- Edwards*, Rev. Morgan, establishment of Brown University, IV. 363, 364.

EEL

El River, massacre of the English, II. 157.

Egremont, Lord, first impressions of Massachusetts received by Governor Bernard, IV. 297, 298.

Elder, an, the office of, I. 50, 120, 286.

Election Sermons, I. 140, 356, 357, 360; topics of, IV. 76.

Elections, first election at Plymouth, I. 61; rules of, in Massachusetts, under the first charter, I. 98, 118, 120, 121, 123; II. 28, 231-233, 249; changes made in the existing regulations of, I. 118, 123; II. 28, 29, 62, 63; church-membership connected with, and imposed upon the investment with the civil franchise, I. 121-123, 149, 172, 180, 220, 228, 272, 287, 288; II. 63; regulations of the colonists in regard to, I. 126, 137-139, 167, 172, 221, 228, 232, 233, 241, 242, 271, 272-273, 275-277, 345, 346, 381, 397; II. 41, 62, 63; the doctrine of Cotton, I. 140; new mandate from Charles I., I. 155; the franchise in danger, I. 159; the Court of Elections, I. 164, see *Court of Elections*; the obligation of church-membership not universal in the colonies, I. 180, 220, 272; choice of preachers, to deliver a sermon at the annual elections, I. 356, 357, 360; conflicting elections in Rhode Island, I. 389; regulations established in Connecticut under the charter of Charles II., II. 41; demands made by Charles II., in regard to the obligation of church-membership, II. 34, 61, 62, 231-233, 237; the royal demands complied with, II. 233, 249; regulations in Maine, after its purchase by Massachusetts, II. 284-266; rules established in New Hampshire, under Charles II., II. 267; last charter election, II. 291-294; rules of, under the Provisional Government, II. 291, 292, 304, 307; rules of, under the Royal Governor, II. 317, 318, 326, 346, 355; the root of municipal franchise attacked, II. 345, 346; the resumption of office after the Revolution of 1689, II. 378, 379, 382-385; the months in which elections were held, II. 387-389, 391; rules of, under the provincial charter granted by William III., III. 71-74, 125-129; qualifications of a voter, III. 72, 73; party spirit and antagonism in the election of Counsellors, III. 129, 284, 270, 277, 315, 377-379; restriction in the election of Deputies, III. 130, 181; matters pertaining to, in Con-

END

necticut, III. 200; rules pertaining to the choice of a Speaker, III. 273, 274, 378, 379, 415; customs pertaining to the election of civil officers, III. 415; rules and regulations in Rhode Island, III. 438; dispute concerning the election of the Attorney-General, IV. 193, 194; Act in England, appointing the Counsellors, IV. 431, 433; list of officers elected, see *Appendices*.

Elector of Hanover. See *Hanover*.

Elephants, IV. 366.

Elias, the, a ship of war, II. 58.

Eliot, Rev. John, missionary among the Indians, called the "Apostle," I. 40, 43, 127; the Indian Primer, I. 40; his translation of the Bible, I. 43; II. 27, 167; settled at Roxbury, I. 127, 334; his missionary work among the Indians, I. 179, 334, 356, 376-379; II. 124; his scheme of a government for the Indians, I. 377, 378; II. 27; his treatise on the Christian Commonwealth, II. 27, 28; his treatise, condemned, II. 27; acknowledges his error, II. 27, 28; assisted by an Indian in his translation of the Bible, II. 167.

Elizabeth, Queen, gives a patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, I. 3, 4; vain hopes of the Puritans, I. 47, 48; Cartwright's writings in favor of Presbyterianism, I. 322.

Elizabeth Islands, the, I. 4.

Elm, the, I. 23.

Emigrant, the, the life of, II. 86-90.

Emmanuel College, I. 107, 135; graduates of, in America, I. 107, 179, 248, 290.

Emperor, the, successes of Gustavus Adolphus against, I. 127.

Endicott, John, Governor of Massachusetts, one of the original patentees of Massachusetts, I. 97, 98, 160; the grant of land obtained from the Council, for New England, I. 97, 98; conducts a party to Naumkeag (Salem), I. 97; the charter obtained from Charles I., I. 98, 99, see *Massachusetts*; starts a settlement at Salem, I. 97, 98; the head of affairs at Salem, I. 99; his views on religious subjects, I. 101; trouble with the Brownes, I. 103; placed on a Committee of War, I. 156; a letter written to, concerning Roger Williams, I. 162, 163; causes the obliteration of the red cross of England from certain colors, I. 169-171; a Magistrate of Massachusetts, I. 171; II. 388; removed from the office of Magistrate, I. 171; elected to the Standing Council, I. 176; sent to

ENG

demand satisfaction of Sassacus, I. 184; decides a question of difficulty during the Antinomian troubles, I. 201; Magistrate of Massachusetts for life, I. 202; II. 388; elected Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts, I. 254, 400; II. 388; elected Governor of Massachusetts, I. 318, 363, 400; II. 388; his home at Salem, I. 320; changes proposed in the House of Deputies, I. 356; his magnanimity, I. 357; his opinion regarding the affair of the Dutch and New Haven claims, I. 370; his service as Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts, I. 400; II. 388; his service as Chief Magistrate of Massachusetts, I. 400, 401; II. 388; his answer to Cromwell, I. 404; his views in relation to Quaker immigration, II. 5, 6; his share as Governor of the community, during the persecutions of the Quakers, II. 7-17, 30, 34, 35; threatens to return to England, II. 14; receives encouraging message from Charles II., II. 21; his dealings with the regicides Whalley and Goffe, II. 22, 23; unfavorable to the plan of a commission to be sent to the King, II. 31, 32; agents despatched to England, II. 32, 33; letter from the King, with special instructions to Massachusetts, II. 33-36, 60, 68; preparations made to receive the Royal Commissioners, II. 56-58; letter addressed to, brought by the Commissioners from the King, II. 60, 61; action of the Court, in relation to the proceedings of the Commissioners, II. 62, 63, 71-77; his death, II. 72, 73; his usefulness and honored position, II. 72, 73; III. 228; opposition from the King, II. 78.

Enfield, town of, III. 213; discreditable action of Connecticut in regard to, IV. 274, 275.

England, I. iii; date of the accession to the throne of the Stuart family, I. iii; her lands in America preserved from the Dutch and French by New England, I. v; the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, I. v, vi, IV. 169, 178, 182, 195, 262; her indebtedness to New England, I. v-vii; capture of, and retrocession of Louisburg to France, I. v, vi: IV. 169, 178, 180; rise of Independency in, I. vi, vii, 342; the work of the clergy and the army for liberty, I. vi, vii; Charles I. delivered by the Scotch army to the English Parliament, I. vii, 339; discoveries of the Cabots in New England, I. 2: II. 68, 259, 314, 316, 317; early attempts at settle-

ENG

ment in New England, I. 3-18; accession of James I., I. 6, 48; formation of the London and Plymouth Colonies, I. 6, 7; the Council of Virginia, I. 7, 10; Captain John Smith's adventures, I. 8-17; names of towns in, placed on Smith's Map of New England, I. 16, 64; vain hopes of the people at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, I. 47; intolerance in religious matters, and persecution of the Puritans, I. 47-55, 90, 122, see *Non-Conformists* and *Puritans*; the Puritans ask aid and permission to emigrate to America, I. 54-57; formation of the Company of Merchant Adventurers, I. 55-57, see *Merchant Adventurers*; the terms made by the Plymouth Colony with the Adventurers, I. 55-57, 73, 79, 82, 84-87, 143-145, 237, 238, 243-245; patents issued to the Plymouth Colony, I. 55, 73, 142, 143, 243, 244; II. 280, 314; IV. 284; sailing and return of the Mayflower, I. 58-61, 69, 73; her troops garrison the "cautionary towns" of the Netherlands, I. 59; the emigrants declare their loyalty to King James, I. 61; sailing and return of the Fortune, I. 72-74; formation of the Council for New England, I. 73; II. 314; party sent out by Weston, I. 75-77; return of Weston, a ruined man, I. 77; feud of the Virginia Company and the Council for New England, I. 77; the grant of land to Mason, I. 77, 78, see *Mason*; the grant of land to Gorges, I. 77, 78, see *Gorges*; party from, settles at Cape Ann, I. 79; continuance of emigration to America, I. 82; the fishing interests, I. 83, 94; cattle brought to America, I. 83; Mr. Robinson, the head of the Independents, I. 84, see *Independents*; opposition to Mr. Robinson's plan for emigration, I. 84; reports sent to, calumniating the colony of Plymouth, I. 85; Standish attempts to negotiate with the London Adventurers, I. 85; Allerton arranges matters, finally, for the Plymouth Colony with the Adventurers, I. 85, 86, 143; Morton, the disturber at Merry Mount, sent to, I. 88; capture of Quebec by, I. 89; quarrel of James I. with his Parliaments, I. 91; growth of popular principles, I. 91; growth of Puritanism, I. 91-94; death of James I., I. 92; accession of Charles I., I. 92; desire for a Constitution, in the minds of the people, I. 92; the Parliament, I. 92, see *Parlia-*

ENG

ment; conflict in the Church, I. 92-94, 262; contest between the people and the King, I. 92, 93, 98, 153, 262; the policy of Charles I., I. 93, 94, 96, 97; the dissolution by Charles I. of his Parliament, I. 93, 98, 153, 154, 262; proclamation of the King, I. 93; an absolute monarchy, I. 93, 98, 154, 262; formation of the Dorchester Adventurers, I. 94, 95; plan of emigration by Rev. John White, I. 94-96; grant of land given to Master Endicott, I. 97, 98; formation of the Massachusetts Company, I. 97-99; II. 314; the patent issued to Massachusetts, I. 97-99; party emigrates to Salem, I. 97, 98; officers of the company, I. 98, 99; rights and privileges granted to Massachusetts in the charter given by Charles I., I. 98, 99, 103, 104, 121, 149-151, 177, 281; II. 23, 63, 201, 202, 231, 250, 294, 316; III. 65; IV. 68, 70, 72; the colonies forbidden to make any laws repugnant to, I. 98, 177, 281, 344; II. 29, 34, 41, 75, 213-215, 221, 224, 244, 250, 806, 318; III. 64, 374, 464, 466; IV. 122, 123, 132, 204, 340; departure of new colonists from, I. 99, 100, 104, 105; the Established Church rejected by the emigrants from, I. 101, 103, 122; a party of gentlemen pledge themselves to emigrate to New England, I. 105, 106; the charter of Massachusetts and the administration of, transferred to New England, I. 105, 106, 110, 136, 137, 269; new officers chosen for the Massachusetts Company, I. 106; associates and members of the Massachusetts Company, I. 106-110; the Republic, I. 108; a political and religious reform to be accomplished, I. 108; the work accomplished by the Massachusetts Company, I. 108; movement of John Venn, I. 109; the payment of ship-money, I. 109, 136, 160; plan of a renovated England, I. 110; Address from the departing Company to their Brethren in and of the Church of England, I. 110, 111; departure and voyage of the Massachusetts Company, I. 110-112; party from, settle at Nantasket, I. 113; hardships endured by the emigrants, I. 119, 120, 131, 132; the freemen of the Massachusetts Company, I. 122, 123, see *Freemen*; possible chance of Papal power in, I. 125; large emigration to New England, I. 127, 128, 134, 143, 154, 248, 249; complaints and claims instituted by Mason, Gorgee, and

ENG

others, I. 132, 133, 150, 154, 163; II. 195, 204, 208, 209; III. 186-188, 190, 320, 321; arrogance of the Court, I. 136; unjust dealings with Virginia, I. 136; detention of vessels sailing to America, I. 136, 152; demand for the production of the charter of Massachusetts, I. 136, 137, 251; Allerton acts as agent for Plymouth, I. 143; the treaty of St Germain, I. 144; her claim to the territory of Acadia, I. 144; III. 154, 381; IV. 208, see *Acadia*; Winslow visits, on business for the colonies, I. 145; contentions with the Dutch, I. 146, see *Dutch*; exports and imports, I. 148; II. 28, 84; III. 345, 424; IV. 373, 378, see *Exports* and *Imports*; the Magistrates of Massachusetts appointed in, I. 149; the clergy in New England, I. 149, see *Clergy*; hostility of the government to New England, I. 150, 152-156, 248, 251; despotism of the government, I. 152, 154, 155, jealousy of New England, I. 152, 153; the Lords of the Council order the return of the charter from Massachusetts, I. 152, 158, 251, 252; a commission created to manage the colonies, I. 152, 155; corporations having the affairs of the colonies in charge, I. 152, 155, 161, 237, 251; II. 30, 93, 194, 195; III. 17, 55, 148, see *Lords Commissioners*, etc., and *Lords of Trade*; plan to send a General Governor to New England, I. 152, 157, 160, 161, 237; II. 2, 218, 221, 222, 238, 260; III. 55, 56, 64, 163, 338, 400; Charles I. determines to rule without Parliaments, I. 153, 154; the King returns from his coronation in Scotland, I. 155; a Commission sent to America, I. 155, 195; the Commission laid before the Court in Massachusetts, I. 155, 156; power of the King over the colonies, I. 157; proceedings of the Council for New England, I. 158, 159; a writ of *quo warranto* brought against Massachusetts, I. 159-161; II. 218; proposition to divide Massachusetts into many parts, I. 159, 160; disorders in, I. 160, 161; the red cross in the colors of, considered a relic of Antichrist, I. 169; the red cross obliterated, in Massachusetts, I. 169-171, 175, 176; position of John Haynes, I. 170, 179; the royal colors displayed at Castle Island, I. 171; the elder Vane, I. 173; departure of Henry Vane from, I. 173, 174; a powerful trio emigrate to America, I. 173, 174; position

ENG

held by Thomas Hooker, I. 179, 180, 361; one of the causes of the emigration from, I. 180; names of towns in, given to towns in America, I. 183; early home of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson at Alford, I. 196; Governor Vane desires to return to, I. 199; return of Governor Henry Vane, I. 203-205; fears concerning Vane's course, I. 205, 206; attitude of Rhode Island and Providence towards, I. 213, 214; Roger Williams seeks to obtain a recognition of Rhode Island as a corporate community, I. 213, 214, 344-349; report of matters at Cochecho, I. 215; no English settlement east of the trading-house on the Kennebec, I. 220; Burdet returns to, I. 221; Wheelwright enjoys the favor of Cromwell, I. 223; the Great Rebellion in, I. 223; II. 263; III. 349; the fate of Gorges, I. 224; the Independence of Quinpiack, I. 227; party from, established at Guilford, I. 229, 230; people form a settlement at Stratford, I. 234; Winslow visits again as agent from Massachusetts, I. 237, 339; the attempt of Massachusetts to defend her charter, I. 237; treatment of Winslow in I. 237-239; letter from Winthrop in relation to the demand for the surrender of her charter by Massachusetts, I. 251-254; rank and station of a Lord Lieutenant, I. 256; conflicting affairs in, help to bring about the Confederacy, I. 262; Parliament institutes a commission for the government of New England, I. 267; settlements of West-of-England fishermen, I. 270; law of, I. 278, see *Laws*; Cotton's book on the Laws printed, I. 279; Parliament rises in power, I. 279; position of the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, I. 280; number of capital crimes in the English law, I. 281, 282; the law furnishes a precedent for many laws in New England, I. 282, 283; the scheme of the English Independents, I. 285, 286, 323; the courses of study in the universities, adopted at Harvard College, I. 290; her youth sent to Harvard College, I. 290; the herbage from, planted in New England, I. 292; a letter describing the water-craft of Massachusetts, I. 294; expiration of the first year of the civil war, I. 302; Samuel Gorton departs for Boston, I. 305; threat of the Shawomet people to appeal to, I. 310, 311; "Act of Submission of the Narragansetts," I. 312, 313, 340; II.

ENG

279, see "*Act*," etc.; attitude of Massachusetts towards, I. 319-321; relations of New England to the politics of, I. 322; raging of party war upon the downfall of prelacy, I. 322; condition of Presbyterianism in Queen Elizabeth's time, I. 322; growth of dissent from Episcopalianism, I. 322; first armed movement against Charles I. comes from Scotland, I. 322; the Westminster Assembly, I. 323; conflict between Presbytery and Independency, I. 323-329, 339; the champions for liberty, I. 323, 324; Parliament establishes Presbytery as the Church of England, I. 325; threatened appeal to the Parliament against Massachusetts, I. 325, 326; a commission sent to, to satisfy the Commissioners for Plantations, I. 327; comparisons drawn respecting the relation of Massachusetts to, I. 327; memorials, directed to the Commissioners for Plantations, seized in New England, I. 327, 328; Child and Vassall not successful in their undertaking, I. 328; constitution of the Independent churches, I. 330; sympathy and interest shown, in regard to the missionary work in New England, I. 335, 375-377; address to Parliament commending the evangelization of the American Indians, I. 335; formation of the "Society for the Promoting and Propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England," I. 335, 375, 376; IV. 333, see "*Society for the Promoting*," etc.; the reticence of Massachusetts, I. 335; Charles I. surrendered to the Parliament by the Scottish army, I. 339; Gorton's appeal, I. 339-342; Winslow acts again as agent for Massachusetts, I. 339-342, 382, 383; difference in the position of affairs from Winslow's former trips, I. 339; conflict between Gorton and Winslow published in book form, I. 341, 342; rise of Independency, I. 342; return of Gorton, I. 342, 346; patent issued to Roger Williams, I. 344; return of Holden to New England, I. 345; Coddington seeks to obtain a commission for ruling Rhode Island, I. 346, 381-389; II. 48; effort to send Roger Williams to make further arrangements for Rhode Island, I. 347; execution of Charles I., I. 363, 392; position of affairs under Oliver Cromwell, I. 363, 404-407; II. 28; III. 302, 303; the American territory recovered by France, I. 363;

ENG

contentions in the colonies between the Dutch and English settlers, I. 363-375, 396-398; peace declared with Holland, I. 373; the commission given to Coddington, with the action resulting from it, I. 381-389; II. 48; John Clarke takes measures to procure the defeat of Coddington, I. 386-389; II. 48; Roger Williams again acts as envoy from Rhode Island, I. 386-390; patent issued to the Providence Plantations, I. 387, 388, see *Providence Plantations*; ringleaders of disturbances to be tried in, I. 391; death of Cromwell, I. 393; II. 1, 27; return of John Winthrop to America, I. 394; fresh scheme of conquest of New Netherland, I. 396, 397; Ireland conquered by Cromwell, I. 404; overtures made to the Puritans, I. 404, 405; the Navigation Act, I. 405, 406; II. 28, see *Navigation Act*; teachers in Harvard College, graduates from the colleges of, I. 406; cessation of quarrels between Church and State, I. 406; the war with Holland, I. 407; action of Massachusetts regarding the courts to be kept in the name of Parliament, I. 407; death of Edward Hopkins, I. 408; order sent to Massachusetts to proclaim the younger Cromwell, II. 1; the Restoration, II. 1, 28, 38, 48, 89; III. 2, 60, 287, see *Restoration*; Leverett succeeds Winslow as agent for Massachusetts, II. 1; affairs of New England brought before the King, II. 1, 2, 30; matters relating to the Quakers at home, and abroad, II. 2-6, 9-17, 30, 31; Puritan organization disabled, II. 3; origin of the Quaker sect, II. 4; royal encouragement extended to New England, II. 21; relations of Massachusetts to, II. 21-37; the Great Civil War, II. 22; offices held by Goffe and Whalley the regicides, II. 22; the return of Charles II., II. 22; the regicides flee to America, II. 22; orders sent to arrest the regicides, II. 23-26, 38, 284; the insurrection of Venner, II. 27; the Navigation Act to be observed with care in the colonies, II. 28, 61, 74, 195, 201, 211, 213, 232, 241-243, 252, 283, 306; III. 6, 15, 17, 53, 59, 148, 158, 178, 223, 318, 330, 339; IV. 305, 331, 381; laws concerning imports and exports, II. 28; the duties of allegiance to, declared by Massachusetts, II. 29, 30; accession of Charles II. as King of, II. 30; organization of the Council of For-

ENG

eign Plantations, II. 30; powers of the Parliamentary Commission transferred to the Council of Foreign Plantations, II. 30; Norton and Bradstreet sent as agents from Massachusetts, II. 31-33, 230; the agents return with a letter from the King, II. 33, 34; demands made by the King with regard to the civil franchise and Church of England, in Massachusetts, II. 34, 55, 60, 68, 73, 214; Captain Breedon departs from, II. 35; Plymouth declares her loyalty to the King, II. 37; New Haven declares her loyalty to, II. 38; Address sent from Connecticut to the King, II. 39; Governor Winthrop to present the Address, and act as agent for Connecticut, II. 39; action of Governor Winthrop in, with regard to the charter for Connecticut, and his relations with John Clarke, II. 39-44, 190-193; formation of the Royal Society, II. 40, 191; Robert Boyle, the President of the Royal Society, II. 40, 191; reception given to Winthrop, II. 40, 191; Winthrop made a member of the Royal Society, II. 40, 191; Connecticut obtains her charter, II. 40-44, 113, 114, 190-193; charters granted to Connecticut and Rhode Island conflicting with each other, and endangering New Haven, II. 40-54, 190-193; New Haven's political life destroyed, II. 42-44, 46-48, 64-67, 190-193; Winthrop sends an explanatory letter home, II. 45; departure of Winthrop, II. 46, 51; Charles II. proclaimed in Rhode Island, II. 48; Clarke employed by Rhode Island as agent for, II. 48, 49; action of Clarke in regard to the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island, II. 49-54, 190-193; Royal Commissioners to proceed to North America, II. 55-81; grant of land given to the Duke of York, II. 58, 59, see *York, Duke of*; instructions given to the Royal Commissioners, II. 60-62; New Netherland reduced by the Commissioners, II. 62-64; a petition sent from Massachusetts asking a continuance of her chartered rights, II. 63; the control of the militia of Massachusetts desired, II. 62; departure of John Clarke, II. 64; compliance of Plymouth with the demands of the Commissioners, II. 67, 68; reports of the Royal Commissioners, II. 78, 79, 83-85; impending war with France, II. 79, 80; a pres-

ENG

ent of masts from Massachusetts, II. 79, 80; III. 364, 365; fall of Clarendon from power, II. 80, 91, 93, 194; the Cabal Ministry, II. 80, 91, 93; neglectful of Maine, II. 81; final relations of the colonies to the Stuart Kings, II. 82; number of people from, in New England, II. 82; the condition of New England during the reign of Charles II., II. 85-90; sectarian rivalry and proceedings against Non-conformists, II. 91; cruelty shown to the Presbyterians, II. 92; Episcopacy re-established in Scotland, II. 92; business of the colonies in New England intrusted to the Privy Council of, II. 93, see *Privy Council*; changes in, and consolidation of, the Council for Foreign Plantations with the Council for Trade, II. 93, 194, 195; dissolution of the Cabal Ministry, II. 93; law passed, levying customs on foreign dependencies of, II. 93, 94; position of New England toward Charles II., II. 94, 95; war with the United Provinces, II. 98; New York captured by the Dutch, II. 98, 99, 115; Dean Owen detained in, II. 101; departure of George Fox for America, II. 112, 113; peace declared with Holland, II. 116, 117, 194, 198; order for the evacuation of the Dutch forts, II. 117; Major Andros sent to New York as Lieutenant of the Duke of York, II. 117; no aid sent to New England in the Indian war, II. 188, 189, 194; relations and disputes with New England, II. 190-193, 228; desire to reduce Massachusetts to subjection, II. 194; renewed claims of Mason and Gorges, II. 195; the merchants and manufacturers of, complain of an alleged neglect of the Navigation Laws in New England, II. 195, 196; formation of "The Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations," II. 195; restrictions placed on the trade in New England, II. 196, see *Trade*; report of the Lords of the Committee concerning the Mason and Gorges claims, II. 196, 197; plan to send a messenger or commission to Massachusetts, II. 196, 197; agents to be sent from Massachusetts to settle various claims, II. 197-202, 209; departure of Edward Randolph, intrusted with special authority and instructions, for Boston, II. 198; Randolph in Boston and the colonies, II. 198-204; Randolph returns to, II. 204; action of Massachusetts with regard

ENG

to the demands from, II. 204, 205; Messrs. Stoughton and Bulkeley sent as agents to the King, with instructions, Address, and letters, II. 207-228; III. 177; attempt of Massachusetts to buy the Mason and Gorges claims, II. 209, 216; Randolph complains of, and misrepresents the affairs of New England, II. 210, 234, 235, 243, 244, 298-304, 306; III. 59-61; the agents from Massachusetts find affairs in a discouraging way, II. 210; no organized body friendly to New England, II. 210; Puritans in constant dread of persecution, II. 210; the agents fail to find a record of the Mason and Gorges claims, II. 210, 211; action of the agents with regard to the matters intrusted to them, II. 210-228; reports of the Courts of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, in regard to the rights of Massachusetts, II. 211, 212; reports of the Lords of the Committee, II. 212, 213; the commands given to the agents, II. 212-215, 219, 220; reports of the Attorney and Solicitor General, concerning the derelictions of Massachusetts, II. 213, 214, 218, 219; petition of New Hampshire to remain under Massachusetts, II. 215, 216; the Gorges claim sold to Massachusetts, II. 216, 227, 228, 264; III. 380; influence of Randolph, Andros, and others against Massachusetts, II. 217; the Quakers join in the troubles, II. 217; the charter of Massachusetts declared illegal, II. 218; matter of an oath of fidelity prescribed by Massachusetts, II. 219, 220; the opinion of the Lords Chief Justices to be sought for, II. 220; report of the Crown lawyers on the legal condition of Massachusetts, II. 220, 221; a writ of *quo warranto* to be issued against the Massachusetts charter, II. 221; new laws to be formed in Massachusetts, II. 221; action in Massachusetts, II. 222-225; memorial presented to the King by Randolph, II. 225, 226; departure of the agents, II. 227, 228; admonitory letter to be written to Massachusetts, II. 227; Massachusetts rebuked for purchasing the Gorges claim, II. 227, 228; attitude of Massachusetts towards, II. 229; Randolph sails for America, II. 231; repeated demands in relation to increasing the number of Assistants in Massachusetts, II. 231, 233, 237, 249; other agents to come from Massachusetts, II.

ENG

231, 233-237; arrival of Randolph in, II. 237, 238; victory of the King over Parliament, II. 237; John Richards and Joseph Dudley serve as agents for Massachusetts, II. 237, 241, 249-255; Randolph's propositions, II. 238; Randolph returns to Boston, II. 240; an Auditor-General to be appointed in America, II. 240, 241, 244; the design to send a writ of *quo warranto* against Massachusetts, II. 240, 250-255, 258, 259; Dudley favored by Randolph, II. 244; danger in New England of violence from, II. 245, 246; the humiliation of Massachusetts, II. 250-260; Randolph again visits, II. 253; Randolph despatched to Boston with the *quo warranto* against the Massachusetts Company, II. 253-255; Robert Humphreys to act in the defence of Massachusetts, II. 255, 257-259; Randolph sails for, II. 267; the decree vacating the charter of Massachusetts, II. 258, 259, 316; III. 2, 9, 19, 65, 198; the meaning of the law in relation to Massachusetts, II. 259; Colonel Piercy Kirk selected as Governor of Massachusetts, II. 260, 319; Kirk's wickedness, II. 260, 319; an absolute monarchy under Charles II., II. 261, 331; no Parliament for three years, II. 261; executions of Russell and Sydney, II. 261, 331; the state of affairs unfortunate for Massachusetts, II. 261, 262; at peace with Holland, II. 262; an efficient navy, II. 262; the government of New Hampshire, II. 267-277; arrangement made by Mason and Cranfield, II. 270, 271; the law of treason, II. 273; departure from New Hampshire of Cranfield, II. 275-277; Mr. Cudworth and Mr. Wiswall act as agents for Plymouth, II. 277; III. 80; hope of Plymouth to obtain a royal charter, II. 277, 278, 304, 305; III. 80, 81; business of Holden and Greene, II. 279-282; Commissioners appointed to settle various claims, II. 282; another search to be made for the regicides, II. 284; death of Charles II., II. 288; accession of James II., II. 288, 305; cessation in the orders for the government of Massachusetts, II. 288; Randolph at work in, II. 290; the Duke of Monmouth's invasion, II. 290, 305, 358; no House of Assembly to be held in New England, II. 291; a Provisional government arranged for Massachusetts, and the charter government brought to a

ENG

close, II. 291-294; possession taken of the new government in Massachusetts, II. 296; the King proclaimed in Plymouth, II. 304, 305; a *quo warranto* to be served against Rhode Island, II. 306; various Addresses sent from Rhode Island, II. 306, 307; King James proclaimed in Connecticut, II. 308; Addresses from, and Articles of Misdemeanor against, Connecticut, II. 309; a *quo warranto* served against Connecticut, II. 309-312; Sir Edmund Andros to be General Governor in New England, II. 313; the King of, monarch of New England, II. 314, 316, 317; the new government for New England, II. 314-318; relations with Massachusetts, II. 316, 317; the condition of Ireland previous to enjoying the privileges of *Magna Charta*, II. 317; rules of government for plantations, II. 317; royal demand for a fixed salary for the governor of New England, II. 318; III. 161, 228, 229, 267, 269, 275-277, 301, 362, 364; IV. 3-34, 39, 41, 43-47, 60, 137, 143-145, 257; partiality of the King for Andros, II. 319; a quarterly report to be made to the Lords Committee from Massachusetts, II. 320; condition of things in, II. 331; Maine, Rhode Island, and Connecticut included in Andros's commission, II. 331, 334, 336, 342; John Greene interested in Andros's affairs, II. 335; action of Connecticut in regard to the royal demands, II. 336-342; account of the Rev. Mr. Morton, II. 343, 344; a Declaration of Indulgence issued, II. 344, 356; attempts to seek redress in, discouraged, II. 346; action of, Increase Mather sent by Massachusetts to seek aid, and redress for the sufferings of the people, II. 351, 352, 357-360, 381; III. 54, 55, 58-71, 79, 82, 183; the birth of a Prince of Wales, II. 351, 357; enlargement of Andros's commission, II. 355; attitude towards the Dissenters, II. 358; petitions from Massachusetts, II. 359, 360; discontent with James II., II. 363; Declaration of the Prince of Orange, II. 366; the entrance of the Prince of Orange, II. 366-369; possesses a powerful army and fleet, II. 367; cruelty of James II., II. 368; the Revolution of the Seventeenth Century, II. 370-386; the English frigate taken in charge, II. 372, 374, 375; dissolution of the King's government in Massachusetts, II. 377;

ENG

accession of William and Mary to the throne, II. 379, 380, 385; III. 13, 17, 463; IV. 381; William and Mary to be proclaimed in North America, II. 379, 380, 382, 385, 386; III. 54, 55; effect of the news of the accession of William III. in the colonies, II. 383-386; condition of things after the Revolution of the Seventeenth Century, III. 1-18; the independence of New England brought to a close, III. 1; the Protestantism of William III., III. 2-5, 350, 359, 360, 463; alliances and enmities of William III., III. 3; political positions of William III., III. 3-8, 10-13; the dissenters, III. 4, 5, 10, 359, 360, 463; interest claimed by the colonies in the Great Charter, III. 5; the foreign relations of, conducted by William III., III. 7, 8; the advisers of William III., III. 7-9; the Treasury of, III. 8; a new official organization, III. 7-10; the new Secretaries of State, III. 8, 9; the new Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, III. 9; new constitution of the principal courts in, III. 9; the Great Seal intrusted to a commission, III. 9; Sir George Treby appointed Attorney-General, III. 9, 10; a successor appointed to Archbishop Sancroft, III. 10; the convention recognizing the King and Queen declares itself a Parliament, III. 10; a Toleration Act passed, III. 10, 11; alterations in the Liturgy and Articles, III. 11; influence of Lord Nottingham, III. 11; repeal of the Test Act, III. 11, 12; affairs of the Privy Council, see *Privy Council*; Parliamentary proceedings, see *Parliament*; a measure of Comprehension, III. 11; a Convocation summoned, III. 12; exclusive policy of the Church of England, III. 12; the Declaration of Right of William III., III. 12; a bill lost, for restoring charters to corporations wrongly deprived of, III. 12, 13; an opportunity lost by the Whig party, III. 13; the Tories take the lead in the new Parliament, III. 13, 77, 258-260, 312, 350, 352; an element of discord appears, which finally severs the colonies from, III. 13-16; the commercial interest developed, III. 13, 14; the colonial system developed, III. 14; Burke's expression of the theory of the relations of colonies to their metropolis, III. 14; extent of her empire, III. 14; Adam Smith's remarks on the dealings of England with her American colonies, III. 14,

ENG

15; legislation for restraining colonial trade, III. 15, 16; the restrictions on trade, III. 15, 18, 148, 330, 464; IV. 331, 335, 352, 353, 366, 367, 381, 386, 401, 421; apprehensions concerning the value of the land, III. 16; law concerning the woollen trade, III. 16, 148, 366, 367; colonial affairs managed by a committee of the Privy Council, III. 17; a plot to assassinate the King, III. 17; revenue of the King from the colonies, III. 17; the Council of Commerce, III. 17; the Board of Trade and Plantations revived, III. 17, 18; resentment caused by the sufferings of municipal corporations, III. 19; questions arising in Massachusetts concerning her government, III. 21-23; result of the Protestant succession, III. 29; the war against France, III. 29-147; the English employ Indian allies, III. 29; effect of the Revolution in France, III. 30; a plan in France for attacking the northern colonies, III. 30; scheme of the conquest of New France by New England, III. 42-45; position of Massachusetts at court, III. 43; affairs in Ireland, III. 44; Sir W. Phipps made General of the forces, in the campaign against Quebec, III. 44; expedition against Quebec, III. 45-52; Phipps returns to, III. 52, 54, 66; order to send Sir E. Andros and his fellow-prisoners to, III. 53, 57, 61; authority sent to Massachusetts for a continuance of the government, III. 53; Elisha Cooke and Thomas Oakes to act as agents for Massachusetts, III. 53, 61, 355; the Claim of Right, III. 54; the opinion of the Attorney-General in regard to serving a *quo warranto*, III. 54; the new Parliament, III. 54, 63; the Committee for Trade and Plantations appointed, III. 55; a Governor to be appointed over Massachusetts, III. 55; a committee to draw up a charter for Massachusetts, III. 55; the scheme of a General Governor revived, III. 55, 56, 153; arrangements made for the government of Massachusetts, III. 55; the "Declaration" of Massachusetts brought before the Privy Council, III. 56; effect of the news of the Revolution in New England, III. 56; Addresses received by the King and Queen, III. 56; at war with Scotland and Ireland, III. 57; no leisure for Massachusetts, III. 57; efforts of Massachusetts and her friends to obtain the charter,

ENG

III. 58-71; arrival of Randolph and Andros, III. 61; the forces for and against Massachusetts, III. 61, 62; trial of Andros and others, III. 62; charges against Lord Danby, III. 63; situation in Ireland, III. 63, 65; the desire of Massachusetts for her old charter, III. 63, 65, 66; Andros and Randolph tell their own stories, III. 64; memoirs injurious to New England, III. 64; Mary, a religious Queen, III. 66; the Lords of Trade to prepare a new charter, III. 67, 68; the duty of framing the charter committed to Sir G. Treby, III. 67; the charter granted by William III. to Massachusetts, III. 70-78, 854; IV. 68, 70, 72, 285; the new charter considered, in regard to its difference from the old one, III. 75-78; Sir William Phipps appointed Governor of Massachusetts, III. 78; IV. 441; expedition against Canada, III. 80; the plan of annexing Plymouth to New York or Massachusetts, III. 80, 81; renewal of the expedition against New France, III. 81, 82; departure of Mather and Phipps, III. 82, 83; the new government assumed by Phipps, III. 83, 192; the new charter read in Boston, III. 83; the war against New France in a languishing condition, III. 84, 85; the treatise of Mather on witchcraft, III. 93, 94; the penalty for a contumacious refusal to answer, III. 101; epidemic delusions, III. 113; the superstition of witchcraft, and the great suffering caused by it, III. 113-124; Oates and Dangerfield, III. 114; executions for witchcraft in Scotland, III. 117; laws against witchcraft repealed, III. 117, 118; the law in Massachusetts unsettled, III. 126; law in regard to land-titles in Massachusetts disallowed in, III. 127; Act to issue writs of *habeas corpus* disallowed, III. 128; instructions to build a fort in Maine, III. 131; instructions to erect and keep in repair a fort at Pemaquid, III. 131, 154, 178, 186, 228-230, 237, 269, 275, 301, 362-364; IV. 62, see *Pemaquid*; continuation of French and Indian hostilities, III. 131-146; the Indians promise to be good subjects, III. 132; renewal of the enterprise against Canada, III. 133; displeasure felt toward Sir William Phipps, III. 135, 136; Captain Short ordered to go to England, III. 135, 191; Phipps ordered to return to, III. 136; reception given to Phipps, III. 138; treaty of Ryswick, III.

ENG

146, 147, 153; attention drawn to the commercial affairs of the colonies, III. 147, 148; the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, III. 148; policy of the King in time of war, III. 149; ambition of Dudley, III. 149, 150, 181, 182; appointment of Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, as Governor of Massachusetts, III. 150, 154; IV. 441; appointment of Dudley as Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Wight, III. 150, 181; Constantine Phipps and Sir Henry Ashurst act as agents for Massachusetts, III. 150, 259, 312; Phipps's efforts to reinstate himself, III. 150; the Governors of Massachusetts, III. 151; expectations in the appointment of Phipps, III. 152; the piracies in America to be investigated, III. 152, 153, 161-167; disappointments of the American war, III. 153; the peace with France uncertain, III. 153, 154; the importance of Pemaquid, III. 154; Lord Bellomont's party feeling, III. 155; the death of Lord Bellomont, III. 160, 175, 176; matter of Lord Bellomont's salary, III. 161, 267; the story of Captain Kidd, III. 163-167; presents sent to King's Chapel in Boston, III. 169, 170; proceedings relating to the incorporation of Harvard College, III. 172-175, 183, 184, 291-294; enemies of Lord Bellomont, III. 175; unfriendly proceedings, relating to the charters in New England, III. 178-180; death of William III., III. 180, 184; the proposition to consolidate New England colonies, III. 180; Wait Winthrop appointed agent from Massachusetts, III. 183, 184; Joseph Dudley appointed Governor of Massachusetts, III. 184; IV. 441; jealousy of the growth of Massachusetts, III. 186; the claims of Mason in New Hampshire, III. 187-190; New Hampshire made a royal province, III. 188, 209; Allen made Governor of New Hampshire, III. 188; IV. 450; Usher appointed as Lieutenant-Governor under Allen, III. 188; IV. 450; quarrel of Phipps with Usher, III. 191, 192; Usher relieved from office, III. 193, 194, 324; Partridge's trip to, III. 194; Partridge to succeed Lieutenant-Governor Usher in office, III. 194; affairs in New Hampshire, III. 196-198; opinions concerning the Revolution in New England, III. 198, 199; Address from Connecticut sent to, III. 199; Fitz John Winthrop to act as agent

ENG

for Connecticut, III. 199; the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island to be inspected, III. 199, 200; the woful decade, III. 200; executive officers of New Hampshire appointed by the King, III. 200; plan of the expedition against Canada, III. 202-204; rights of appeal from the colonies, III. 204, 205; the government desires to obtain control of the troops in New England, III. 205-208, 218-220, 325, 331, 339; Address sent to William III. from Connecticut, III. 206, 207; Winthrop returns from, III. 208; relations with Connecticut, III. 209; questions of boundary in New England, III. 214, 450-453; Andros's influence in Rhode Island, III. 215; letters from Lord Bellomont, describing matters in Rhode Island, III. 222, 223; effort of Rhode Island to make interest in, III. 223; accession of Queen Anne, III. 224; Queen Anne's policy toward dissenters, III. 224, 359, 360; IV. 289; attitude of, towards the royal Governors, III. 224, 225; feeling in regard to Governor Dudley, III. 225, 226, 233, 314; Address of Dudley in Massachusetts, bearing upon trade with, III. 227, 228; war renewed with France, III. 228-265; desire to rebuild the fort at Pemaquid, III. 228-230; letter from Governor Dudley, III. 232; purpose of the war against New France, III. 244, 245; aimless brutality of the French, III. 244, 495, 496; IV. 206; purpose of the expedition against Quebec, III. 244; marine conquests, III. 245; method of warfare, III. 248; determination to strike the French in their central stronghold, III. 248, 249, 255, 256; promises to send troops to aid in the attack on Canada, III. 255; the promise unfulfilled, III. 256; Nicholson urges the expedition against Nova Scotia, III. 257; Jeremiah Dummer acts as agent in, for Massachusetts, III. 258, 259, 312, 356, 417; a new expedition against Canada, III. 258-264; death of Sir Henry Ashurst, III. 259, 312; Sir William Ashurst, though a friend to, declines the agency for Massachusetts, III. 259, 312, 356; Mrs. Masham's influence, III. 260; prohibition regarding the impressing of seamen, III. 262; loss of Lord Hill's fleet, III. 262-264; the pilots of the fleet sent to, for examination, III. 263, 264; Lord Hill returns to, III. 263; the agent

ENG

for Massachusetts to vindicate her course, III. 264; Address to Queen Anne, praying for a renewal of the expeditions against New France, III. 264; the Indians declare their loyalty to Queen Anne, III. 265; letter from the Queen to Massachusetts, III. 266; complaints of Massachusetts, by Dudley, III. 268; rumors of discontent with Dudley in Massachusetts, III. 277; matters pertaining to Rouse, Vetch, and others, III. 281, 300, 313; petition for Dudley's removal, III. 281, 282; pamphlet entitled "The Deporable State of New England," etc., III. 283-289; the Queen approached from the other side, III. 289; the "Most Humble Defence," etc., III. 289; Act of union with Scotland, III. 298, 421; removal of Dudley considered unwise, III. 302; condition of Massachusetts, III. 302-305; Act for erecting a post-office in Her Majesty's dominions, III. 305-310, 335; first post-office in, III. 308; income from the post-office, III. 308; the South Sea Company, III. 310, 311; IV. 57, 58; the death of Queen Anne, III. 313, 314, 324, 348, 357; flight of Lord Bolingbroke and Ormond, III. 314, 352; Governor Dudley continues in office for a short time after the Queen's death, III. 315; Colonel Burgess appointed Governor of Massachusetts, III. 315, 316, 356; favor shown Lieutenant-Governor Tailer, III. 316; letters describing Rhode Island from Dudley, III. 326, 327; a prelude to the Stamp Act, III. 335; complaints of Connecticut, with reference to the Mason and Mohegan claims, III. 337-340; danger for the charters of the colonies, III. 338-341, 374, 430, 431, 453, 454; charges against Rhode Island and Connecticut, III. 339; accession of George I. to the English throne, III. 343, 350-352; Address to George I., from Connecticut, III. 348; difference in the relations with New England become more defined, III. 349; plots of Queen Anne's ministry, III. 349-351; religious matters at the time of the accession of George I., III. 349, 350; arrogance of the Protestant Church, III. 350; Lord Townsend assumes the administration, III. 352; decline of Tory power, III. 352; Atterbury banished, III. 352; the Duke of Marlborough slighted, III. 352; rise of the Whig party, III. 352; relations with Massachusetts, III.

ENG

353, 354, 360, 361; Colonel Burgess declines the office of Governor of Massachusetts, III. 356; John Shute appointed Governor of Massachusetts, III. 356; IV. 441; instructions given to Governor Shute, III. 361; interests of trade, III. 361; a copy of Massachusetts laws to be forwarded, III. 362; order to preserve the ship-timber in New England, for use in, III. 363-375, 380, 425, 429; IV. 73, 256, 257; Bridger and Furzer to take charge of the naval stores, III. 366-368; return of Bridger, III. 370; Dummer's opposition to Bridger, III. 371, 372; duty of one per cent on goods from, III. 373, 374; at war with Spain, III. 374; petition to garrison Port Royal, III. 381; cession of Nova Scotia, III. 381; IV. 208; the Council for Nova Scotia, III. 382; Rev. Mr. Colman a friend of the dissenters, III. 385; an English flag presented to the Indians, III. 387; venom of the French, III. 389-391, see *French*; no Romish priest to reside in British dominions, III. 392; capture of the young Baron de St. Castine, III. 392; avowed alliance of the French with the Indians, III. 393; commanders-in-chief appointed for the American troops, III. 393; IV. 221, 223, 227, 236, 431; departure of Governor Shute for, III. 398; report of the American colonies, III. 398-400; independence of Massachusetts complained of, III. 399, 400; Memorial to the King, and accusations sent from Massachusetts concerning the House of Representatives in Massachusetts, III. 415-418; Dummer and Cooke to defend the House, III. 417; Jeremiah Dummer writes and publishes his "Defence of the American Charters," III. 417, 431, 454-456; the Explanatory Charter, III. 418, 419; the Privy Council condemn the House, III. 418, 419; opinion of the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General in relation to Synods, III. 421, 422; litigation with Governor Allen, III. 424, 425; opposition to Vaughan's appointment, III. 425; quarrel between Vaughan and Shute, III. 426, 427; Joseph Addison, Secretary of State in, III. 427; fame of Londonderry, Ireland, III. 428; matters pertaining to the boundaries of Rhode Island and Connecticut, III. 431, 432, 451-453; the Act of Repeal, III. 437; Jahleel Brenton and William Penn serve as

ENG

agents for Rhode Island, III. 438; Richard Partridge and Lieutenant-Governor Jenckes to act as agents for Rhode Island, III. 438, 439, 452; Dummer acts as agent for Connecticut, III. 452; IV. 124; Lord Carteret made Secretary of State for the colonies, III. 454; return of Shute, III. 456; the statute of mortmain, III. 458; the question of validity of land-titles in Connecticut, III. 458; IV. 122-124; laws of inheritance, III. 458; IV. 122-124; correspondence of Connecticut conducted by Saltonstall, III. 459; politics of New England, III. 463-469; questions of English rule, III. 463; the protection of English law over her provinces, III. 463, 464; attitude and condition of New England, III. 463-469; cupidity of the merchants, III. 464; Protestant settlement in the monarchy of, III. 464; maxim of political science, III. 467, 468; condition under Charles I., III. 467, 468; contest for political independence in America, III. 468, 469; William Burnet, IV. 1; Burnet made Governor of New York and New Jersey, IV. 1; accession of George II. to the throne, IV. 1, 2; Burnet appointed Governor of Massachusetts, IV. 2, 441; power of Robert Walpole, IV. 16; chartered rights of the King's governor over the General Court, in the colonies, IV. 22, 23; co-operation of Mr. Wilks and Mr. Belcher as agents for the House of Massachusetts, IV. 25, 39, 40, 71, 124; letter from Burnet desiring a censure from Parliament, IV. 26; Burnet instructed to discontinue certain proceedings in New York, IV. 27; travels of Jonathan Belcher, IV. 38; appointment of Belcher as Governor of Massachusetts, IV. 39, 40, 62, 124, 441; assurances of Governor Belcher to the Ministry, IV. 40; William Tailer appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, IV. 41, 441; the question in Massachusetts concerning public supplies and payments, IV. 47-52; question of the redemption of the bills of credit in Massachusetts, IV. 52-58, 186-192, 271, 329, 330, 379; authority of the King over the governor and province of Massachusetts, IV. 53, 54; the wars with Spain, IV. 58, 134, 140, 272; death of George I., IV. 59; scheme of Coram for settlement of lands near Nova Scotia, IV. 61, 62; opposition to Governor Belcher, IV. 63, 64; the question of government

ENG

in New Hampshire, IV. 65, 66; Dunbar sails for, IV. 65; the question of the boundary between Massachusetts and New Hampshire to be settled, IV. 66-72; object of Dunbar's visit to, IV. 67; plan to obtain Belcher's removal, IV. 67; John Tomlinson to act as agent for New Hampshire, IV. 67; Edmund Quincy to act as agent for Massachusetts, IV. 71; death of Edmund Quincy, IV. 71; growing dislike to, and removal from office of Governor Belcher, IV. 72-74; Holden the head of the dissenters, IV. 73; Belcher made Governor of New Jersey, IV. 75; accounts sent, of the religious revival in New England, IV. 80, 81; letter from Dr. Cutler describing Whitefield's work in Massachusetts, IV. 108, 109; obligations required of dissenters, IV. 117; order sent forth to proclaim George II., IV. 122; matters pertaining to the laws of inheritance, IV. 122, 123; the question of vital importance to landed property, IV. 123; Mr. Wilks appointed agent for Connecticut, IV. 124, 142; displeasure against the colonies, IV. 124; commerce with Rhode Island, IV. 129; memorial concerning the contest about the bills of credit, IV. 130-132; promises of aid to George Berkeley unfulfilled, IV. 132, 133; William Shirley and his ambition, IV. 135-139; appointment of William Shirley as Governor of Massachusetts, IV. 139, 441; application to Shirley for recruits, IV. 142, 145; the Land Bank scheme suppressed, IV. 143; renewal of war with France, IV. 146, 147; pacific administration of Walpole, IV. 147, 181; the plan for the reduction of Louisburg, IV. 149-164; instructions to Commodore Warren, IV. 158, 159; description by Douglas of the siege of Louisburg, IV. 162; ships sent to, with the news of the surrender of Louisburg, IV. 164, 167; the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, IV. 169, 178, 182, 195, 262; the retrocession of Louisburg to France, IV. 169, 178-180; fleet to be sent for the new attack on Canada, IV. 171; proposal of Shirley for new attack on New France, IV. 171, 172; loss of French fleets, IV. 172, 173; the impressing of seamen, IV. 174-178; scheme for taxing the colonies, IV. 180, 181; boundary between New England and New France to be defined, IV. 182, 183; visit of

ENG

Governor Shirley to, IV. 182, 183; plans for Episcopal establishment in New England, IV. 183, 184; appointment given to Spencer Phipps, IV. 184; plan of establishing a colony in Nova Scotia, IV. 186; the French Neutrals, IV. 186, 209; outlay on the expedition to Louisburg, IV. 190; reimbursement to Massachusetts, IV. 190-192; certain American manufactories ordered to discontinue, IV. 194; Shirley returns from Paris, and departs for Boston, IV. 195; French power and population, IV. 197-200; allegiance of the colonies, IV. 198; letters from Shirley, showing the need of retaining Nova Scotia, IV. 199, 200; the scheme of colonial union in America, IV. 202-205, 293; war breaks forth anew with France, IV. 205-266, 279-286, 294, 317; the French Neutrals refuse to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown, IV. 208-210; the descent on Nova Scotia, IV. 208-216; the French Neutrals driven from Nova Scotia, IV. 208-216; memorial prepared by Hutchinson in behalf of the exiles from Grand Pré, IV. 215; Johnson made a baronet, IV. 219; opinion of the military capacity of Shirley, IV. 220; Shirley ordered to, IV. 224, 225; ill fortune in the wars, IV. 226-229; Thomas Pownall commissioned to be Governor of Massachusetts, IV. 231, 232, 255, 441; affairs of State in, IV. 236, 237; policy and influence of Pitt, IV. 237, 238, 254, 264, 280, 383; Pitt desires to find a good commander, IV. 238; Montcalm's successes, IV. 238-241; a monument erected to Viscount Howe, IV. 239; the tide turning, IV. 241; visit of Wolfe to, IV. 243; Pitt's admiration for Wolfe, IV. 243; campaign and capture of Quebec and Canada, IV. 244-250; bearings of the war, IV. 252-254; expense in gaining Canada, IV. 253; her empire established in the East Indies, IV. 254, 383; consequence of the accession of Canada, IV. 254; death of George II., IV. 254, 277, 281; Bernard appointed Governor of Massachusetts, IV. 255, 441; Belcher the last Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, IV. 256; Wentworth appointed Governor of New Hampshire, IV. 256; influence of Tomlinson, IV. 256; visit and ambition of Vaughan, IV. 260; contumacy of New Hampshire, IV. 270; complaints against Governor

ENG

Wentworth, IV. 270, 271; war subsidies sent to New Hampshire, IV. 270, 271; reimbursement sent to Rhode Island, IV. 284; exchange on, with Rhode Island, IV. 284; the discordant ministries, IV. 287; accession of George III., IV. 287; power of, under the Protector, IV. 287; relief from the Revolution under the Prince of Orange, IV. 287; loyal sentiment in the colonies, IV. 288-293; differences of Massachusetts with, IV. 289; a Protestant succession established, IV. 290; dictation in religious matters, IV. 290; independence of the colonies, IV. 290-294; jealous policy of, IV. 293; the "Letter to Two Great Men," IV. 294; number of colonies in America, IV. 294; discussion of the conditions of peace, IV. 294; question of giving up Canada or Guadeloupe, IV. 294, 295; Franklin, agent for Pennsylvania, IV. 295; the publication of Franklin, with regard to her interests, IV. 295, 296; Hutchinson the agent for Boston, in the crisis about the currency, IV. 300; irregularities in the public payments in Massachusetts, IV. 303, 304; matters pertaining to the Sugar Act, IV. 303, 326, 354-356, 364-367, see *Sugar Act*; attitude in the last French war towards the colonies, IV. 305; the questions concerning the writs of assistance, IV. 308-313; custom-house officers subject to the Court of Exchequer, IV. 309; the "Boston Port Bill," IV. 312, 430-432; value of gold and silver, IV. 316, 317; postponement of peace with France, IV. 317; anger in Massachusetts against the home government, IV. 320; Massachusetts denies the right of Parliament to tax her, IV. 320, 321; prospect of Episcopal Establishment in New England, IV. 324-326; Jasper Mauduit to succeed Bolan as agent for Massachusetts, IV. 325; authority of the King, Ministry, and Parliament, in America, IV. 326; stipulations in the treaty of peace, IV. 326, 327; scheme of colonial taxation, IV. 327-334, see *Taxation*; her increase of debt owing to the late war, IV. 328-330; determination to secure aid from the colonies for the war debt, IV. 328, 329, 356, 357, 379, 380, 428; policy in relation to her army, IV. 328, 329; propositions made by Charles Townshend, IV. 330, 331; duties on goods imported to and exported from

ENG

New England, IV. 331; her manufactures sent to New England, IV. 331; orders issued to the American Navy, IV. 331, 332; effort to have Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson act as agent for Massachusetts, IV. 335, 336; Massachusetts refuses to be taxed without representation, IV. 338, 345, 354, 355, 378, 379, 413, 427, 428, 430; a letter of rebuke sent to the agent from Massachusetts, IV. 339, 340; Otis's statements of the "Rights of the British Colonies," IV. 340-347; great increase of power given to the Admiralty Courts, IV. 350-352; the restrictions on trade detrimental to, IV. 352, 353, 366-368; distinction between duties and taxes, IV. 355, 356, 377; preparations to impose stamp duties on the colonies, IV. 356, 357; propositions by Mr. George Grenville in relation to the stamp duties, IV. 356, 357, 382; a system of stamp duties in, IV. 357; offence given by Rhode Island in violating the Revenue Laws, IV. 362-364; effect in Rhode Island of the proposed revision of the Sugar Act, IV. 364; value of manufactures exported to Rhode Island, IV. 365; slave-trade, IV. 366; quantity of molasses exported from her islands to Rhode Island, IV. 366; debt in Rhode Island, incurred in the French war, IV. 366, 367; attitude of Governor Hopkins towards, IV. 367-371; petition sent from Rhode Island, IV. 369, 370; references to the Stamp and Sugar Acts, by Hopkins, IV. 370, 371; value of goods exported to Connecticut, IV. 373; Ingersoll and Jackson to act as agents for Connecticut, in opposition to the Stamp Act, IV. 374-376; the Stamp Act passed, IV. 375, 376, see *Stamp Act*; change in the policy of the government, IV. 377; immediate consequences of the Stamp Act, IV. 377-403; affectionate loyalty of New England, IV. 380-382; inopportunities of the Stamp Act, IV. 382; royal governors sent to Massachusetts, IV. 382; commerce of the colonies enriching to, IV. 382; New England too feeble in numbers to resist her power, IV. 382, 383; attitude towards America, IV. 385; the British Ministry misled as to the temper of the colonies, IV. 386, see *English Ministry*; the manufactures no longer imported by New England, IV. 387; a non-importation agreement, IV. 387, 413,

ENG

420; conduct of Massachusetts and Virginia, IV. 388, 389; advice of Dr. Franklin, in relation to the Stamp Act, IV. 389, 390; Oliver made Stamp Distributor for Massachusetts, IV. 389-391; Ingersoll made Stamp Distributor for Connecticut, IV. 389, 390; last ten years of colonial dependence, IV. 404-438; illness of George III., IV. 405; the Prime Minister outvoted in the House of Commons, IV. 405; a new Ministry formed, IV. 405; Marquis of Rockingham at the head of the Ministry, IV. 405, 406; speech of Pitt in relation to taxation and legislation, IV. 406, 407; the Stamp Act repealed, IV. 407-409; Pitt's Ministry, IV. 409; Mr. Townshend's proposition in relation to duties on tea and other articles of export, IV. 410; the Crown to establish salaries in its North American possessions, IV. 410; a colonial department instituted, IV. 412; Earl of Hillsborough appointed Colonial Secretary, IV. 412; petition from Massachusetts to remove Governor Bernard from office, IV. 413; agreement in Boston to import no taxed goods, IV. 413, 420; proceedings in Massachusetts, IV. 413-417; instructions to Hutchinson, IV. 418; Bernard released from office, IV. 418; Governor Bernard sails for, IV. 418; Lord North becomes Prime Minister, IV. 420; the duties to be repealed, excepting that on tea, IV. 420, 421; proposed reduction on the whole price of tea, IV. 420, 421; opposition to the tax on tea, IV. 421, 427; discovery of letters containing unfriendly sentiments to the colonies, IV. 425, 426; resistance to the usurpations of the Ministry, IV. 426, 427; prospect of a pacific issue darkening, IV. 427; no official communication made to Governor Wentworth concerning the Stamp Act, IV. 427; great quantities of tea accumulated in, IV. 427, 428; the tea sent to America, IV. 427-429; the news of the destruction of tea, in England, IV. 430; retaliatory Acts, IV. 430, 431; Hutchinson desires to visit, IV. 431; General Thomas Gage to succeed Governor Hutchinson, IV. 431; law relating to the trial of murderers from Massachusetts, IV. 431; Counsellors in Massachusetts to be appointed in England, IV. 431, 433; four regiments in Boston, IV. 432; the Mandamus Counsellors, IV. 433, 444; Address to the King,

ENG

from the Second General Congress, IV. 433; Pitt urges a conciliatory action, IV. 436; retaliatory action taken, IV. 436; the War of American Independence begun, IV. 437-439. See *English*, *English Ministry*, *Parliament*, and *Privy Council*.

English, the, date of the visit of Gosnold to Massachusetts, I. iii; the character of, in New England, I. iii, iv; the descendants of the Puritans in New England, I. iv, 47; problem worked out by those in New England, I. iv; their posterity in the United States, I. ix; early explorers in America, I. 1-18; opinion of the Reformation, I. 47; expatriation of, I. 48-51; III. 119; persecuted for their belief, I. 48, 49, 53, see *Dis-senters* and *Non-Conformists*; emigration planned, I. 51-57; the departure of the Pilgrims, I. 57, 58; use of the terms *Pilgrims*, *old-comers*, and *forefathers*, I. 57, 82; character of the emigrants on board the Mayflower and Fortune, I. 58-61, 72, 73; the language partly spoken by the natives, I. 66; relations with the Indians, I. 66-68, 70, 71, 129-131, 192, 210, 211, 227, 349, 364; II. 122-130, 132, 178, 186; III. 36, 146, 444; IV. 197; change of dates effected by the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar, I. 68, 69; trouble with, and danger from, the Indians, I. 76, 184-193, 260, 304-308, 350, 375, 395; II. 126, 127, 130-193; III. 87, 88; settlements in New Hampshire and Maine, I. 77, 78; causes of trouble to the patriots, I. 98; a Puritan nation planned by, I. 110; the Indians seek alliances with, I. 130; claim of the freemen in Massachusetts to the land, I. 150, 151, see *Freemen*; the colonies to be governed by the Commission of the King, I. 155, 156; the Pequot War, I. 184-193; battles with, and cruelties practised by the Indians, I. 184-194; II. 130-193; III. 23-45, 86-88, 139-147, 236-265, 389, 402-414; IV. 164, 184, 186, 253, 261-264; Indian word for, I. 189, 190; II. 83; number wounded and killed in the Pequot War, I. 190; scarcity of settlers in Maine, I. 220; French neighbors, I. 260; self-governing commonwealths founded in America, I. 268; coasting voyages to the settlements in Virginia, I. 294; home feeling, I. 296, 300; the language spoken in New England, I. 300; letter from the Swedes pro-

ENG

fessing respect, I. 314, 315; hostile relations with the Dutch, I. 365-371, 387; II. 62-64, 98, 99, 108, 115-119; missionary operations, I. 376-379; II. 124, 125, see *Society for Propagating*, etc.; early arrangements for education in New Haven, I. 399; the Regicides, II. 21-26, 138; laws restricting the trade, II. 28, see *Trade*; the duties of allegiance, II. 29, 30; the Royal embassy, II. 55, see *Royal Commissioners*; number of Indians reading the language, II. 125; Philip's War, II. 130-193; Indians proving faithful and unfaithful to, II. 167-169, 182-188; severities practised upon, in England, II. 261, 331; rumors concerning Andros and James II., II. 362; condition of, under James II., II. 368, 369; influence of the French and their priests in increasing the Indian barbarities, III. 29; IV. 253, see *French*; their wars with the French, III. 29, see *France* and *French*; duration of the first allied war of Indians and Canadians, III. 29-147; allies among the Indians, III. 29, 41; IV. 198, 199, 251; the Iroquois or Five Nations generally allied with the British interests, III. 32, 33; IV. 198, 199; settlements in New York, III. 35; need of active co-operation against France and the Indians, III. 35; preservation of Acadia from settlement by the Indians, III. 37, 38; sack of Schenectady, III. 38-40; Indians wavering in their alliance, III. 41; expedition against Quebec, III. 42-52, 381; Phipps made General of the forces, III. 44; attack upon Montreal, III. 44-47; towns in Maine belonging to, III. 45, 86; number of the fleet attacking Quebec, III. 47; repulsed at Quebec, III. 49-53; exchange of prisoners, III. 51; the Indians restore captives, III. 85; the people distressed by witchcraft, III. 90-124; sufferings of the exiles in Massachusetts, III. 119; disastrous renewal of the war with the Indians and French, III. 138-147; capture of a vessel by the French, III. 142; the peace of Ryswick, III. 146, 381; rebellion among the colonists, at the oppression of the laws, III. 178, 179; a ten years' war, III. 228, 235-265; most remote settlement, III. 235; purpose of the war against New France, III. 244, 245; number of, captured by the French and Indians, III. 246, 247; determination to strike the French at their central strong-

ENG

hold, III. 248, 249, 255, 256; fatality attending their expeditions, III. 248, 249; attack on Port Royal, III. 250-253, 288; plans of attack upon Canada, III. 255, 256, 258-264; loss of the battle of Almanza, III. 256; troops wanted in Portugal, III. 256; expedition against Nova Scotia, III. 256-258; lives lost by the Indians, III. 265; endeavor to gain an alliance with the Six Nations, III. 403, 404; Lovewell's fight, III. 411, 412; cost of men and money in the Indian war, III. 413, 414; religious awakening, and revivals among the colonists, IV. 76-120; influence of the administration of Walpole, IV. 147; war declared against France, IV. 147-169; the settlement at Annapolis, IV. 148; plan of Governor Shirley to reduce Louisburg, IV. 149-164; Pepperell to take command of the expedition, IV. 153-155; the conquest of Louisburg, IV. 160-164, 168, 169, 173; capture of a relieving ship, IV. 160, 161; frigate sent by Warren, with the news of surrender, IV. 164; rejoicings at the news, IV. 164-167; importance of the conquest, IV. 168, 169; the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, IV. 169, 178, 182, 195, 199, 262, 284, 358; retrocession of Louisburg to France, IV. 169, 178-180; plan of a new attack on Canada, IV. 171-173; custom of impressing seamen for the navy, IV. 174-178; post at Minas attacked by Indians, IV. 184; renewed Indian hostilities, IV. 184, 185; founding of Halifax, IV. 186; military occupation of Nova Scotia, IV. 186; the French Neutrals, IV. 187, see *French Neutrals*; expense of the expedition to Louisburg, IV. 190; influence upon the Indians, IV. 198; causes of the alliance with the Five Nations, IV. 198, 199; danger from the settlements at, and expeditions against, Crown Point, IV. 199, 208, 217, 220-222; duration of peace with France, IV. 205; the colonies renew the war with the French, IV. 205-207; belief with regard to the French in America, IV. 207; the descent on Nova Scotia, IV. 208-216; defeat of General Braddock, IV. 211; encounter with Dieskau, IV. 216-220; Dieskau made a baronet, IV. 219; Shirley appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America, IV. 221; expedition against Fort Niagara, IV. 221; the plan of the year's campaign, IV. 222; mis-

ENG

fortune pursues the plans of, IV. 226-229; renewed war with the French, IV. 227-254, 257-267, 279-282; Abercrombie acts as Commander-in-Chief temporarily, IV. 227; Lord Loudoun appointed Commander-in-Chief, IV. 227; loss of Oswego, IV. 228; loss of Fort William Henry, IV. 229-231, 264, 283, 332; arrogance of Lord Loudoun, IV. 233, 234; Abercrombie to succeed Lord Loudoun as Commander-in-Chief, IV. 236; influence of Pitt upon the people and army, IV. 236-238, 251, 253, 254, 280; death of Viscount Howe, IV. 239; the tide turning, IV. 241; capture of Fort Frontenac, IV. 241, 242; the capture of Quebec, IV. 245-250; losses at Quebec, IV. 249; action of De Bougainville, IV. 249; the fleet in the St. Lawrence, IV. 250; surrender of Canada, IV. 250, 251; disastrous engagement with the French, IV. 250; contrasted with the French, IV. 252; bearings of the war, IV. 252-254; victory at St. Francis, IV. 265, 266; capitulation of Montreal, IV. 266, 281; end of the French war, IV. 281, 326, 327; distribution of war subsidies, IV. 282. *see Bills of Credit*; outrage committed by the law of England on, IV. 312, *see Writs of Assistance*; suffering caused by oppressive Acts of Parliament, IV. 312, 313, 327-357, 364-403, 410-413, 420-433, *see Stamp Act and Sugar Act*; the colonists refuse to be unjustly taxed, IV. 333, 345, 354, 355, 378, 379, 413, 427, 428, 430; General Gage the Commander-in-Chief of the King's forces, IV. 431; actions at Lexington and Concord, IV. 437; the War of American Independence begun, IV. 438; General Gage surrounded by provincial troops in Boston, IV. 438, 439; the American armies to be commanded by General George Washington, IV. 439; loss of troops, IV. 439; the battle of Bunker's Hill, IV. 439; the colonists become the provincial troops, IV. 439. *See England and English Ministry.*

English, Philip, accused of witchcraft, III. 97.

English Commonwealth, the, I. 387; the period of speculation and eccentricities, II. 4; appearance of the Quaker sect, II. 4; Whalley in the Parliaments of, II. 22; origin of the Navigation Act, III. 15; jealousy of Massachusetts, III. 186.

English Establishment, the, Church

ENG

of, I. 26, 149, 162, 216; III. 422; rejected by the colonists, I. 101; the only place of worship in Boston, III. 169. *See Church of England.*

English Ministry, the; attitude toward, and relations with the colonies, II. 55; changes in the body, II. 79; Lord Clarendon falls from power, II. 80, 91, 93; the Cabal Ministry rules affairs, II. 80; the Cabal Ministry dissolved after a short time, II. 93; step taken under the auspices of the Cabal Ministry, II. 93, 94; conflict with the colonies, III. 1, 2; little time to spare for New England, III. 54; Sir Henry Ashurst to nominate persons for office in Massachusetts, III. 78; opinions in relation to the Revolution of New England, III. 198; questions of war, III. 256; change in the rule of, III. 258; the pilots of Lord Hill's fleet sent to England, III. 264; relations with Massachusetts, III. 303, 354, 359, 361, 464, 465; Tory power at the helm, III. 312; plots of Queen Anne's Ministry fail, III. 349-351; approve of Governor Dudley, III. 357; interest in the naval resources of New England, III. 366; their desire to extend their power, III. 376; the misconduct of the House of Representatives, III. 419, 420; the Explanatory Charter, III. 419; offence given to the Board of Trade, III. 425; Protestant rule in England, III. 463; threaten Massachusetts with legal interference, IV. 5, 6; assurances from Jonathan Belcher, IV. 40; consent to the support of the Governor of Massachusetts, by annual grants, IV. 52; the redemption of the currency in New England, IV. 52, 58, 188, 190, *see Bills of Credit*; promises made to Bishop Berkeley, IV. 133; informed of the need of defence for Annapolis, IV. 150; representations of Governor Shirley, IV. 159; remarks of Voltaire concerning the achievement of Louisburg, IV. 169; Louisburg returned to France, IV. 179, 180; the cession of Acadia to Great Britain, IV. 195; opinion of Governor Shirley's military prowess, IV. 197, 224; the defence of Nova Scotia, IV. 199, 200; scheme of colonial union, IV. 200-205, 293; instructions in relation to Nova Scotia, IV. 212-216; the ministry of the Duke of Devonshire, IV. 236; result of Pitt's accession to power, IV. 236-238, 251, 253, 254, 280; William Vaughan's ambition, IV. 260; opin-

ENG

ion of Wentworth's prerogatives, IV. 270; requirements in the Spanish war, from America, IV. 272; discordant elements, IV. 287; the laws of Massachusetts, IV. 289; publication of Franklin, IV. 295, 296; discontent felt towards the colonies, IV. 314, 315; expedition against Martinique, IV. 317; their authority in America, IV. 326; questions of colonial administration, IV. 327-334; plan for paying the war debt of England, IV. 328, 329, 357, 379, 380; the agent of Massachusetts rebuked for his conduct with, IV. 339, 340; Mr. George Grenville becomes Prime Minister, IV. 356; referred to in the treatise of Governor Hopkins, IV. 370; report from Connecticut of trade, etc., IV. 372, 373; watched with jealousy, IV. 380; Ministers misled as to the temper of the colonies, IV. 386; the Prime Minister outvoted in the House of Commons, IV. 405; effort of the King to promote Pitt to be Prime Minister, IV. 405; the Marquis of Rockingham placed at the head of, IV. 405, 406; the distinction between legislation and taxation, IV. 407; Lord Rockingham's Ministry falls to pieces, IV. 409; Pitt consents to form a ministry, IV. 409, 410; the new Act to impose duties on tea and other articles, IV. 410; the House in Massachusetts refuses to comply with their demands, IV. 413; a fleet with troops sent to Boston, IV. 416; Lord North becomes Prime Minister, IV. 420; Grafton succeeded by Lord North, IV. 420; offensive conduct in Rhode Island, IV. 422, 423; Massachusetts in the van of the resistance to the usurpations of, IV. 426, 427; the Boston Port Bill goes into effect, IV. 431, 432; apprehension in Massachusetts of destructive action from, IV. 436, 437. See *Parliament*.

English Rubric, the, III. 170. See *Rubric*.

Epidemic Diseases, law in Rhode Island concerning, IV. 127.

Episcopacy, I. 111; abolished by the Long Parliament, I. 323; rivalry with Popery, II. 91; reestablished in Scotland, II. 91, 92; supported by cruel measures, II. 92; to be established in Boston, II. 225, 297, 301, 323; III. 60, 61; the Old South Church used for the purpose, II. 323; declaration against, in Scotland, III. 5; remonstrance in Boston against the projected synod,

EUR

III. 421; churches organized in Rhode Island, III. 435, 437; IV. 134; question in relation to the ministry, involving the titles to large amounts of land, III. 458; complaints of Governor Belcher, IV. 73, 74; Christ Church in Boston presided over by Dr. Cutler, IV. 108; need of energetic work from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, IV. 108; views of Dr. Cutler concerning the revivals in New England, IV. 108, 109; plan for establishment of, in the colonies, IV. 183, 184; the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," under the auspices of, IV. 324, see *Society for the Propagation*, etc.; danger of Episcopal usurpation in Massachusetts, IV. 325. See *Church of England*.

Epochs of history in New England. See *Periods*, etc.

Erie, Lake, I. 363; presence of the Iroquois, III. 31; French forts erected near, IV. 199.

Ermine, the, I. 26.

Essex, Earl of, I. 5, 6, 106, 324.

Essex, England, emigration from, I. 59, 134, 170, 179; executions for witchcraft, III. 117.

Essex County, New England, one of the four counties in Massachusetts, I. 256; towns in, jealous of Boston, I. 318; the home of Endicott, I. 401; towns refuse to attend an election ordered by Andros's government, II. 326; the witchcraft tragedy confined to, III. 103; execution of witches, III. 122; rebuke given to the Boston ministers, IV. 99.

Essex Street, the Liberty Tree, IV. 390.

Established Church, the, I. 162. See *Church of England*.

Etchemins, the, I. 29; chief of, makes a treaty with the English, II. 178.

Eucharist, the, III. 116.

Europe, early voyages of discovery from, I. 2-8; slight knowledge of New England, I. 19; relations of Massachusetts with the colonists of, I. 314-319, 336-338; appeal of Stuyvesant for instructions, I. 338, 365; ships sent to, from New England, I. 406; spread of Quaker doctrines, II. 5; vessels from, referred to by Randolph, II. 201; alleged neglect of the Navigation Law, II. 201; defence of the reformed faith in the North of, III. 8; resistance to Louis XIV., III. 8; William III. as a political manager, III. 7, 8; laws re-

EUR

stricting the trade with English colonies, III. 15, 16; witchcraft punished, III. 116; affairs of William III., III. 145, 146; affairs of England in, drain the purse for New England, III. 146; Marlborough's victories in, arrested, III. 259; price of postage, III. 307; exports and imports, III. 330; commercial relations with Rhode Island, III. 330; IV. 365, 366; war raging on the Continent, III. 341; visited by George I., III. 374; flattery of Governor Burnet to America, IV. 4; reception to Jonathan Belcher, IV. 38; effect of Walpole's administration, IV. 147; trade of William Pepperell, IV. 153, 154; effect of the capture of Louisburg, IV. 169; treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, IV. 178, 179; pacification with England, IV. 184; reasons for returning Louisburg to France, IV. 190; expense of the expedition to Louisburg, IV. 190; a new world opened to, IV. 251, 252; visited by George II., IV. 269; arrival of troops to hold Louisburg, IV. 282.

Europeans, the, early attempts at colonization in New England, I. 2-5; last unsuccessful attempt, I. 5-8; first permanent colony established in New England, I. 47; the colonists in America hold the land against, I. 150; relations with the Five Nations, III. 81-83.

Euston, Lord, his seat in Parliament connected with Belcher's removal from office, IV. 74.

Exchange, price of, IV. 284.

Exchequer of England, the, revenue expected from the postal regulations, III. 308, 309; expectations from the passage of the Sugar Act, IV. 356; provisions of the Stamp Act, IV. 376; Charles Townshend appointed Chancellor of, IV. 410; effort of, to impose a colonial tax, IV. 428. See *Treasury*.

Excise, I. 274.

Excise Bill, opposition to, IV. 301.

Exeter, settlement of, I. 214; government of, I. 214; under the protection of Massachusetts, I. 220; departure of Wheelwright, I. 220, 223; Indian butcheries in, II. 174; III. 41, 140, 246, 254, 259; royal order concerning, II. 232; the Marshal driven from, II. 276; on the frontier line of Massachusetts, III. 24; its escape from destruction, III. 144, 145; man roasted to death, III. 254, 255; writ of ejectment against Richard Waldron, III. 319;

FAS

one of the six towns in New Hampshire, III. 324; the trees marked with the Queen's arrow, III. 371; settlement of Stratham, III. 428; complaints of Governor Belcher, IV. 73.

Exodus expounded to the Indians, I. 378.

Explanatory Charter, the, III. 419, 420.

Exports and Imports, I. 148, 293-295; II. 84; III. 330, 357, 366, 367, 398, 399, 424; IV. 129, 365, 366, 373.

Evertsen, Cornelius, captures New York, II. 98, 99.

FAHRENHEIT, range of the mercury in New England, I. 20.

Fairbanks, Richard, appointed by the General Court to take care of letters, III. 305.

Fairfax, Sir Thomas, I. vi, 186; influence of liberal thought upon his victories, I. vi, 324.

Fairfield, settlement of, I. 234; a Dutch prize taken into, I. 389; conference held at, regarding the submission of Connecticut, II. 338, 339; proceedings of Andros concerning courts and sheriffs, II. 343.

Fairweather, Captain, made Commander at the Castle in Boston Harbor, II. 374; his captives at the Castle, II. 375.

Falkland Isles, the, arrival of the exiles from Nova Scotia, IV. 215.

Fall River, II. 129.

Fallow-Deer, the, I. 26.

Falmouth, America, I. 403; II. 333; former name of, I. 403; Indian wars and barbarities, II. 173, 175; III. 406; a fort erected, II. 177; frontier town of Massachusetts, III. 24; treaties made with Indians, III. 413; IV. 184.

Falmouth, England, departure of Gosnold's expedition, I. 4.

Faneuil Hall, condemnation of the action of the mob, IV. 393, 394.

Farmer, Hugh, quotation from, III. 115.

Farmington, settlement of, I. 394.

Farnum, banished from Massachusetts, II. 105.

Farthings, bullets received as a legal substitute for, I. 295.

Farwell, charges against, as an assistant of Andros, II. 382.

Fasts, a day set apart, to pray for rain, I. 80; the days of the Church disregarded, I. 289; right of appointment, III. 377, 382, 416; appointed at the time of the "Great Awakening," IV. 76.

FAY

- Fayal*, the commerce with Rhode Island, III. 330.
- Federal Commissioners*. See *Commissioners of the Confederation*.
- Fellows*, the, of Harvard College, III. 174, 294; of Brown University, IV. 364.
- Fenn*, Benjamin, Commissioner for New Haven, II. 46.
- Fenner*, Arthur, a Magistrate of Providence, II. 112.
- Fenwick*, George, founds a plantation at the mouth of the Connecticut, I. 235; his antecedents, I. 235; conveys the fort at Saybrooke to Connecticut, I. 236, 352; debt to, from Connecticut, I. 352; Connecticut sends an application by, for a royal charter, II. 40.
- Fenwick*, Mrs. George, daughter of Sir Edward Apsley, I. 235.
- Ferries*, I. 117, 295; III. 307; in Connecticut, III. 210; in Rhode Island, III. 218.
- Feversham*, town of, II. 308.
- Fiennes*, a patentee of Connecticut, I. 108.
- Fifth Monarchy Men*, the, II. 27.
- Finance*. See *Bills of Credit*, *Coinage*, and *Treasury*.
- Fines*, I. 385; II. 164; III. 450; for harboring Quakers, II. 10.
- Fir-boards* exported from Massachusetts, II. 84.
- Fire*, the, in Boston, II. 234.
- First Church of Boston*, the, organization of, I. 115, 128; ordination of Rev. John Wilson, I. 115, 128; temporary absence of Mr. Wilson, I. 120, 127; controversy with the Church of Watertown, I. 124, 125; the labors of John Eliot, I. 127; the members of, worship with those of the Church of Charlestown, I. 128; separation of the societies and erection of a church building in Boston, I. 128; settlement of Rev. John Cotton with Mr. Wilson, I. 134; relations with Roger Williams, I. 162; the trouble caused by Mrs. Hutchinson, I. 196-210; effort to settle Mr. Wheelwright, I. 198; fears regarding the Synod of 1646, I. 329; death of Rev. Mr. Wilson, II. 101; death of Mr. Norton, the Teacher, II. 101; invites Rev. Mr. Owen to succeed Mr. Wilson, II. 101; invites Rev. Mr. Davenport to settle, II. 101; takes part in the controversy concerning baptism, II. 101-105; division in the church, II. 101, 102; formation of the Third Church in Boston, II. 101, 102; death of Rev. Mr. Davenport, II. 103; debate on

FIT

- questions concerning the Baptists, II. 104, 105; effort made by Randolph and Andros to use the building for Episcopal worship, II. 303, 304, 322, 323; invitation to the people to assemble, at the time of the Revolution, II. 370; the Thursday lecture attended by Lord Bellmont, III. 170; action in relation to the revivals, IV. 77, 78.
- First Church of Charlestown*, the, installation of a minister, I. 115; the Boston people worship with, I. 128; separation of the parishes, I. 128. See *Church of Charlestown*.
- First Church of Dorchester*, the, I. 115, 116.
- First Church of the Massachusetts Colony*, the, I. 101, 102.
- First Church of New Haven*, the, II. 100; position held by Rev. Mr. Davenport, II. 100, 101.
- First Church of Plymouth*. See *Church of Plymouth*.
- First Church of Salem*, the, organization of, I. 101, 102; install a Pastor and Teacher, I. 101, 102; connected with the affair of witchcraft, III. 97-100; cancels the excommunication of Mrs. Nourse, III. 106.
- First Colony*, the, I. 6. See *London Colony*.
- First General Congress of the Anglo-American Colonies*, the, IV. 399-403. See *Colonial Congress*.
- First Lord of the Admiralty*, the, III. 164; IV. 78.
- First Lord of the Treasury*, the, IV. 356; office held by Mr. Grenville, IV. 356.
- First Missionary Society of Protestant Christendom*, the, I. 334.
- First Revolution in New England*, the, I. iii. See *Revolution*.
- Fish*, Rev. Mr., settled at Stonington, IV. 116; his preaching and its results, IV. 116, 117.
- Fish*, I. 24, 32, 72, 75, 80, 95; parts of, used for wampum, I. 35; exported from Massachusetts, II. 84, 357, 424; IV. 331.
- Fisher*, Mary, one of the first Quakers in Boston, II. 8.
- Fisheries*, the, I. 293, 294, 298; III. 399, 424, 439; IV. 186, 211, 258, 318, 319, 353; at the Banks, IV. 149; articles in the treaty of peace referring to, IV. 326; matters of trade, IV. 332, 333, 353.
- Fishing-lines*, I. 32.
- Fitch*, Jeremiah, Major, action of the mob, III. 449, 450, 456; made to retract his calumnious words, III. 462.

FIT

Fitch, Thomas, Governor of Connecticut, IV. 277, 278, 372, 445; term of office, IV. 278; makes report of trade, etc., to the Lords of Trade, IV. 372-374; furnishes a schedule, to be a guide in framing the Stamp Act, IV. 374; opposition in Connecticut to the Stamp Act, IV. 374, 396, 397; displaced from office, having incurred popular displeasure, IV. 427.

Five Nations, the, Andros seeks to form a treaty with, II. 357; rumors concerning Andros, II. 362; called the Iroquois by the French, III. 31; names of the tribes composing it, III. 31; the race described, III. 31, 32, 238; their numbers, III. 32; a force led against them by De Barre, III. 33; position of France towards, III. 35; threatening attitude of, III. 35, 36, 43; IV. 171; their aid sought by New England, III. 140, 248; plan of the expedition against Canada, III. 203, 204; causes of the alliance with the English, IV. 198, 199. See *Iroquois*.

Flanders, comparison drawn relating to, I. 327; visited by William III, III. 67; remark of William Pitt on the reduction of Cape Breton, IV. 169.

Flax, III. 428; IV. 365.

Fleet Prison, the, I. 238.

Fletcher, Benjamin, Colonel, Governor of New York, III. 136, 137, 164; his instructions relating to Gouverneur, III. 137; makes a claim to govern the troops of Connecticut, III. 205-208; IV. 292.

Fletcher, Moses, an early emigrant to New England, I. 50.

Florentine, the, adventures of Verazzano, I. 2, 3.

Florida, southern limit of British America, II. 64; expense of the war at, II. 159; colonies of England in, III. 14; quarrel with Carolina, IV. 58.

Flour, IV. 373.

"*Flower of Essex*," the, II. 142, 143.

Food, I. 75, 79, 80, 298, 299; II. 82.

Foot-ball, I. 36.

Forbes, General, reduction of Fort Duquesne, IV. 242.

Forefathers, the, application of the name, I. 82.

Forests, I. 23, 293. See *Woods*.

Forks, none in the early inventories of furniture, I. 297.

"*Form of Government*," the, in Rhode Island, I. 167.

Fort Albany, name of, changed from Fort Orange, II. 64; capture of, by

FOU

the Dutch, II. 99; royal order for the Dutch evacuation of, II. 117. See *Fort Orange*.

Fort Dummer, attacked by Indians, III. 406, 407; reimbursement of the cost of keeping, IV. 270.

Fort Duquesne, IV. 205; former name of Pittsburg, IV. 208; gloomy outlook for the English, IV. 208, 221; campaign against, IV. 222, 227; reduced by Colonel Washington and General Forbes, IV. 242.

Fort Edward, attacked by Dieskau, IV. 217; held by General Webb, IV. 229-231.

Fort Frontenac, the name changed to Kingston, IV. 220; captured by the English, IV. 241, 242; attack of Bradstreet, IV. 283.

Fort George, the fort dismantled, IV. 435, 436.

Fort Hill, I. 129; Andros takes refuge in, II. 370, 372-375.

Fort Massachusetts, situated on the present site of Williamstown, IV. 174; taken by French and Indians, IV. 174.

Fort Niagara, dangerous proximity of the French troops, IV. 208; plan of capture, IV. 220, 221; the campaign against, IV. 222, 227; captured by the English, IV. 244.

Fort Orange, surrenders to Cartwright, II. 64. See *Fort Albany*.

Fort Pemcuit, Pemkuit, or Pemaquid, captured by the Abenaki Indians, III. 37, 38. See *Pemaquid*.

Fort Richmond, force sent against Norridgewock, III. 407-409.

Fort St. George, I. 7.

Fort William Henry, erection of, IV. 220; captured by Montcalm, IV. 229-231, 283, 332; brutal massacre of troops, IV. 230, 231, 264; suffering of New Hampshire troops, IV. 264.

Forts, a small structure at Arrowsick Island, II. 175; massacres at Arrowsick Island, II. 175; III. 394, 395; erected by the French, III. 29; IV. 197, 199; destruction of chapel and fort at Oldtown, III. 405; slaughter at Canseau, IV. 147, 148. See the *Castle, Louisburg, Narragansett Fort, Pemaquid, Pequot Fort, Piscataqua, Port Royal, Portsmouth, Scaubrook*.

Fortune, the, I. 72, 86, 147; arrives at Plymouth, I. 72, 73; captured by a French privateer, I. 74; name of Forefathers given to the passengers of, I. 82.

Fourth Congregational Church,

FOW

- the, established in Boston, III. 170, 293. See *Brattle Square Church*.
- Fowle*, Thomas, withdraws from Child's party, I. 328.
- Fox*, the, I. 26.
- Fox*, George, reputed founder of the Quakers, II. 4; his conduct, and that of his followers, II. 4, 5; arrival in New England of, II. 113; a challenge sent by Roger Williams, II. 113; books published showing the arguments of Roger Williams with the Quakers, II. 113.
- Fox*, Secretary, his letter to Shirley, revoking his commission, IV. 223, 224.
- Fox Point*, massacre at, III. 41.
- Foxcroft*, Francis, Justice, II. 367; John Winslow brought before, II. 367; put in gaol, II. 370, 371.
- Frame Houses*, I. 296.
- France*, resistance of New England to, I. v; the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, I. v, vi; IV. 169, 178, 179, 195, 262, 284, see *Aix-la-Chapelle*; the retrocession of Louisburg, I. v, vi; IV. 169, 178-180, 186; emigration from, to America, I. ix; discoveries under Francis I., by Verrazzano, I. 2, 3; early efforts for settlements in America, I. 5, 89; adventures of John Smith, I. 8, 16; New France stricken from the map of America, I. 89; cession of Acadia to, I. 144; boundaries of Acadia undefined, I. 144; III. 154, 280; trading companies in America, I. 315, 316; relations of Burgundy and Flanders to, I. 327; recovery of her territory in America, I. 333; at war with England, II. 79, 80; III. 29-143, 228-265; IV. 147-169, 205, 210-281; exports from America, II. 84; III. 399; at war with Holland, II. 198; infraction of the Navigation Laws, II. 201; the ownership of Nova Scotia with its final settlement as a British Province, II. 279; III. 75, 381; IV. 208; attitude of William III. toward, III. 3, 6, 34; settlements in America dangerous to the colonists from England, III. 29; relations with the North American Indians, III. 29; a line of French stations surrounding the English settlements, III. 29; IV. 197, 199; M. de Callières's action, at the time of the English Revolution, III. 30; a plan for attacking the English colonies, III. 30; Frontenac appointed as Governor of New France, III. 30; plan of the English to capture the American possessions of, III. 42-48;

FRA

- Phipps demands the surrender of Quebec, III. 48, 49; failure of the expedition, III. 49-51; witchcraft in, III. 116; the Waldenses, III. 116; rumors of attack from, III. 145; treaty of Ryswick, III. 146, 153, 381; activity of New England in the war, III. 149; rumors of freebooters in America, III. 152, 153, 161; attitude of the Tories in England, III. 258, 352; project of England against New France, III. 260-265; the peace of Utrecht, III. 265, 359, 381; IV. 208; question of land ownership, III. 388; IV. 199; commerce of Massachusetts with the islands of, III. 399; IV. 305; supplies sent to Louisburg, IV. 150; Louisburg surrendered to the English, IV. 163, 164, 272, 273; Louisburg returned to, IV. 169, 178-180; D'Anville's expedition against New England, IV. 172, 173; visited by Shirley, IV. 196, 197; power in America, and ability to control the Indians, IV. 197, 198; importance of gaining Nova Scotia, IV. 199, 200; the colonies renew the war, IV. 205-207; return of Dieskau to, IV. 220; plan of Pitt, IV. 243; capture of Quebec and conquest of Canada, IV. 243-255; fall of the French Empire in America, IV. 251-254, 294; contraband trade, IV. 306; postponement of peace with England, IV. 317; stipulations in the treaty of peace, IV. 326, 327; statements of Otis in relation to the British Government, IV. 345, 346; expenses of the war with England, IV. 357, 366, 367, 379; brandy exported to Africa, IV. 366; attitude of New England at the close of the war with England, IV. 380, 381; hated by New England, IV. 383; her power broken by Pitt's greatness, IV. 383; rumors of approaching war, IV. 415. See *French*, *French Neutrals*, and *New France*.
- Franchise*, the. See *Elections*.
- Francis I.*, King of France, I. 8.
- Franklin*, Dr. Benjamin, I. 257; III. 119; IV. 375; a Boston printer, III. 469; represents Philadelphia at the Albany Congress, IV. 201-205; scheme of colonial union, IV. 202-205, 293; agent for Pennsylvania in England, IV. 295, 407; his publication on Canada and Guadeloupe, and the interests of Great Britain, IV. 295, 296; his advice in regard to the Distributor of Stamps in Connecticut, IV. 389, 390; his natural son, the Governor of New

FRE

Jersey, IV. 399; discovery of letters containing unfriendly sentiments to the colonies, IV. 425, 426; Address sent to, from Massachusetts, to be presented to the King, IV. 426.

Free-holders, I. 86.

Freeman's Charge, the, taken in New Haven, I. 228.

Freeman's Oath, the, I. 120, 157, 164, 241, 403. See *Oaths*.

Freemen, I. 118, 120; number admitted to Massachusetts, I. 118, 120, 123; their rights, I. 121, 137-140; a religious test, the condition of admission to the body of, I. 121-123, 172, 173, 220, 272, see *Elections*; determine upon Representation, I. 137; take a share of the government into their own hands, I. 137-140; doctrine of Cotton concerning permanence in office, I. 140, 170; term of office, I. 170; rights of election in the towns, I. 172; representation established by law, I. 177; military regulations, I. 178; in certain settlements exempt from the obligation of church-membership, I. 220; rules and regulations in New Haven, I. 227-229, 272, 287; rules of, and privileges for, in Connecticut, I. 232, 233, 272, 288; the oath in Plymouth differs from that of Massachusetts, I. 241, see *Freeman's Oath*; rights and duties in Plymouth, I. 241, 242, 272, 288; legal rights, I. 273, 276-278; the freemen in the General Courts often consist of the church-members of the place, I. 287, 288; assume the right of electing Federal Commissioners, I. 331; conditions of the franchise in Maine, I. 403; their powers in Massachusetts, II. 2, 3, 29; royal commands in regard to detaching the church-membership from the franchise, II. 34, 36, 62, 63, 68, 231; III. 72, 73, 169; action in New Haven, in regard to the consolidation with Connecticut, II. 45-48; new rules in regard to the franchise, II. 62, 63; characteristics of, in New England, II. 88-90; regulations in Rhode Island, pertaining to the franchise, III. 488. See *Population*.

French, the, I. v, ix; emigrants in America, I. ix; fishing-vessels of, off Newfoundland, I. 3; attempt at colonization, I. 5, 89; John Smith taken prisoner, I. 16; opinions of the Indians' religion, I. 42; a privateer captures the "Fortune," I. 74; rifle an English trading-house, I. 144, 145; ambitious designs set forth by Win-

FRE

slow, I. 237; danger in America from, I. 253, 260; relations of Massachusetts with the settlements of, I. 315, 336; trade with the Indians, I. 315, 364; ask aid from Massachusetts, in regard to the Indians, I. 363, 364; the American privateers, I. 388, 389; at war with the English, II. 79, 80; III. 29-146, 228-265; IV. 147-169, 205, 210-281; rumors of alliance with Indians, II. 151, 357; the war with the Dutch, II. 196; a vessel seized by Palmer, II. 332, 333; the settlers to be driven back in Maine, II. 352; rumors concerning the policy of Andros, II. 361, 362; English captives sold to, III. 27; intriguing influence, instigating the Indians against the English, III. 28, 138-140, 237, 238, 239, 389, 391, 405, 412, 413; IV. 146, 182, 185, 198, 199, 206, 207, 209, 253, 262; a line of stations surrounding the English settlements, III. 29; IV. 197, 199; employ Indian allies in the wars against the English, III. 29, 34, 39, 40, 45, 131, 207, 233, 235, 239, 240-248, 386, 393; IV. 197, 228, 250; efforts to make alliances with the Iroquois, III. 31-38, 85, 140; IV. 228; Indian name for, III. 36; Frontenac sends out three parties to attack the English, III. 38-41; massacre of Schenectady, III. 39, 40; Salmon Falls destroyed, III. 40; attack upon the English at Casco Bay, III. 40, 41; the English capture Port Royal, III. 42; English attack upon New France, III. 42-51; expedition of Phipps against, III. 42-53, 154, 185; animosity of the Iroquois, III. 43; privateers, III. 53; hostile to Massachusetts, III. 58; Quebec to be attacked anew, III. 81, 82; Indians promise to inform against, III. 85; attack on York, III. 86, 87; military service against, III. 89; vessels to be pursued by the English, III. 135; a priest leads the attack on Dover, III. 139; renewed hostilities against the English, III. 141-145; peace declared by the treaty of Ryswick, III. 146, 153; claim to the Eastern country and fisheries, III. 183; Connecticut sends troops against, III. 201, 202; relations with New York, III. 231; letter from Villebon, III. 237; barbarous cruelties shown to the English, III. 230, 244-248, 404, 405; massacre at Deerfield, III. 240-244; a privateer wrecked, III. 245; ransom of prisoners, III. 246; English

FRE

feeling towards, III. 248, 249; attacked at Port Royal, III. 250, 251; renewed hostilities, III. 254-256; Port Royal capitulates, III. 257, 258; plan to retake Port Royal, disconcerted, III. 265; the peace of Utrecht, III. 265, 359; Dudley accused of favoring, III. 281; conduct of Dudley considered, III. 290; Dudley's management of the war, III. 302; inroads into New Hampshire, III. 318; prize taken by Rhode Island privateers, III. 326; Rhode Island comparatively free from her wars, III. 331; enlarging settlements, III. 355, 359; ruinous war against Massachusetts, III. 360; the demolition of Pemaquid, III. 362; to desist from fishing in the waters of Nova Scotia, III. 382; the governor at Quebec threatened by Massachusetts, III. 410, 411; no disturbance in Connecticut, III. 465; a force captures the English post at Canseau, IV. 147, 273; position of the posts, IV. 148; population of Nova Scotia, IV. 148, 186; erect a fort at Chapeau Rouge Bay, IV. 148, 149; Louisburg and Cape Breton attacked by the English, IV. 149-164, 272, 273; the Grand Battery attacked by Colonel Vaughan, IV. 159, 160; a relieving-ship captured, IV. 160, 161; the commander at Louisburg surrenders, IV. 163, 164; abandonment of an expedition, IV. 168; the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, IV. 169, 178, 179; retrocession of Louisburg, IV. 169, 178-180, 186; attacked by the English at Crown Point, IV. 172; threaten Annapolis, IV. 173, 174; the boundary line between New France and New England to be determined, IV. 182, 183; inland line around the English settlements strengthened, IV. 182, 183; contrasted with the English as regards numbers and power, IV. 197, 198; desire to possess Nova Scotia, IV. 199, 200; outbreak of the last war with England, IV. 205-207; encroachments on the Ohio, IV. 205-207; settlements near the Kennebec, IV. 206; position of places important to, IV. 208; their advantage over the English in Nova Scotia, IV. 210, 211; expelled from Nova Scotia, IV. 212-216; unpleasant reception given to the exiles from Grand Pré, IV. 215, 216; Baron Dieskau assumes command of the troops in Canada, IV. 216; loss of Dieskau, IV. 219; expeditions against, IV. 220-222; Dieskau

FRO

succeeded by Marquis de Montcalm, IV. 228; alliance with Six Nations, and command of upper lakes, IV. 228; expedition against Oswego, IV. 228; capture of Fort William Henry, IV. 229-231, 264, 283, 332; disasters of Abercrombie, IV. 238-241; loss of Fort Duquesne, IV. 242; loss of Louisburg, IV. 242, 243; last war with England, IV. 243-254, 257-267, 278-284, 294-296, 305, 315; conquest of Quebec, IV. 246-250; number lost at Quebec, IV. 249; death of General Montcalm, IV. 249; inscription commemorative of Montcalm, IV. 249; De Lévi succeeds Montcalm, IV. 250; engagement under De Lévi, IV. 250; population at Quebec, IV. 250; surrender of Canada, IV. 250, 251; number of people made over to England, IV. 251; fall of the French Empire in America, IV. 251-254, 294; bearings of the war, IV. 252-254; efforts to convert the Indians, IV. 252, 253; the character of the priests, IV. 252, 253; expedition against Martinique, IV. 317; rumor of an attack upon Newfoundland, IV. 318, 319; their rights in the fisheries, IV. 326; duties on goods exported to the colonies, IV. 331; devastations in New England, IV. 332; the trade with the sugar islands restricted, IV. 335; captives taken by privateers of Rhode Island, IV. 362, 363; report of trade with Connecticut, IV. 372. See *France*, *French Neutrals*, and *New France*.

French Neutrals, the, III. 258; IV. 186, 209; required to take the oath of allegiance to England, III. 258; IV. 208-210; refuse to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown, IV. 208-210; reduced to subjection at Nova Scotia, IV. 208-216; the French Neutrals accused of instigating the Indians to cruelties, IV. 209; in arms against the British King, IV. 211; driven from Grand Pré, IV. 213-216; some of them return to Nova Scotia, IV. 216; settled in Connecticut, IV. 279, 280.

Fresh River, the, I. 145. See *Connecticut River*.

Friends, the, II. 4. See *Quakers*.

Frontenac, Louis de Buade, Comte de, his age and talents, III. 30, 31; made Governor of New France, III. 30; his effort to negotiate with the Iroquois, III. 31, 35-37, 85; expeditions sent out by, III. 38-41; massacre at Schenectady, III. 39,

FRO

- 40; his peril, III. 45; at Montreal, III. 46; his victory at Quebec, III. 46, 47; Phipps demands the surrender of Quebec, III. 47-49; his injury to New England, III. 237; his death, III. 237.
- Frontenac*, Fort. See *Fort Frontenac*.
- Frontenac*, town of, IV. 220.
- Frost*, Major, with his family, killed by Indians, III. 145.
- Fruit*, of New England, I. 24; imported into New England, I. 295.
- Frye*, Chaplain, his bravery, the town of Fryeburg named for, III. 412.
- Fryeburg*, Lovewell's fight, III. 411, 412.
- Fuel*, IV. 411.
- Fugitive Slave Bill*, the, III. 114, 122.
- Fuller*, Samuel, I. 50; joins the company on board the Mayflower, I. 59; the physician of Plymouth, I. 101.
- Fundy*, Bay of, I. 5. See *Bay of Fundy*.
- Fur-bearing Animals*, I. 26.
- Furniture*, I. 297, 298; IV. 333.
- Furnival's Inn*, I. 87.
- Fur Trade*, the, I. 87, 315, 336; III. 29, 32, 33; IV. 171, 333.
- Furs*, I. 26, 293, 315; III. 398.
- Furzer*, Benjamin, commissioned to inspect the naval productions of New England, III. 366; his death, III. 367.

GABARUS BAY, IV. 143.

- Gage*, General Thomas, Governor of Massachusetts, IV. 297; arrives in Boston to succeed Governor Hutchinson, IV. 431, 441; the Mandamus Counsellors, IV. 433, 444; his preparations for defence, IV. 434; attempt to destroy military stores, IV. 436-438; his command increased, IV. 438.
- Galileo*, III. 119.
- Galissonnière*, M. de la, Governor of Canada, IV. 195; employed as commissioner of the French, IV. 195.
- Gallup*, Captain, killed by the Indians, II. 148.
- Gambling*, I. 36.
- Game*, I. 72.
- Gardiner*, a disturber of the peace, I. 165.
- Gardiner*, Lieutenant, post commanded by him, during the Pequot War, I. 185, 187, 235; entertains Mason's troops, I. 192; his death, II. 148.
- Gardiner*, Rev. Mr., his sad fate, III. 246.

GEN

- Gaspee*, the, a revenue cutter, IV. 422; transaction in connection with, IV. 422, 423.
- Gedney*, Bartholomew, Assistant of Massachusetts, II. 238, 389; Randolph uses his influence against, II. 238; of Danforth's party, II. 245, 246; one of the Counsellors representing the Eastern Province, II. 333.
- General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church*, the, I. 331.
- General Association of all the Churches*, the, III. 342, 343; plan of, III. 342, 343; convened in 1742, IV. 113, 114; caution issued against prevailing errors, IV. 117; attitude towards Whitefield, IV. 118, 119; resolution discouraging Whitefield's coming, IV. 118.
- General, Attorney*. See *Attorney-General*.
- General Council of Churches*, the, III. 343.
- General Court*, the, I. 265; the power defined in the Articles of Confederation, I. 265; the power of final jurisdiction, I. 277; code of laws, I. 280, 281, see *Laws*; action of the church upon the government, I. 287, 288; determination to go to war, to be decided by all the colonies, II. 97; order of prorogation, IV. 22; forbidden to use bills as a legal tender in private transactions, IV. 192.
- General Court of Connecticut*, the, I. 183, 232; first meeting of, at Hartford, I. 183; constitution and duties of, I. 232, 233, 276-278; II. 41; III. 346; business laid before, in relation to towns, I. 232-236, 265; privilege of the franchise, I. 272, see *Elections*; payment of members, I. 274; III. 217; IV. 125, 126; dissensions laid before, I. 371, 372; to collect material for historical purposes, I. 380; the admission of freemen, I. 397, see *Freemen*; law concerning churches, I. 397; advised to legislate against the Quakers, II. 10; questions concerning the Lord's Supper and the admission to baptism, II. 18-20; Address to be sent to the King, II. 39; forbidden to make laws repugnant to England, II. 41; frame of government under the charter, II. 41; appeal of Winthrop to, II. 43; action in regard to the new charter and the accession of territory, II. 44-48; a message from New Haven, II. 45; action concerning the extension of territory, II. 46; the plan of amendment for the Confederation, II. 97; Major

GEN

Andros demands a surrender of a portion of Connecticut, II. 118; answer of the Court, with consequent action, II. 118-121; preparations to be made for war, II. 145; the Acts of Navigation to be observed, II. 283; James II. proclaimed in Connecticut, and an Address sent to His Majesty, II. 309; another Address sent to the King, II. 311; action concerning the *quo warranto*, II. 311, 312, 336; an agent to be sent to England to avert impending ills, II. 311, 312; instructions given to the agent, II. 312; action concerning the submission of Connecticut to Andros, II. 336-342; reconstituted on the ancient pattern, II. 384, 385; all the old laws to be again in force, II. 385; William III. and Mary proclaimed in Connecticut, and an Address of congratulation prepared, II. 385, 386; a vote of thanks sent to General Winthrop, III. 204; effort of New York to control the militia of Connecticut, III. 205, 206; chartered rights of Connecticut regarding military force, III. 205-208; autumnal meetings, III. 208; fines imposed on persons speaking without permission, III. 210; business relating to churches and physicians, III. 211, 212; land titles, III. 211; business relating to Courts, etc., III. 211; Act passed for founding a collegiate school, III. 212; orders fortifications, III. 334; the Saybrook Platform, III. 341-343; Act of incorporation of Yale College, III. 344; encourages mining, III. 439, 440; assistance given to Yale College, III. 442, 443; effect of Queen Anne's War upon the community, III. 448; matters pertaining to moral reforms, III. 448; Act defining and fining riots, III. 449, 450; questions of boundary with regard to Connecticut and Rhode Island, III. 450; election of Saltonstall as Governor of Connecticut, III. 459; position of Governor Saltonstall, III. 460-462; visited by Whitefield, IV. 112; Pomeroy and Davenport arraigned, IV. 115, 116; regulations for establishing churches, IV. 117; tract of land granted to Hartford, IV. 121, 122; matters pertaining to the law of inheritance, IV. 123, 124; gifts to Ben Uncas and his wife, IV. 125, 126; action against the "New London Society," IV. 126; matters pertaining to manufactures, IV. 127; election of Governor Law, IV. 128;

GEN

law regarding the bills of credit, when used as a legal tender, IV. 192; campaign against Crown Point, IV. 273; discreditable action in regard to the boundary settlement, IV. 274, 275; opposition to plan of federal union of colonies, IV. 278, 279; New York permitted to enlist troops in Connecticut, IV. 279; troops raised for General Amherst, IV. 281; a committee to collect the arguments against the stamp duties, IV. 373, 374; vote to transmit a certain treatise in opposition to the Stamp Act, to their agents in England, IV. 374; Ingersoll resigns his office as Stamp Distributor, IV. 396, 397. See *Connecticut*; *Council*, *House of Representatives*, *Legislature*, and *Magistrates of Connecticut*.
General Court of Gorgeana, the, I. 222.
General Court of Maine, the, I. 222; to be held at Saco, I. 222; to collect material for historical purposes, I. 380; government organized, II. 265-268; Memorial sent to the King, II. 266, 267; scheme proposed by Randolph, II. 290, 291; no meetings allowed by the King, II. 291.
General Court of Massachusetts, the, excuse offered to Governor Pownall for lack of liberality, I. vi; a meeting held in England, I. 105; resolution to transfer the charter and government to New England, I. 105, 106; number of, to be held yearly, I. 117, 138, 171, 172, 256; first meeting held in America of, I. 117, 118; officers to be elected, I. 118; the Magistrates, I. 118, see *Magistrates and Council*; matters pertaining to the government, I. 118, 123, 187-141; action concerning the offices of Governor and Deputy-Governor, I. 118, 123, 126; election of high officers, I. 120; the franchise to be given to church members, I. 121-123; the germ of a second house of legislature, I. 126; Deputies to be sent from towns, I. 126, 137, 172, 177, 250; III. 127, see *Deputies and House of Representatives*; to make the laws, I. 138, see *Laws*; doctrine of Cotton, I. 140, 176; action in the case of Hocking, I. 145; action concerning their charter, when endangered, I. 155-158; refusal to receive a General Governor, I. 156-158, see *General Governor*; vote to make military preparations, I. 156, 157; vote to place the beacon on the sentry hill, I. 157; takes up the dispute of Williams

GEN

and his church, I. 164, 165; matters pertaining to the obliteration of the red cross from the colors, I. 170; measures for well-defined and settled institutions, I. 171-173; places of meeting, I. 172; law in relation to the establishment of churches, I. 172, 173; the Standing Council, I. 176; business relating to the election and duties of the magistrates, I. 176, 177; a committee to draught a code of laws, I. 176, 177; feeling about the movement of Hooker and others, I. 180, 181; appoint Commissioners to govern Connecticut, I. 183; ministers attend, to discuss matters of doctrine, I. 198; the Antinomian controversy, I. 198-204, 206-210; sentences the petitioners of Wheelwright, I. 208; treatment of Underhill, I. 217; two Deputies sent from the Piscataqua settlements, I. 219; Deputies to appear for New Hampshire, I. 219, 220; decision rendered in the case of the location of Springfield, I. 235, 236; money appropriated to found a college, I. 247, 248; action concerning the effort of England to possess the charter of Massachusetts, I. 251-254; order for paying the Governor a certain sum per annum, repealed, I. 254; matters pertaining to the Governor's salary, I. 254, 273, 274; II. 318; III. 74, 159, 161, 228-230, 235, 236, 269-276, 362, 363, 372, 373, 384, 414, 415, 423; IV. 3-35, 41-46, 48, 52, 54, 143-145, 421, 422, see *House of Representatives of Massachusetts*: displeasure shown at the election of Richard Bellingham, I. 254, 255; division of the legislature into two branches, I. 257-259, see *Deputies and Magistrates*; reasons for ordering a fast, I. 261, 262; her action concerning the confederation, I. 261-263; the Articles of the Confederation, I. 263-267; payment of Deputies for attendance, I. 273; laws, and the administration of justice, I. 276-282; establishment of Inferior and other Courts, I. 276, 277; the right of appeal, I. 277; does not approve of Cotton's volume on Law, I. 279; members of, also church-members, I. 287, 288; disturbance caused by Gorton and the Shawomet settlers, I. 305-314, 341-343: the trouble caused by La Tour and others, I. 316, 317; the power of the Magistrates during the vacation of, I. 318, 319; order passed concerning the King and the Commons of England, I. 319, 320; the Presby-

GEN

terian Cabal, I. 324-328; action in regard to the subject of the "Remonstrance," etc., of Vassall and others, I. 326-333; a synod convoked, I. 329, 333; order passed to extend missionary work to the Indians, I. 333-335; action in the case of the Dutch claim, I. 337; instructions given to Winslow, I. 341; a committee raised to revise the Articles of Confederation, I. 354; action in the case of the tolls on vessels, I. 355; customs concerning the election sermons, I. 356, 357; action in the case of the arraignment of Winthrop, I. 358-360; establishes the common and grammar schools, I. 361; action in the trouble of the Dutch and English, I. 367-373; discussion upon the meaning of the Articles in relation to warfare, I. 369-373; requested to collect material for history, I. 380; a law passed for the banishment of Baptists, I. 382-385; favors the schemes of John Winthrop, I. 394, 395; its action in the enlargement of the boundaries of Massachusetts, I. 402, 403; Deputies sent from some of the towns in Maine, I. 403; answers sent to Cromwell, concerning a removal of the colony, I. 404, 405; establishes a mint, I. 407; no mention in the journal of, of the accession of Charles II., II. 1; action in relation to the petition for a Governor-General, II. 2, 7, 10; Addresses to be sent to the King and Parliament, II. 2, 21, 26; action in regard to the Quakers, II. 2-16, 30, 31, 217, 238, 239; action in regard to questions of baptismal rites, II. 18-20; the Result of the Synod to be printed, II. 20; action in the case of the regicides, II. 23; action concerning the book of John Eliot, II. 27, 28; action concerning the Navigation Act, II. 28, 178, 179, see *Navigation Act*; action concerning the proclamation of Charles II., II. 28-30; proposes to send agents to the King, II. 30-32; coinage of twopenny pieces of silver, II. 33; action concerning the orders of the King, II. 34-36, 62, 63; the policy of delay, II. 35, 36; preparations for the Royal Commissioners, II. 56, 57; the desired action against New Netherland, II. 62, 63; conflict with the Royal Commissioners, II. 71-78; action concerning the royal orders sent by Morrice, II. 79; a present of masts sent to the King, II. 79, 80; III. 364, 365: commission Magistrates

GEN

and Deputies to repair to York, and reconstruct the lawful government, II. 81; a revised collection made of the "General Laws and Liberties," II. 85; letter from Plymouth concerning the renewed Confederation, II. 95, 96; action concerning the division in the First Church in Boston, II. 102-104; trouble at Harvard College, II. 106-108; vote to raise the salary of the President of Harvard College, II. 107; action against the Dutch, II. 108; incorporates land in Maine, into Massachusetts, II. 109; orders given for military preparation, II. 145; its firm and vigorous policy in time of war, II. 164, 165; endeavor to make a treaty with the Eastern Indians, II. 174; Randolph desires a meeting of, II. 202; considers the royal mandate and the sending of an Address and agents, II. 204-209; causes sought, for the Indian warfare, II. 217; oath of fidelity ordered, II. 219; oath misrepresented to the King by Randolph, II. 219; action in relation to the oath of allegiance, and other royal mandates, II. 219, 221-225, 232-242; the letters from the King, II. 231, 232; Assistants chosen to the number of eighteen, II. 233; hesitation in sending agents to England, II. 233, 234; instructions given to the agents, II. 242, 243, 251, 252; Randolph's paper concerning, II. 243, 244; a day of humiliation appointed, II. 252, 253; the news received of the writ of *quo warranto*, II. 255, 256; action taken in relation to the writ against the charter, II. 255-259; an Address to be sent to the King, II. 260, 261; arrangements for government of Maine, II. 264-267; Deputies to be sent from Maine, II. 265; action of, on the accession of James II., II. 289; censures the towns for neglecting to send the Deputies, II. 289; Address sent to the King, II. 290; President Dudley assumes the government, II. 291-294, 296; the meetings of the Court disallowed by the King, II. 291, 293, 325, 359; the Magistrates and Deputies ignored in their official capacity, II. 292; the new Counsellors lay their commission before, II. 292; abdicates the government under protest, II. 292, 293; a committee raised to protect important papers, II. 293; a meeting of an Assembly asked for by the Provisional Gov-

GEN

ernment, II. 297; Governor Andros assumes the government, II. 314; the meetings suspended, II. 325; the people refuse to submit to arbitrary taxation, II. 325, 326; titles to land, set aside by Andros, II. 347; effort to obtain the King's permission for a meeting, II. 359, 360; the Revolution of the Seventeenth Century, II. 370-386; desired to assemble as formerly, II. 378; action concerning the reassembling, II. 378, 379, 382, 383; the Council to assume the duties of the Magistrates, II. 382; the offending officers lodged in gaol, II. 382, 383; first meeting after the Revolution, III. 20; the admission to franchise modified, III. 20, 21; troops raised for the Eastern Country, III. 28; calls a meeting of commissioners to take measures in the war, III. 41, 42; aid asked from William III. for the conquest of New France, III. 42, 43; sends associates to assist Mather, III. 61, 62; propositions of the agents in England, III. 69; land-titles conveyed by, to remain valid, III. 70; to contain two branches, the Council and House of Representatives, III. 71, 231, see *Legislature*; arrangements pertaining to, under the new charter, III. 71, 72, 74; to hold the power of the purse, III. 74; the new charter read, III. 83; the establishment of judicial courts, a function of, III. 99; Governor Phipps sets aside the authority of, in his action concerning witchcraft, III. 99; supersedes the Court of Special Commission in regard to witchcraft, III. 104; grants made to the heirs of the sufferers from witchcraft, III. 107; administration of Sir William Phipps, III. 125-138; unsettled state of the laws, III. 126; proposed regulation concerning taxes, III. 127, 382, 383; IV. 22, 23; power of the Governor over, III. 127; the establishment of judicatories, courts, etc., III. 127, 128, 156-158; provision for a Court of Common Pleas, III. 128; writs of *habeas corpus* to be issued, the right afterwards disallowed, III. 128; Act requiring Deputies to reside in the towns they represent, III. 130, 416; behavior of Captain Short, III. 135; Address sent to the Queen, III. 143; aid asked from the King, to defend the province from the French, III. 143; reward granted to Hannah Dustin, III. 144; money voted to-

GEN

wards the burial of Governor Bradstreet, III. 151; reenactment of the business relating to Courts, III. 157, 159; remuneration paid to Lord Bellomont, III. 159, 161; action when threatened with Indian war, III. 168, 169; proceedings relating to the incorporation of Harvard College, III. 172-175, 183, 184; illness of Stoughton, III. 176; power of Elisha Cooke, III. 183; members from New Hampshire, III. 187; pro-rogued by Dudley, III. 228, 229, 231, 232; urged to rebuild and keep in repair the fort at Pemaquid, III. 228-230, 233, 235, 275, 276, 301, 362, 363, 372; IV. 62; relations with Dudley, III. 233, 235, 266-268, 270; a grant made to Dudley, III. 236; grant for the support of the minister at Deerfield, III. 241; advice against a truce proposed by New France, III. 248; vote of thanks to Major Church, III. 250; anger at the result of an expedition, III. 253; plan of attacking the French, III. 255; Addresses sent to the Queen, asking aid for an expedition against Canada, III. 255, 264; the expedition broken up, III. 256; Jeremiah Dummer agent for, III. 258, 259; money raised for the new expedition against Canada, III. 261; bills of credit issued by the colonists, III. 269, 334, 414, 447, 448; IV. 18, 20, 81, 49, see *Bills of Credit*; election of counsellors, III. 270; requisitions of the Queen, III. 271, 272, 275, see *Pemaquid*; the question of the governor's power to dismiss the Speaker, III. 273; election of a Speaker of the House, III. 273, 274, 378, 379, 403, 415, 416; trial of Rouse and others for offences in Nova Scotia, III. 278-281; Acts passed in regard to fining certain criminals, III. 280, 281, 290; the Memorial against Dudley presented to the Queen, III. 281-283; the vindication of Dudley, III. 282, 283, 286; conduct of Dudley reviewed, III. 290; proceedings of Dudley with reference to Harvard College, III. 292; popular feeling against Dudley, III. 297; grants to Dudley, III. 299; return of Vetch, III. 300; early mail arrangements, III. 305-309; the plan of the public bank, III. 311, 312; dissatisfaction with Constantine Phipps, III. 312; announcement of Queen Anne's death, III. 314; action at the time of Queen Anne's death, with reference to Dudley, III. 314, 315; Lieutenant-Governor William Tailor

GEN

presides, III. 316; grant to Elisha Cooke, III. 354, 355; refusal of Usher's claim, III. 355; Address to George I. asking for charter privileges, III. 355; instructions given to Shute with regard to, III. 362; paper money, III. 363; Act passed, to prevent carrying off timber, III. 364; matters pertaining to naval supplies, III. 365-372; grants of money made to Governor Shute, III. 372, 373, 383; a financial expedient, III. 373, 374; unfriendly relations with Governor Shute, III. 377-384, 389-398, 401, 415-419; the right of adjournment, III. 382, 383; IV. 22, 23; further business relating to Harvard College, III. 385, 386; force sent against Rasle, III. 391, 392; St. Castine brought to trial, III. 392; plan for military campaign, III. 393; Indian war declared anew, III. 393; the Governor to address the Indians in the name of the Court, III. 394; action concerning Colonel Walton, III. 395-397; measures for the conduct of the war, III. 401, 402; threats against the French Governor, III. 410, 411; letter of Shute in regard to its members, III. 416; the Explanatory Charter accepted, III. 420; Memorial from the ministers desiring a religious Synod, III. 420, 421; the request from England to grant a fixed salary to certain officers, III. 423; permission to immigrants to settle at Medfield, III. 423; opinion of Shute in regard to the policy of, with the Eastern tribes, III. 446; Governor Burnet demands a settled salary, IV. 3-34; action concerning the grant of salary to Governor Burnet, IV. 3-34; speech of Governor Burnet, IV. 3, 4; royal instructions to Governor Burnet, IV. 4, 5; grants of money to Governor Burnet, IV. 6, 33; threats held out by Lord Carteret, IV. 15; a meeting at Salem, IV. 19-24; contest concerning the lawful place of meeting, IV. 22-24; Memorial to the King defining objections to the matter of the fixed salary, IV. 24, 25; proceedings relating to the fixed salary to be published, IV. 29; question of choosing an Attorney-General, IV. 30, 31, 193, 194; adjourned to Cambridge, IV. 33; honors Governor Burnet with a costly funeral, IV. 34; reappearance of Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, IV. 34, 35; grant of salary to Dummer, IV. 36, 37;

GEN

Jonathan Belcher a former member of the, IV. 38; inaugural speech of Governor Belcher, IV. 41; charged with disobedience to the crown, IV. 42, 43; generous gifts to the Governor, IV. 45, 46, 72, 73; Act concerning payments from the treasury, IV. 47; controversy about supplies and public payments, IV. 47-52; the redemption of the bills of credit, IV. 52-58, 186-192; plan of a Land Bank, IV. 56-58, 73, 74; altercation with the Governor concerning the troops for South America, IV. 58, 59; the question with New Hampshire concerning boundaries, IV. 70-72; Connecticut concerned at the dispute with Governor Burnet, IV. 124; inaugural speech of Governor Shirley, IV. 140, 141; application for troops, IV. 142, 145; to protect creditors against financial depreciation, IV. 143; Act pertaining to the supply of the treasury, IV. 143; Act for ascertaining the value of money, IV. 143; grants of money to Governor Shirley, IV. 146, 181, 182; application to provide for the exigencies of a war with France, IV. 147; action in the time of war with the French, IV. 148; plan to reduce the French fort of Louisburg, IV. 149-152; Kittery represented by William Pepperell, IV. 154; payment of troops, IV. 167; action taken concerning the impressment of the seamen, IV. 175-178; Indian hostilities call for attention, IV. 184, 185; the public and private banks, IV. 187; law regarding the use of bills of credit, IV. 192; effort to revise the laws of Massachusetts, IV. 192, 193; scheme of colonial union, IV. 200-205; treatment of the exiles from Nova Scotia, IV. 215; plan of the Governors for ensuing campaign against the French, IV. 222, 223; high estimate of Shirley's military capacity, IV. 224; cordial expression to Shirley, when leaving for England, IV. 224; arrogance of Lord Loudoun, IV. 233, 234; Address causing embarrassment later, IV. 234, 235; more trouble with Lord Loudoun, IV. 235; vote to borrow large sum of money, IV. 238; farewell Address to Governor Pownall, IV. 255; expedition against Louisburg, IV. 257, 258, *see Louisburg*; speech of Governor Bernard, and reply to it, IV. 296, 297; favorable impressions received by Bernard, IV. 297; Hutchinson chosen to be

GEN

a Representative, IV. 300; valuable grant of land to Governor Bernard, IV. 302; the Sugar Act disapproved, IV. 303; Memorial presented to, concerning the money illegally held according to the Sugar Act, IV. 303; neglect of the demands of the Sugar Act, IV. 303, 304; act passed, providing for special writs of assistance, IV. 313; relations with Governor Bernard, IV. 316, 317; postponement of peace between France and England, IV. 317; action in regard to the troops desired by Amherst, and indignation at the course of the Governor, IV. 318-324; angry message from the House, declaring their rights in relation to taxation, IV. 320, 321; effort to incorporate a Society for promoting Christian knowledge among the Indians, IV. 325; Address to the King, congratulating him on the peace with France, IV. 327; courteous message to Governor Bernard, IV. 327; project of a census, IV. 330; list of shipping, IV. 332; suggestions of Bernard with regard to the support of the government, IV. 334; questions arising from the restrictions on trade, IV. 335; conflict concerning Mr. Hutchinson's appointment as agent, IV. 335, 336; the "Instructions" prepared by the order of Boston's citizens for the Representatives, IV. 337-339; the demand for representation in England, or immunity from taxation by her, IV. 338, 342-346, 349, 350, 354, 355, 368, 370, 371, 373, 379, 384, 408, 427, 428; attitude of, causes uneasiness to Governor Bernard, IV. 347; deferential tone of the petition to Parliament, IV. 335, 336; intelligence of the passing of the Stamp Act, IV. 387, 388; action to obtain relief from the threatened oppression, IV. 388, 389, *see Stamp Act and Taxation*; appoints a meeting for colonial delegates, IV. 388, 389; Bernard's effort to induce the people to comply with the King's request, IV. 397, 398; the circular letters to the colonies, and the result, IV. 398-403; first appearance of Samuel Adams in, IV. 398; the Colonial Congress, IV. 399-403; fresh trouble with Governor Bernard, IV. 411; rebuked for the Circular Letter, IV. 412, 413; petition sent to the King to remove Governor Bernard from office, IV. 413; Governor Bernard refuses to convene the Court, IV. 414, 415; Resolution not

GEN

to keep a standing army, IV. 415; the members of a town meeting summon a convention, IV. 415, 416; petition sent to the Governor, IV. 415; uses of the convention, IV. 415, 416; their proceedings disallowed by the Governor, IV. 415; complaint of the presence of the troops, IV. 417; spring session of, IV. 417; prorogued by Governor Bernard, IV. 418: last meeting with Governor Bernard, IV. 418; to meet at Cambridge, IV. 418, 419; the affair of the Boston Massacre, IV. 419; place of meeting, IV. 420; the customary grant made to Governor Hutchinson, IV. 421; the matter of the Governor's support by the Crown, IV. 421-424; postponement of the session by the Governor, IV. 424; a secret session of Representatives moved for, IV. 425; the letters containing unfriendly sentiments sent to, IV. 425, 426; meeting transferred to Salem, IV. 432; the Provincial Congress, IV. 434. See *Council, House of Representatives, Legislature, and Magistrates of Massachusetts, and Massachusetts.*

General Court of New Hampshire, the, government of New Hampshire organized, II. 267-269; number of Deputies, II. 268; arrangements made by Mason and Cranfield, II. 271; new code of laws promulgated, II. 271, 272; tax laid on the province, II. 272; despotism of Governor Cranfield, II. 272-275; scheme of government proposed by Randolph, II. 290, 291; meetings forbidden by the King, II. 291; demand of Governor Usher for salary, III. 198-196; proceedings of Lieutenant-Governor Usher, III. 198-196, 318, 319; meeting described by Usher, III. 194; relations with Lord Bello-mont, III. 195, 196; liberality to Dudley, III. 317, 318; offers a compromise to Allen, concerning the land claims, III. 320; the request of the King that a fixed salary be granted to certain officers, III. 423; allows Vaughan's title as Lieutenant-Governor, III. 425; bills of credit issued, III. 426; quarrel between Shute and Vaughan, III. 426, 427; grant of salary to Governor Shute, III. 429; Act to limit the duration of Assemblies, IV. 59; dissolved after a five years' term, IV. 59; the choice of a Speaker, IV. 60; the fixed salary granted to the Governor, IV. 60, 61; treatment of Wentworth by Governor Belcher,

GEN

IV. 61; efforts of Belcher to remove Dunbar from office, IV. 64, 65; the question of boundary with Massachusetts, IV. 70-72; law regarding bills of credit, when used as a legal tender, IV. 192; Wentworth a Counsellor, IV. 256; relations with Wentworth, IV. 257; the matter of the Governor's salary, IV. 257; plan for the expedition against Louisburg, IV. 257, 258; payment of Mason's claim, IV. 267-269; occasion of a dispute of Governor Wentworth with the Deputies, IV. 269, 270; contribution from England well invested, IV. 270, 271. See *Council and Legislature of New Hampshire and New Hampshire.*

General Court of New Haven, the, I. 228; the government arranged, I. 231; matters to be laid before, for decision, I. 265; the members are church-members, I. 287; incensed at the action of Massachusetts, I. 369, 370; the discussion upon the Articles in relation to warfare, I. 369-373; charge against the Confederation, I. 370; to collect materials for historical purposes, I. 380; establishes public schools, I. 399; request concerning law, I. 399; the Courts advised to legislate against the Quakers, II. 10; the Magistrates refuse to give a search-warrant for the regicides, II. 24; proclaim the King, II. 38; "New Haven's Case stated," II. 47, 48; action concerning the quarrel with Connecticut, II. 65-67; the government merged with that of Connecticut, II. 65-67. See *Legislature of New Haven and New Haven.*

General Court of Plymouth, the, action of, in regard to the first trouble with the Indians, I. 76; the proceedings of the first twelve years, I. 143, 147; the Court Orders, I. 147; Deputies sent from the towns, I. 242, 243; matters to be decided by, I. 265; the privilege of the franchise, I. 272; raise a committee to examine the Articles of Confederation, I. 369; to collect materials for historical purposes, I. 380; second revised collection of the laws, I. 398; action in regard to the churches, I. 398, 394; passes a vote of submission to Charles II., II. 37; plan of amendment for the Confederation, II. 97; a public school to be established and maintained, II. 109, 110; action concerning the murder of Sausamann, II. 128, 129; action in relation to King Philip, II. 128-130;

GEN

instructions given to, concerning the military details and supplies, I. 145; scheme proposed by Randolph, II. 290, 291, plan of annexation to Massachusetts or New York, III. 80, 81. See *Legislature of Plymouth and Plymouth*.
General Court of Quinnipiack, the, I. 228, 229. See *General Court of New Haven*.
General Court of Rhode Island, the, I. 213; number of, I. 213; a few held under the patent to the Providence Plantations, I. 346; Roger Williams desired to go to England, I. 347; to collect materials for the use of history, I. 380; proceedings of the Royal Commissioners, II. 71; plan of amendment for the Confederation, II. 97; discharges Harris from the Assistants, II. 112; preparations to be made for war, II. 145; Committee appointed to send a congratulatory letter to King James, II. 305, 306; Dudley calls a meeting of, II. 306, 307; organization of government after the deposition of Andros, III. 214-217; the payment of Deputies to, III. 217; sends an Address to the King, III. 219; difficulty with Governor Phipps concerning the militia, III. 219-221; Act passed to encourage the observance of the Navigation Act, III. 223; the claim of Dudley to the command of the militia, III. 325; a law passed for taking a census, III. 329, 330; regulations of the Court, III. 331; raises troops, III. 332; matters pertaining to military matters, III. 333, 338; IV. 128; towns sending delegates, III. 480; neutrality of Rhode Island in the Indian war, III. 432, 433; matter of salaries for ministers, III. 435; advice to the Sabbatarians, III. 435, 436; John Mason of Stonington authorized to instruct the Indians, III. 445, 446; the boundary question, III. 451, 452, see *Rhode Island*; Acts relating to schools, IV. 128; Acts for regulating the militia, IV. 128; license to a livery-stable keeper, IV. 128; matters pertaining to paper currency, IV. 130; contest concerning the bills of credit, IV. 130-132; validity of laws, and power of the Governor over, IV. 131, 132; regulations concerning schools, IV. 133; encouragement given to a school at Providence, IV. 133; law regarding the use of bills of credit, IV. 192; troops sent against Quebec, IV. 233; action of, in regard to the legislation

GEO

on the Sugar Act, IV. 364-367; rumors of the unpromising attitude of Governor Hopkins, IV. 367, 368; complaints of, by Governor Bernard, IV. 367, 368; opposition to the Stamp Act, IV. 368-371; petition to the King in regard to the Stamp Act, IV. 369, 370; a petition sent to the King from Rhode Island, in relation to the pending questions, IV. 369, 370. See *Council, Legislature of Rhode Island and Rhode Island*.
General Election, the, IV. 94. See *Elections*.
General Governor, appointment of Robert Gorges by the Council for New England, I. 78; scheme in England to place one over Massachusetts and New England, I. 152, 156-158, 160, 161, 237, 252; II. 2, 73, 218, 221, 260, 289, 290, 298-300, 317-319; a petition for, I. 327, 328; II. 2; person selected by the King for the office of the, II. 260, 319; the title of, II. 260.
 "General Laws and Liberties," a revised collection published, II. 85.
General Letter Office, the, III. 308. See *Post-Office*.
General of the Expedition against the Spanish West Indies, the, I. 408.
General Sergeant, the, at Providence, I. 388.
Geneva, I. 322; witchcraft in, III. 116.
George I., King of England, III. 314; his accession, III. 314, 348, 351; a royal proclamation reinstating Governor Dudley, III. 315; petition from New Hampshire, III. 324; proclaimed in Connecticut, III. 348; his Protestant belief, III. 348; feeble rebellion against, III. 349; the head of a German principality, III. 350, 352; opposition to Tory influence, III. 352; Address from Massachusetts, asking for charter privileges, III. 355; Dudley pleased with the appointment of William Dummer, III. 357; his claim to the timber in New England, III. 371, 374, 380; money to keep his birthday refused by the House in Massachusetts, III. 379; report concerning Nova Scotia, III. 382; treaty with Indians made in his name, III. 388, 389; no Romish priest to reside in his dominion, III. 392; the Governor of Massachusetts made commander-in-chief of the militia, III. 393; report to, of the American colonies, III. 398-400; independence of Massachusetts complained of, III. 399, 400; scheme of

GEO

a Governor-General for New England, III. 440; his opposition to the bills of credit, III. 414; memorial of Shute, containing charges against the House of Representatives, III. 415-417; second memorial of Shute, III. 417; Address to, from the House of Representatives, III. 417; new complaints from ex-Governor Shute, III. 417, 418; House of Representatives condemned by the Privy Council, III. 418, 419; an Explanatory Charter granted to Massachusetts, III. 419, 420; his permission must be asked in the case of synods being convoked, III. 421, 422; advised by the Privy Council in regard to the duty of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, III. 423; his death, III. 423; IV. 69; jurisdiction of New Hampshire, III. 428, 429; complaints of Armstrong, III. 430; effort of the Board of Trade to force certain laws to be subject to royal revision, III. 430, 431; neutrality of Rhode Island in the Indian war, III. 432, 433; Memorial from the Episcopal ministry in Rhode Island, III. 435; charter of Rhode Island in danger, III. 438, 439; matter of the eastern boundary of Connecticut, III. 452, 453; charges against defamers of his government, III. 462; attitude of the New England colonies, III. 463-469.

George II., his accession to the throne of England, IV. 1, 2, 130; demand made on the General Court of Massachusetts for a fixed salary for the Governor, IV. 3-34, 41-46, 48, 52, 54, 143-145, see *Governor*; power of Parliament, IV. 6; power of Robert Walpole, IV. 16; Memorials from the House of Massachusetts, defining its position in regard to the fixed salary, IV. 24, 25, 45; the insubordination of Massachusetts, IV. 26; Addresses to, from the House, IV. 28, 31, 32; his claim to the timber in New England, IV. 41, 61; controversy concerning the public payments and the treasury of Massachusetts, IV. 47-52; Address from the House and Council of Massachusetts concerning the supplies, IV. 50, 51; redemption of the bills of credit in Massachusetts, IV. 52-53; Memorial from the House and Council concerning the bills of credit, IV. 53; Address from New Hampshire, desiring annexation to Massachusetts, IV. 60; Memorials for and against Governor Belcher, IV. 63, 64; question of annexing New Hamp-

GEO

shire to Massachusetts, IV. 65, 66; the boundary between Massachusetts and New Hampshire to be settled, IV. 66-72; appeal to, from the contesting provinces, IV. 71; removal of Belcher from office, IV. 74; appointment of Belcher to the Chief Magistracy of New Jersey, IV. 75; to be proclaimed in Connecticut, IV. 122; Address of congratulation from Connecticut, IV. 122; contest concerning the law in Connecticut of a daughter's inheritance, IV. 122, 123; Commissioners appointed to settle the Rhode Island boundaries, IV. 129, 130, 284-286; the Rhode Island people send a loyal Address to, IV. 130; Address and solicitation for a gift of ordnance, from Rhode Island, IV. 130; the promise to aid Bishop Berkeley unfulfilled, IV. 133; the war with Spain, IV. 134; his Advocate-General in America, IV. 135; Shirley's appointments in America, IV. 135-139; inaugural speech of Governor Shirley, IV. 140, 141; application to Shirley for troops for His Majesty's service, IV. 142; contribution to the armament of the fort in Boston Harbor, IV. 148; plan to reduce Cape Breton and Louisbourg, IV. 149-164; joyful results of the expedition against Louisbourg, IV. 164-169; absent from England, IV. 167; ambitious plans of Shirley, IV. 171; Louisbourg returned to France, IV. 178-180; scheme of colonial union proposed by Franklin, IV. 200-205; Shirley appointed Commander-in-Chief of the New England troops, IV. 221; absent from England, IV. 221, 222, 269; pecuniary need of Massachusetts, IV. 222, 223; Shirley's commission revoked, and his Chief-Magistracy transferred, IV. 223, 224; appointment of Commanders-in-Chief in America, IV. 223, 235, 236; Shirley appointed Governor of the Bahama Islands, IV. 225; his dislike to Pitt, IV. 236; letter from Pitt to Abercrombie, IV. 236; Sir Jeffrey Amherst to succeed Abercrombie in office, IV. 241; the capitulation of Canada, IV. 251; his age at his death, IV. 254, 277, 281, 306; the work of Pitt in Europe and England, IV. 254; influence of Tomlinson, IV. 256; bills of credit in New Hampshire, IV. 258; complaints sent to, concerning Governor Wentworth, IV. 270, 271; expenses of Connecticut, IV. 273; discreditable action of Connecticut, IV. 274, 275.

GEO

George III., King of England, his accession to the throne, IV. 287; the demands of the Sugar Act, IV. 303, 304; the writs of assistance, IV. 305-313; disallows a religious society to be established for the benefit of the Indians, IV. 325; Address from Massachusetts congratulating him on the peace with France, IV. 327; Otis's statements of the "rights of the British Colonies," IV. 340-347; arguments of Thacher in relation to the Sugar Act, IV. 349-355; remonstrance from the people in Rhode Island, IV. 364-367; a party belonging to, roughly treated at Newport, IV. 369; a petition from Rhode Island, with regard to the pending questions, IV. 369, 370; assents to the Stamp Act, IV. 375, 376; immediate consequences of the Stamp Act, IV. 377-408; taxation demands representation, IV. 378, 379, see *Taxation*; money demanded of America to pay the debts of war, IV. 379; attitude of the Legislature of Massachusetts, IV. 386; Address to, superseded by a petition to Parliament, IV. 386; Address to, from the Congress, IV. 400-403; last ten years of colonial dependence, IV. 404-438; his illness, IV. 405; animus towards the Prime Minister, IV. 405; measures taken to secure a regency, IV. 405; efforts to make terms with Pitt, IV. 405; the Stamp Act repealed, IV. 407; petition from Massachusetts, protesting against the duties, IV. 411, 412; petition sent from Massachusetts to remove Governor Bernard, IV. 413; the British troops in Boston, IV. 416, 417; stringent measures with regard to Massachusetts, advised by Parliament, IV. 417; Lord North becomes Prime Minister, IV. 420; opposition to the tax on tea, IV. 421; matter of the salary of Governor Hutchinson, IV. 421-423; the letters containing the unfriendly sentiments shown to the House, IV. 425, 426; expression of the House in Massachusetts in relation to the support from the Crown, of the judges, IV. 426; Address and petition from Massachusetts desiring the removal of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, IV. 426; the wrath in England at the news of the destruction of tea in Boston, IV. 430, 431; the punishment of Massachusetts, IV. 430, 431; General Gage Commander-in-Chief of his forces in North America, IV. 431; Address from the second general Congress in

GOD

America, IV. 433; warnings, and Addresses from the Parliament, IV. 436.
George, Captain of the Rose frigate, II. 360, 370; complained of by Randolph, II. 360; given over to the guard, II. 370; casts the blame on Randolph, II. 374; his arrangement with the men of Boston, II. 375; makes complaint to Pepys, III. 56.
George, Fort. See *Fort George*.
George, Lake, IV. 208, 211, 217, 221, 240, 242, 263, 279, 283; Johnson erects Fort Henry, IV. 220; campaign of, brings new land into notice, IV. 359; dispute between New York and New Hampshire concerning boundaries, IV. 359-361.
Georgetown, attack on, III. 394, 395.
Georgia, the hospital for orphans, IV. 81, 85, 99; excepted from the scheme of colonial union, IV. 202; arrival of the exiles from Nova Scotia, IV. 216; relations with New England, IV. 291; coasting trade of Rhode Island, IV. 365; Oglethorpe's settlement, IV. 384; the colonial Congress, IV. 398, 399; the second general Congress, IV. 433.
Germans, the, accession of the German line of kings, to the throne of England, III. 350-352; IV. 287.
Germany, emigration from, I. iv, ix; IV. 260; flagitious proceedings in, relating to Anabaptists, I. 382; Dixwell, the regicide, lost trace of in, II. 26; alliance with William by the Emperor, III. 8; witchcraft in, III. 116.
Gibbons, Edward, appointed Commander-in-Chief of troops in the Indian war, I. 348, 349.
Gibson, Dr., Bishop of London, informs the Lords Justices of a projected Synod, III. 421, 422.
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, his patent from Queen Elizabeth, I. 3; his visit to America, I. 3, 4.
Gill, town of, II. 162.
Gilman, Colonel, IV. 263.
Ginger, I. 295; III. 330.
Ginseng, the, I. 24.
Glasgow, letter published, referring to the religious excitement in New England, IV. 104, 105.
Glass, duty on, IV. 410.
Gloucester, Massachusetts, I. 94, 96; IV. 419.
Gloucester, Rhode Island, IV. 129.
Goat, the, I. 292.
Godefroy, John, member of the Council of New France, I. 364; messenger from New France, I. 364.
Godolphin, Sidney, Secretary in Eng-

GOF

- land, his position in relation to the Treasury, III. 8; letter of Bridger to, III. 368, 369.
- Goffe*, Colonel William, one of the regicides, II. 21, 22; arrival in Boston, his home at Cambridge, II. 22; his offices in England, II. 23; departure from Cambridge, II. 23; his flight, II. 23-25; his life and death while in Hadley, II. 26; the attack on Hadley, II. 187; a search instituted for, II. 284.
- Gold*, Nathan, Lieutenant-Governor of Connecticut, a Deputy and Magistrate of Connecticut, II. 338, 339; conference with the messengers of Andros, II. 338, 339; appointed Lieutenant-Governor, III. 462; IV. 445.
- Gold*, Thomas, II. 105.
- Gold Coast of Africa*, the, III. 14.
- Gold-dust*, IV. 366.
- Golden Robin*, the, I. 25.
- Gomez*, Stephen, I. 3.
- Good*, Sarah, condemned as a witch, III. 95-97; her child charged with witchcraft, III. 97.
- Good Friday* disregarded, I. 289; celebrated in Boston, II. 323.
- Goodenow*, one of the Sudbury men, II. 363; rumors concerning Governor Andros, II. 363-365.
- Goodman*, title of, I. 300.
- Goodwife*, title of, I. 300.
- Goodwin*, Rev. Mr., remonstrance against the intolerance of Massachusetts, II. 105.
- Goodwin*, John, the tragedy of witchcraft in his family, III. 92, 93.
- Goodwin Children*, the, their connection with witchcraft, III. 92-95.
- Goodyear*, Stephen, chosen Deputy-Governor of New Haven, I. 231; II. 391.
- Gookin*, Daniel, Magistrate of Massachusetts, I. 378; II. 389; sent with proposals to the people of New England, I. 404, 405; of the popular party, II. 245, 246.
- Gorgeana*, government and officers of, I. 221, 222.
- Gorges*, Lord, a relative of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, II. 93; one of the Council for Foreign Plantations, II. 93.
- Gorges*, Sir Ferdinando, his efforts to found a European colony in America, I. 5-8, 17; obtains a grant of land from the Council of New England, I. 77; II. 243, 265; his action regarding new settlements in New England, I. 77, 78; leader in the Council for New England, I. 84; account of the affair at Merry Mount

GOR

- sent to, I. 88; complaints laid before the Privy Council, I. 132; his claims to Massachusetts, I. 160; his petition dismissed, I. 163; commission sent to the Magistrates of Massachusetts, for the government of his claims, I. 220-223; his right to govern the Eastern Province, III. 187; his patent conflicts with that called the *Lygonia*, I. 223, 224, 402; death of, I. 224; instigates charges against Winslow, I. 237; his settlements not admitted to the Confederation, I. 263; the claim of his grandson ignored, II. 78.
- Gorges*, Ferdinando, grandson of Sir Ferdinando, II. 78; unable to defend Maine, II. 81; his claims to be considered, II. 195-198; copy of his memorial sent to New England, II. 199; Randolph's representations concerning the claim, II. 208; Massachusetts declares her right to his claim before Charles II., II. 208, 209; private offer of money to be made to, II. 209; record of his grant not to be found, II. 210; business relating to his claim, II. 210-213, 215-218, 224, 227; sells his claim, II. 216, 217, 227, 228, 233, 241, 250, 264, 265; III. 147, 188, 371, 380; Massachusetts rebuked for buying his claim, II. 227, 228; endeavor in Massachusetts to explain her purchase of the land, II. 241, 250; Massachusetts institutes a government for the province, II. 234, 265; his claim conflicts with that of Massachusetts, II. 277; his heir opposes the title to Maine of Massachusetts, III. 75; the land a heavy burden to Massachusetts, III. 147.
- Gorges*, Captain Robert, son of Sir Ferdinando, I. 78, 117; appointed General Governor of New England, I. 78.
- Gorges*, Thomas, appointed Deputy-Governor of his father's claim, I. 221.
- Gorham*, Captain John, II. 148; III. 132, 249; his death, II. 148.
- Gorham*, Colonel John, second in command under Church, III. 132; the son of Captain Gorham, III. 249; attack on the Island Battery, IV. 161.
- Gorton*, Samuel, a disorderly company with him, I. 297, 304; trouble caused by, I. 304-314, 327; comes to Boston from England, I. 305; his company buy land of the Indians, I. 306; tried and sentenced, I. 310, 311; obtains an Act of Cession from the Narragansetts, I. 312, 313; II.

GOS

69, 70; his intrigue, and appeal to England in the Shawomet affair, I. 338-342; his case presented in a book, I. 341; his return to Boston, I. 342, 346; expectations held out to the Indians, I. 347, 348; elected President of Providence Plantations, I. 387; his conduct at Warwick, I. 388; Benedict Arnold incurs the hatred of his party, I. 391; his plan for relanding the Quakers in New England, II. 8.

Goshen, settlement of, IV. 121.

Gosnold, Bartholomew, I. iii; date of his visit to America, I. iii, 4; his voyage to America, I. 4, 10.

Gouverneur, found guilty of murder, II. 137; his course of action, II. 137.

Gove, Edward, Deputy from Hampton, II. 273; arrested, II. 273.

Governor, the, first election of, in New England, I. 61; attempt at government at Cape Ann, I. 95; rules of election, and other matters pertaining to, I. 98, 118, 123, 126, 140, 147, 202, 212-214, 221-223, 231-233, 241, 407; II. 41, 62, 265, 267; III. 71, 340; rights and duties of, I. 98, 103-106, 118, 138, 233, 241, 242, 255, 256, 272, 273, 277, 278, 292, 381; II. 28, 41, 75, 208, 260, 271, 272, 308, 314-318, 321-331, 355, 356; III. 69, 127, 382-384, 415; IV. 22, 23, 53, 54, 131, 132, 422; his residence, I. 119, 123-125, 127, 128, 401; matters pertaining to his salary, I. 254, 273, 274; II. 318; III. 74, 159, 161, 193-196, 228, 230, 235, 236, 269-276, 328, 362, 363, 372, 373, 384, 414, 415; IV. 3-35, 41-46, 48, 52, 54, 60, 61, 143-145, 257, 421-424; oath of allegiance to be taken by, I. 255, 256; the nomination of, desired by the King, II. 62; demand of the Royal Commissioners in Massachusetts, II. 79; to appoint a person to sell ammunition to the Indians, II. 178; names of, in, II. 387; list of their names in New England, II. 388, 389, 391-393, 398; IV. 441, 445, 446, 450; on the Board of Visitors at Harvard College, III. 173; to be the Captain-General of the militia, IV. 127; his escort of the battalion of the Cadets, IV. 168; a council of, IV. 207, 208; a conference of, IV. 222, 223, 227. See *General Governor*.

Governor and Company, etc. See *The Governor*, etc.

Governor-in-Chief over New England, the, his commission, and doctrines, II. 317. See *Andros*.

GRE

Governor in Council. See *Andros* and *Council of Massachusetts*.

Governor of the Fort, the, I. 7.

Grafton, Duke of, IV. 74; becomes first Lord of the Treasury, IV. 409; withdraws from office, IV. 420.

Grafton, formerly named Hassanamisitt, II. 124, 167; a church for Indians at, II. 124.

Graham, assists Andros in his extortions, II. 338, 339, 348, 349, 365, 382; captive at the Castle, II. 375; his trial in England, III. 62.

Grand Battery, the, protects the harbor at Louisburg, IV. 149; Colonel Vaughan to attack the warehouses, etc., IV. 159, 160; the operations against Louisburg, IV. 160.

Grand Jury, the, I. 172.

Grand Pré, pitiless doom of the people in, IV. 213-216.

Grand Seigneur, the, spread of Quaker doctrines, II. 5.

Granville, Earl of, Lord Carteret, III. 454.

Grasses, I. 24, 292; II. 83.

Grattan, description of Pitt's power, IV. 251.

Gravesend, story of the "Adventure," III. 162.

Gray, Thomas, banished from Massachusetts, I. 116; a disturber of the peace, I. 165.

Gray's Inn, I. 235

Great Britain, date of the accession of the Stuart family, I. iii; customs to be levied upon foreign dependencies of, II. 93, 94; order to restitute conquered places, II. 117; separation of New England from, III. 294; Act uniting the government of American plantations to the Crown of, III. 340; accession of the Elector of Hanover, III. 348. See *England*.

Great Charter, the, privileges of, extended to Ireland, II. 317; problems in New England referring to, III. 5; rights and privileges extended over Great Britain, IV. 342, 344.

Great Civil War, the, II. 22, 59.

Great Lakes, the, I. 28; a line of French stations on, IV. 197. See *French*.

Great Monarch, the, a saying of, IV. 46.

Great Rebellion in England, the, I. 223; II. 263; defeated by its own excesses, III. 349.

Great Seal, the, I. 252; III. 164, 166, 306; intrusted to a commission, III. 9.

Great Seal, the, of Andros's government, II. 319. See *Seal*.

GRE

- Green*, the, fight at Lexington on, IV. 254.
- Green Mountains*, the, I. 19.
- Greene*, John, Counsellor from Rhode Island in Andros's Council, one of Gorton's party, I. 304; trouble caused by, I. 304-306, 339; II. 279-282; escapes by flight from Shawomet, I. 310; unites with Roger Williams, I. 345; appointed Counsellor from Rhode Island, II. 334, 399; makes interest with and for Governor Andros, II. 335.
- Greene*, John, Marshal-General in Boston, II. 289.
- Greene*, Nathaniel, a Quaker, IV. 438; leads troops from Rhode Island, IV. 438.
- Greensmith*, John, I. 205.
- Greensmith*, Stephen, fined for certain affirmations, I. 200.
- Greenwich*, attempted settlement, I. 230; belongs to New Haven, I. 398; minority of the dwellers in, submit to Connecticut, II. 44; treatment of, by Connecticut, II. 46.
- Greenwich*, town in Rhode Island, II. 308; III. 430; name changed to Deptford, II. 308.
- Gregorian Calendar*, the, I. 68.
- Grenville*, George, Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury in England, III. 335; arguments against Pitt, IV. 328; becomes Prime Minister of England, IV. 356; offices held by him, IV. 356; his action in relation to imposing stamp duties on Massachusetts, IV. 356, 357; his plan of paying for the recent war of England, IV. 357; debate on the Stamp Act, IV. 375; inopportune of his experiment, IV. 382; offence given to the Princess of Wales, IV. 405; his conduct and policy denounced by Pitt, IV. 406, 407.
- Grey*, Dr. Zachary, letter from, on the need of Episcopal action in Boston, IV. 108, 109.
- Gridley*, Colonel, batteries and works laid out by, IV. 162.
- Gridley*, Jeremiah, appears for the King in the case of the writs of assistance, IV. 308-312; delay in the action of the courts, IV. 408, 409.
- Grindal*, Archbishop, I. 115.
- Grossbeak*, the, I. 25.
- Groton*, England, I. 106.
- Groton*, Massachusetts, II. 135; III. 24; Indian war and cruelties, II. 157; III. 140, 254; Indian settlements at, II. 184; intruders from, upon Indian lands, IV. 125.
- Ground-nut*, the, a substitute for the potato, I. 81.

HAL

- Grouse*, the, I. 25.
- Guadaloupe*, Island of, IV. 294; the question of relinquishing, IV. 294, 295; exports and imports from, IV. 331.
- Guiana*, I. 53.
- Guilford*, England, I. 229, 230.
- Guilford*, town in the New Haven Colony, I. 229, 230; its system of Church and State, I. 230; prefers the system of *autonomy*, I. 230; joins itself with New Haven, I. 230, 231; the residence of Rev. Mr. Whitefield described, I. 297; search for the regicides, II. 23, 25; some of the dwellers submit to Connecticut, II. 44; treatment of, by Connecticut, II. 45; riot at, II. 47; represented at the last General Court of New Haven, II. 66.
- Guinea*, III. 305.
- "*Guinea*," the, a man-of-war ship, II. 58.
- Guise*, Dr., IV. 81.
- Gunpowder Plot*, the, II. 270.
- Gurdon*, Mary, wife of Richard Saltonstall, Jr., III. 457.
- Gustavus Adolphus*, his successes, I. 127; plan of colonization, I. 260.

HABEAS CORPUS, writs of, III. 128.

- Hacket*, a Tory Bishop, quotation from, I. vii.
- Haddam*, influx of French Neutrals, IV. 279, 280.
- Hadley*, the town of, II. 25, 26, 83; the regicides sheltered in the town, II. 25, 26; arrival of Major Willard, II. 136; the principal military post in Philip's War, II. 137, 162; delivered from the Indians by Colonel Goffe. the regicide, II. 137, 138; return of the survivors from Northfield, II. 139; men proceed to Deerfield to secure wheat left there, II. 141-143; an inhabitant taken captive by Indians, II. 162; a force detailed to the relief of Hatfield, II. 165; attacked by Indians, II. 166; religious excitement, IV. 79.
- Halberds*, I. 202, 291.
- Hale*, Mrs., accused of witchcraft, III. 103.
- Hale*, Sir Matthew, Justice of England, III. 117; matters pertaining to witchcraft, III. 117.
- Half-way Covenant*, the, conditions of, II. 19; approved in New England, II. 103, 104.
- Halifax*, Lord, Secretary of State in England and President of the Board of Trade, IV. 186; town in Nova

HAL

- Scotia named for, IV. 186; correspondence relating to Governor Shirley, IV. 224; letter from Wentworth in relation to land grants and the quarrel with New York, IV. 359, 360; letter from Governor Bernard in relation to the affairs at Rhode Island, IV. 367, 368; desires schedules, to assist in framing the Stamp Act, IV. 374; circular letter to the American colonies, IV. 374; letters from Bernard describing the riots, IV. 391, 392.
- Halifax*, England, I. 106; early home of Sir Richard Saltonstall, I. 106, 107.
- Halifax*, Nova Scotia, named for Lord Halifax, IV. 186; danger from Indians, IV. 212; unsuccessful undertaking of Lord Loudoun, IV. 228, 229, the British troops to proceed to Boston, IV. 414-416; cargoes of tea shipped to, IV. 429.
- Hall*, John, appointed supervisor of the Mohegan Indians, III. 446.
- Hallam*, John, revives the case of Liveen's will, III. 458.
- Hallam*, Nicholas, revives the case of Liveen's will, III. 458.
- Hamilton*, Marquis of, his claims to Massachusetts, I. 160.
- Hamilton*, Andrew, appointed as assistant mail-keeper, III. 306, 307.
- Hammond*, his election set aside, III. 277.
- Hampden*, John, I. 108; II. 22; a member of the Long Parliament, I. 108; a patentee of Connecticut, I. 108; his refusal to pay ship-money, I. 109.
- Hampshire*, I. 77.
- Hampton*, one of the towns of New Hampshire, I. 220; III. 324; home of Wheelwright, I. 223; Inferior Court of Justice to be held at, II. 268, 269; rage of Gove at the proceedings of Governor Cranfield, II. 273; the marshal beaten from, II. 276; comparatively safe from Indian attacks, III. 24; Indian cruelties, III. 239; quarrel between Vaughan and Shute, III. 426, 427; meeting of counsellors to determine the boundary between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, IV. 69; religious power of Whitefield, IV. 83; reception given to Pepperell, IV. 168.
- Hampton Falls*, questions of boundary, IV. 70.
- Hancock*, John, a vessel consigned to, arrives in Boston, IV. 413; trouble in landing the freight of, IV. 414; chosen President of the Provincial Congress, IV. 434.

HAR

- Hanover*, House of, accession of the Georges to the British throne, III. 348, 349, 351; IV. 1, 287.
- Hanover*, town of, IV. 194; founding of Dartmouth College, IV. 361, 362; grant of land given by Governor Wentworth, IV. 362.
- Hardy*, Governor of New York, IV. 224; letter from Lord Halifax to, IV. 224.
- Harley*, a Tory statesman, candidate for Speaker of the House of Commons, III. 183, 258; Dudley under obligations to, III. 183.
- Harman*, Captain, III. 407; leads a force against Norridgewock, III. 407-409.
- Harris*, William, early associate of Roger Williams, I. 391; II. 112; arraigned for treason, I. 391; quarrel with Roger Williams, II. 111, 112.
- Hartford*, Dutch settlement at, I. 146; quarrel of the Dutch with English explorers, I. 146, 182; the foundation of, I. 182, 183; the home of Rev. Mr. Hooker, I. 183, 205; General Court of Connecticut held at, I. 183, 184; furnishes troops for the Pequot War, I. 186; represented by Mr. Hooker in the Synod of Cambridge, I. 205; planters meet to constitute a state with its government, I. 232-234; churches and schools, I. 289; III. 209, 343, 443; news of a massacre planned by the Indians, I. 303; Miantonomo taken prisoner, I. 307; complaints of the Dutch at their fort, I. 337; death of Rev. Thomas Hooker, I. 361; Governor Stuyvesant appeals to the Federal Commissioners concerning the Dutch claims, I. 365, 366; settlements made in the neighborhood of, I. 394; families from, settle Norwalk, I. 396; Dutch houses sold, I. 397; trouble in the church concerning questions in relation to baptism, II. 18, 19, 25; search for the regicides, II. 23; settlers from, found the town of Hadley, II. 25; John Allyn's home, II. 45; meetings of the Confederacy, II. 80, 95, 97-99, 287; action with regard to Major Andros's attempt on Saybrooke, II. 119; troops sent against the Indians, II. 137; offenders placed in gaol, II. 279; a second search for Colonel Goffe, II. 284; last meeting of the Commissioners of the Confederacy, II. 287; writs of *quo warranto* served against Connecticut, II. 311, 312, 336; letter to Governor Treat, from Andros, II. 336; arrival of

HAR

Andros, II. 340, 341; the charter surrendered to Governor Andros, II. 341, 342; departure of Andros, II. 343; a consultation held by Andros, II. 357; meeting to decide on the action of Connecticut and the resumption of the charter, II. 384-386; Connecticut's rights concerning military matters, III. 205-208; spring meetings of the General Court of Connecticut, III. 208; fishing interests, III. 439; offer for the erection of a college building, III. 443; action of a mob in the case of Jeremiah Fitch, III. 449; angry with Governor Saltonstall, III. 462; the fortune made by Andrew Belcher as a merchant, IV. 33; visited by Whitefield, IV. 111; death of Governor Joseph Talcott, IV. 120; tract of land granted to, IV. 121, 122; Ingersoll obliged to resign his office as Stamp Distributor, IV. 396, 397.

Hartford County, law restraining the legal profession, IV. 127.

Hartland, settlement of, IV. 121.

Harvard, John, a graduate of Emmanuel College, I. 248; his arrival at Charlestown, I. 248; his death, I. 248; bequeaths his library and the half of his estate to the college, I. 248; the college named for him, I. 248.

Harvard College, foundation of, I. 247, 248; II. 88; the site chosen, I. 248; named for John Harvard, I. 248; the first Commencement Day, I. 290; Nathaniel Eaton, the person first having charge of, I. 290; number of graduates, at the first Commencement of, I. 290; course of study, I. 290; its officers, I. 290; III. 174; Eaton succeeded by Dunster as President of, I. 290, 291; pupils fitted for, in the schools, I. 361; a building to be erected for Indian pupils, I. 376; II. 85; wheat to be collected from the colonies, as a means of aid for, I. 380, 399; views upon immersion, of some of their Presidents, I. 383; assisted by Connecticut, I. 398; teachers from English colleges in, I. 406; Dunster resides at Scituate after resigning his Presidency at, II. 37; books of the early pupils of, II. 89; success of, under President Chauncy, II. 106, 248; Leonard Hoar strongly recommended as President of, II. 106; its growth and excellence, II. 106; need of a new building, II. 106; Hoar chosen President of, II. 106, 107; the salary of the President increased, II. 107; a new

HAT

charter offered to, II. 107; the Overseers complain to the General Court of Massachusetts, II. 107, 108; Hoar resigns his Presidency, II. 108; Governor Joseph Dudley a graduate of, II. 248, 376; the Corporation created by the Governor and Company of Massachusetts, II. 315; the effect of the abrogation of the charter upon, II. 315, 316; III. 172, 291; death of President Rogers, II. 344; Morton's expectations of the Presidency, II. 344; Presidency of Increase Mather, II. 351; III. 172, 183; Rev. George Burroughs executed for witchcraft, III. 100; business relating to obtaining the Act of Incorporation and the charter of, III. 125, 172-175, 183, 184, 291-294; Mather resumes his position as President of, III. 172; the office of Vice-President, III. 173; the ancient and the new system of government, III. 172, 173; Lord Bellomont to make the effort to obtain a royal charter for, III. 175; re-establishment on the basis of the old charter, III. 291-294; affront offered by Andros, III. 291, 292; influence of the Mathers waning, III. 292; death of Vice-President Willard, III. 293; John Leverett elected President of, III. 293, 294; the charter confirmed by an Article in the Commonwealth, III. 294; correspondence of the Mathers with Dudley, III. 295-297; distinguished graduates of, III. 312, 457; IV. 38, 336, 337; contribution for Yale College, III. 343, 344; dispute between Governor Shute and the House of Representatives, on matters relating to, III. 384-386; influence of Colman, III. 385; erection of Massachusetts Hall, III. 386; Jonathan Trumbull a senior Sophister of, III. 469; the Presidency of Edward Holyoke, IV. 99; Faculty offended with Whitefield, IV. 99, 100; gift from George Berkeley, IV. 132, 133; comparisons made between a Commencement Day and a certain siege, IV. 162; body of laws, IV. 276; number of undergraduates in 1760, IV. 277.

Hassanamisitt, former name of Grafton, II. 124, 167; a church established devoted to Indian worship, II. 124, 125; number of "praying Indians" in, II. 124; the "praying Indians" faithful to their trust, II. 182, 183.

Hasty Pulling, I. 298.

Hatchet's Harbor, II. 25.

Hatfield, a stockade in charge of In-

HAT

- dian auxiliaries, II. 137; its dangerous position, II. 143; attacked by Indians, II. 144, 165; troops stationed at, II. 162; return of Captain Holyoke, II. 163; religious revival, IV. 79.
- Hatherly*, Timothy, Assistant of Plymouth, II. 37, 387; befriends the Quakers, II. 37; falls into disesteem, II. 37.
- Hathorne*, John, of the popular party in politics, II. 246; member of the Colonial Council, III. 96; the witches tried, III. 96, 97; pursues the French, III. 143.
- Hathorne*, Major William, appointed a Federal Commissioner, I. 318; II. 394-397; his opinion in relation to the Dutch troubles, I. 368; commanded to attend with others upon His Majesty, II. 79, 81; his troops at Falmouth, II. 177; the attack upon the fort on the Ossipee River, II. 177, 178.
- Haverhill*, I. 220; III. 24, 143, 144, 457; Indian massacres and attacks at, III. 140, 143, 144, 240, 246, 254.
- Hawkins*, III. 165.
- Hawks*, I. 25.
- Hayman*, Samuel, elected a Counsellor of Massachusetts, III. 234, 270; IV. 442.
- Haynes*, John, Governor of Massachusetts and of Connecticut, emigrates to America, I. 184, 149, 170; placed on a Committee of War, I. 166; succeeds Thomas Dudley as Governor of Massachusetts, I. 164, 170, 233; II. 388; measures adopted during his administration, I. 171-173; favors the emigration to Connecticut, I. 178-180; deposed from office, I. 174, 175; thought to be jealous of Mr. Winthrop, I. 179; settles in Connecticut, I. 184; elected Governor of Connecticut, I. 233; II. 389, 390; confers with Massachusetts about the Confederation, I. 261; his death, I. 397, 408.
- Hazle-nut*, the, I. 23
- "*Heads of Agreement assented to by the United Ministers*," etc., III. 342
- Heath*, General William, IV. 435.
- Hebron*, IV. 115.
- Heights of Abraham*, the conquest of Quebec, IV. 246-250, 254.
- Hemp*, I. 24; III. 367, 381.
- Henchman*, Captain, assumes command against the Indians, II. 131, 165, 166.
- Henderson*, Rev. Mr., a Scottish divine, I. 323; champion of the Presbyterians, I. 323.

HIN

- Hendrick*, lost in the battle with Dieskau, IV. 218.
- Henry IV.*, I. 107.
- Henry VII.*, the original Christian owner of Massachusetts, II. 316.
- Henry VIII.*, I. 47.
- Hewson*, Major-General, I. 109.
- Hibbens*, Mrs. Ann, executed for witchcraft, III. 91.
- Hibbens*, William, Assistant of Massachusetts, II. 389; III. 91; agent for the colony in England, III. 91.
- Hickory*, I. 23.
- Higginson*, Rev. Mr., establishes himself at Salem, I. 99, 142; letter written to England, I. 99, 100; a Non-conformist, I. 100; draws a confession of faith, I. 102; chosen Teacher of the first church in the Massachusetts Colony, I. 102, 162; fatal illness of, I. 114; introduces a scheme of religion into Massachusetts, I. 285-289.
- Higginson*, Rev. Mr., settled at Salem, II. 290.
- Higginson*, Nathaniel, a merchant of Salem, III. 282; signer of the memorial against Dudley, III. 282, 286.
- High Church*, III. 224.
- High Commission Court*, the, I. 104, 216; persecution of the Non-conformists, I. 135, 179.
- High Court of Justice*, the, I. 109; II. 22.
- High Court of Parliament*, the, II. 2.
- Highland Regiment*, the, IV. 283; answer of a soldier in, to the French challenge, IV. 247.
- Hill*, Captain, escorts the Magistrates to the Town House in Boston, II. 370.
- Hill*, Lord, commands the expedition against Canada, planned by St. John, III. 262; details of the expedition, III. 262-264, 334.
- Hillsborough*, Earl of, first Colonial Secretary, IV. 412.
- Hilton*, Colonel, killed by Indians, III. 258; burns Basle's chapel, III. 387.
- Hilton*, Edward, an early settler at Coheco, I. 88, 215.
- Hinckes*, John, Counsellor of New Hampshire, II. 333, 394; III. 191; IV. 450; President of the Council, III. 191; complaints of Dudley's favoritism, III. 332.
- Hinchley*, Thomas, elected Governor of Plymouth, II. 277, 333, 387; III. 79; first Deputy-Governor of Plymouth, II. 277, 387; one of the new Council of Governor Andros, II. 333, 399; recalled to the government of

HIN

- Plymouth, II. 381, 383; estimates concerning the Indians, III. 23, 24.
- Hindustan*, colonies of England in, III. 14.
- Hingham*, I. 243, 329, 357.
- Hinsdale*, Indian ravages, IV. 261, 233.
- Historical Discourse on the Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony of Rhode Island*, IV. 133, 134.
- History*, division of the history of New England into three periods, I. iii, iv, viii, see *Periods*; the Commissioners propose a compilation of material for, I. 380; of Hutchinson, IV. 393, see *Hutchinson*.
- Hoadley*, attitude of the Protestant Church, III. 350.
- Hoar*, Leonard, President of Harvard College, II. 106-108, 344; resigns his Presidency, II. 108; his death, II. 108.
- Hobart*, Rev. Peter, does not favor the Synod at Cambridge, I. 329; his disorderly conduct, I. 357-360.
- Hobby*, Sir Charles, III. 289.
- Hocking* infringes on the rights of Plymouth, I. 145; his death, I. 145.
- Holden*, Mr., the head of the dissenting interest in England, IV. 73; letter sent from New England, complaining of Governor Belcher, IV. 73.
- Holden*, Christopher, a Quaker, treatment of, II. 9, 10.
- Holden*, Randall, Assistant for Rhode Island and Providence Plantation, a confederate of Coddington, I. 305; abusive letter from, to the government in Massachusetts, I. 309; action of the Magistrates of Massachusetts, I. 309-311; empowered to act for the Narragansetts, I. 312, 313, 340; II. 279; his intrigue, I. 339, 340; his visit to England, I. 340; returns to Boston, I. 340, 345; debate on the question of landing, I. 340; order of the Parliamentary Commissioners brought by, I. 342, 343; scheme of government for the Narragansett country, I. 345, 346; elected Assistant for Warwick, I. 346; II. 396; business before the Privy Council, II. 279-282.
- Holdernessee*, Secretary of State in England, IV. 206, 236; Secretary of State, letter from Shirley, IV. 206; representations of Massachusetts from Governor Bernard, IV. 298, 299.
- Holland*, the Puritans in, I. 50-59; Separatists take refuge in, I. 91, 142, 245; at peace with England, I. 373; war declared with England, I. 407; peace declared with Eng-

HOP

- land, II. 116, 262; a Protestant country, II. 193; possibilities of an alliance with New England, II. 193, 262; III. 6; at war with France, II. 198; her religious position, III. 3; visited by William III., III. 66; commerce with Rhode Island, IV. 129. See *Dutch*.
- Hollis*, Lord, his attitude towards New England, II. 191.
- Hollis*, Thomas, a dissenter, IV. 324; correspondence with Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, in relation to the danger of Episcopal usurpation in New England, IV. 324-326.
- Holmes*, Rev. Obadiah, goes with Clarke to Lynn, I. 385, 386; the feeling against the Baptists, I. 385, 386; his sentence, I. 385, 386.
- Holt*, John, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, III. 9; his remarks quoted by Thacher, IV. 311.
- Holy Ghost*, the, I. 196.
- Holy Sacrament*, the, rules of admission to, III. 171. See *Lord's Supper*.
- Holyoke*, Captain, his force surrounded and butchered, II. 163, 164; his death, II. 164.
- Holyoke*, Edward, President of Harvard College, IV. 99; publishes a testimony against Whitefield, IV. 99.
- Hominy*, I. 32, 298.
- Hooker*, Rev. Thomas, I. vi; his influence for liberty, I. vi, 323; arrives in America, I. 134; chosen as Pastor at Newtown, I. 134, 178, 179; his escape from England, I. 135, 179; favors and leads the emigration to Connecticut, I. 178-180; Greensmith's affirmation concerning, I. 200; moderator at the Synod, concerning Wheelwright, I. 205; comes to Massachusetts to confer about the confederation, I. 261; desires a permanent system of supervision in the churches, I. 330, 331; his death, I. 361; notice of, by Winthrop in his Journal, I. 361.
- Hopkins*, Edward, Magistrate and Governor of Connecticut, I. 397; II. 389, 390; his death in England, I. 408.
- Hopkins*, Stephen, joins the company on board of the Mayflower, I. 59; goes on expedition to the home of Massasoit, I. 70, 71.
- Hopkins*, Stephen, Governor of Rhode Island, IV. 362, 446; remonstrance sent to the Board of Trade in regard to the Sugar Act, IV. 354-367; reports of Governor Bernard, in relation to his attitude

HOP

towards Parliament, IV. 367, 368; his action in Rhode Island, IV. 368; his treatise on the "Rights of the Colonies," IV. 369-371.

Hopkinton, Indian ravages, IV. 261, 263.

Horses, I. 292; exported from New England, II. 84; III. 330, 345, 399; IV. 365.

Horton, Elizabeth, a Quaker disturber, II. 15.

Hough, Atherton, Assistant of Massachusetts, I. 171; II. 389; chosen Deputy for Boston, I. 202.

Housatonic, the, its course, I. 20; settlement near, I. 229, 234.

House of Commons, attempt to control the New England fisheries, I. 77; Lord Bellomont a member of, III. 155; bills attempting to annul the charters of New England, III. 180, 340, 341, 430, 431; candidates for Speaker of, III. 183; Address from the House and Council of Massachusetts concerning the supplies, IV. 50, 51; a Resolve to charge stamp duties on the colonies, IV. 357; petition sent from the Colonial Congress, IV. 400-402; the Prime Minister outvoted, IV. 405; the Stamp Act repealed, IV. 406, 407; advice to the King, IV. 417; Address to George III., IV. 436. See *House of Lords and Parliament*.

House of Correction, the, I. 128.

House of Deputies. See *Deputies*.

House of Hanover. See *Hanover*.

House of Lords, the, I. 109; besieged by Venn and the citizens of London, I. 109; matters pertaining to the charter of Massachusetts, III. 58; bill attempting to annul the charter of New England, III. 180; a bill offered to regulate the charter governments, III. 340, 341; a decision rendered on the law in Connecticut relating to inheritance, IV. 123; opinion upon legal principles, of Lord Chancellor Talbot, IV. 309; statement of Otis in relation to the government, IV. 346; the Stamp Act passed, IV. 375, 376; Memorial sent from the Colonial Congress, IV. 400-403; the Stamp Act repealed, IV. 407; advice to the King, IV. 417; Lord Chatham comes from his long retirement, IV. 436; Address to George III., IV. 436. See *House of Commons and Parliament*.

House of Representatives of Connecticut, the, III. 210; the loss to absentees, III. 210; factious divisions in, III. 460; conduct towards

HOU

Governor Saltonstall, III. 460-462; the speakership given to Rector Williams, IV. 275; Dr. Franklin examined, IV. 407. See *Deputies and General Court of Connecticut*.

House of Representatives of Georgia, the, IV. 399; sends message of encouragement to the Colonial Congress, IV. 399.

House of Representatives of Massachusetts, the, origin of the House of Deputies, I. 126, 137-139, 172, 273, 274, see *Deputies of Massachusetts*; call upon the Council to assume the duties of the Magistrates, II. 382; Address sent to William and Mary, III. 56; called the House of Representatives, III. 71; constitution of, under the provincial charter, III. 71-74; members obliged to live in towns represented, III. 130, 416; objects to the repairing of Pemaquid, III. 133; Address from, sent to England in favor of Phipps, III. 133; honor offered to Stoughton, III. 176; resolve to send an agent to England, III. 183, 184; desired to keep the fort at Pemaquid in repair, III. 229, 230, 269, 301; represents the feeling of the people, III. 231; election of officers, III. 233, 234; a grant made to Dudley, III. 236; the Court issues bills of credit, III. 261, see *Bills of Credit*; Address sent to the Queen, III. 267; altercation with Governor Dudley, III. 267-276; matters pertaining to the Governor's salary, III. 269-272, 274, 293, 301, 414-416; IV. 2-34, 41-46, 52, 54, 57, 143-145, 421-424; matter of electing a Speaker, III. 273, 274, 301, 377-379, 403, 419; IV. 60; suspicions against the Governor, III. 278; accusation against William Rouse and Samuel Vetch, III. 278; case of alleged criminal proceedings in Nova Scotia, III. 278-281; affair of the Memorial against Dudley, III. 281-290; Dudley accused of thinning, by artful delays, III. 282; exculpatory votes of Governor Dudley, III. 282, 283, 287; pamphlet arraigning Dudley, III. 283-289; salary granted to the President of Harvard College, III. 293, 294; Address to Her Majesty, III. 298; relations of Dudley to, III. 298-301; grants of salary to the Governor, III. 299; questions concerning bills of credit, III. 311; difference of opinion regarding the continuance in office of Dudley, III. 315; unpleasant relations with Governor

HOU

Shute, III. 361, 373-375, 378, 382-386, 389-398, 401, 454; demands of Governor Shute, III. 363, 364; Act passed to prevent the cutting of ship-timber, III. 364; contest of Cooke with Bridger, III. 370, 371; refusal to restore the fort at Pemaquid, III. 372; financial expedients, III. 373-375; Elisha Cooke, Jr., becomes the Speaker of, III. 377; contest about the naval supplies, III. 380, question concerning the right of adjournment, III. 382, 383, 415, 419; IV. 48; action concerning the frauds in the muster-rolls, III. 383, 384; dissensions with Governor Shute concerning Harvard College, III. 385, 386; money given for Massachusetts Hall, III. 386; Governor Shute desires a better state of things, III. 393; committee raised to consider desertion and mutiny, III. 394; a committee to prepare a speech for the Eastern Indians, III. 394, 396, 397; fresh quarrel with the Governor concerning Colonel Walton, III. 395-397; grants made to Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, III. 401; Colonel Walton and Major Moody to be removed from office, III. 401, 402; measures for the conduct of the war, III. 401-403; Walton remains unpaid, III. 402, 403; offended with Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, III. 403, 404, 414; disposed to enlarge its power, III. 415; memorial of Shute to George I., with a number of accusations against, III. 415-417; rights of appointing Fast and Thanksgiving Days, III. 415, 416; Address to the King in defence of, III. 416, 417; new complaints against, III. 417-419; accepts the Explanatory Charter, III. 419, 420; refers the projected Synod to the next session, III. 421, 422; willing to be liberal, IV. 6, 7; Address to the Governor, IV. 8; resolves passed by, IV. 13; prepare an elaborate "Advice" to their constituents, IV. 14; the question of a lawful place of meeting for the General Court, IV. 22-26; a Memorial to the King defining their position against the fixed salary, IV. 24, 25; money granted to Francis Wilks and Mr. Belcher, IV. 25, 28; protests against the removal to Salem, IV. 25, 26; resolution concerning the grant of money to Burnet, IV. 27; quotes a precedent of Dummer, IV. 28; Address sent to the King, IV. 28, 31, 32; members from Boston to

HOU

publish the proceedings relating to the salary of the Governor, IV. 29; payment of members, IV. 29, 31, 32; speech of Burnet in closing the session, IV. 29, 30; character of the New House, IV. 30; question of choosing an Attorney-General, IV. 30, 31, 36, 193, 194; statements of Burnet in reference to the Privy Council, IV. 32; answer from their agents, IV. 32; grant of money to Governor Burnet, IV. 33; Burnet sends a vindication of his action from his sick-room, IV. 34; manner of making public payments, IV. 35; refusal to pay the agents of, by the Council, IV. 35, 36; grant of salary to Dummer, IV. 36; vote to pay money to the Speaker, IV. 36; vote to pay their agents, and also a grant to Governor Burnet's children, IV. 36, 37; change of views in Belcher, the agent of the House, IV. 39; Wilks's negligent performance of his duties as agent, IV. 40; influence of Belcher as represented in England, IV. 40; grant to Dummer, IV. 41; Memorial to the King concerning the salary of the Governor, IV. 45; generous gifts to the Governor, IV. 45, 46; controversy about supplies and public payments, IV. 47-52; the House disallowed to audit the accounts, IV. 49; Address to the King and the House of Commons, concerning the supplies, IV. 50, 51; redemption of the bills of credit, IV. 52-58, 186-192; Memorial to the King concerning the bills of credit, IV. 53; plan of a Land Bank, IV. 56-58; passes a bill of supply, IV. 141, 142; vote to discharge Wilks, IV. 142; grant of money to Shirley, IV. 142, 146; plan to reduce Louisburg, IV. 149-152; reception given to Pepperell, IV. 163; action against the impressment of seamen, IV. 175-178; unwilling to have the laws revised, IV. 192, 193; revision of grants of money, IV. 235; farewell Address to Governor Pownall, IV. 255; spirited reply to the speech of Bernard, IV. 296, 297; Hutchinson elected a member of, IV. 300; the Speaker, James Otis, IV. 300; consents to the demands of the Memorial relating to the neglect of the Sugar Act, IV. 303; proposition to make gold a legal tender, IV. 316, 317; bill to exclude Judges of the Supreme Court from the Legislature, IV. 317, 318; indignation expressed against the Gov-

HOU

ernor, IV. 318-322; committee appointed to prepare a statement in relation to their recent action, IV. 322-324; conflict over the election of Mr. Hutchinson as agent, IV. 335, 336; "Instructions" to, prepared by the committee chosen by the citizens of Boston, IV. 336-339, 347; contents of the "Instructions," IV. 337-339; a letter of rebuke to the agent in England, IV. 339, 340; Otis's statement of the "Rights of the British Colonies," IV. 340-347; the Committees of Correspondence, IV. 347; a petition sent to the House of Commons in relation to the Sugar Act, IV. 347, 348; Address sent to Governor Bernard complaining of the Sugar Act, IV. 348, 349; spirited message to the King, IV. 386; letters sent to other colonial assemblies desiring consultation on the circumstances, IV. 388, 389; Samuel Adams elected from Boston, IV. 398; reproof given to Ruggles, IV. 400; delay in the action of the Courts, IV. 408, 409; fresh trouble with Governor Bernard, IV. 411; despatched a petition to George III., protesting against the duties, IV. 411, 412; rebuked for their Circular Letter, IV. 412, 413; a petition sent to George III., for Governor Bernard's removal from office, IV. 413; organization of the convention at Boston, similar to, IV. 415, 416; complains of the investment by troops, IV. 417; refuses to comply with the Governor's demand for supplies for the troops, IV. 417, 418; affair of the Boston Massacre, IV. 419; place of meeting for the Court, IV. 420; the salary of Governor Hutchinson, IV. 421-423; the letters containing unfriendly sentiments sent to, IV. 425, 426; petition to George III. to remove the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor from office, IV. 426; vote in relation to the support of the judges of the Superior Court, IV. 426; second general Congress, IV. 433; forms a Provincial Congress, IV. 434. See *Deputies, General Court, and Legislature of Massachusetts*.

House of Representatives of New Hampshire, III. 426; question of bills of credit, III. 426; laws regarding, IV. 59; disagreements with the Council, IV. 59, 60; Address to the King asking for annexation to Massachusetts, IV. 60; the question of the boundary on the Massachu-

HUM

setts side, IV. 66-72; appeal to George II. on the boundary discussion, IV. 71; grant to Tomlinson, IV. 257; the question of the Governor's salary, IV. 257, 271; dispute with Governor Wentworth, IV. 269-271. See *Deputies, General Court, and Legislature of New Hampshire*.

House of Representatives of New Jersey, the, IV. 399; the Colonial Congress, IV. 399.

House of Representatives of Newfoundland, the, IV. 326, 327.

House of Representatives of Nova Scotia, the, IV. 326, 327.

House of Representatives of Quebec, the, IV. 326, 327.

Houses, I. 296, 297; style of, in the early days, I. 297; number of, in Boston, III. 169.

Howe, Viscount, his death, IV. 239-241; monument to, IV. 239-241.

Howland, trouble with Hocking, I. 145.

Hoys, I. 294.

Hudson, Henry, discoverer of a river, bearing his name, I. 89.

Hudson River, the, I. 1; II. 117; IV. 217; discovered by Verrazzano, and later by Hudson, I. 8, 89; land conveyed to the Puritans of the Plymouth Colony, near by, I. 55; Dutch settlement at the mouth of, I. 60, 294; Indians near, I. 186; II. 188; III. 31; Dutch settlement annoys Connecticut, I. 261; land easterly, secured to New Netherland, I. 366; III. 71; IV. 358, 359; the fur-trade, III. 32, 33, 66; forts to be built, IV. 148; troops under Webb at Fort Edward, IV. 229; new towns laid out, IV. 360.

Huguenots, the, families remove to Boston, III. 141; in Carolina, IV. 384.

Hull, Captain, captures a French ship, I. 389.

Hull, John, appointed mint-master, I. 407.

Human Race, the, the Indians of North America one of the five families of, I. 27.

Humber, the, I. 49.

Hume ascribes the liberty of England to the Puritans, I. vi.

Humming-bird, the, I. 25.

Humphrey, John, chosen Deputy-Governor of the Massachusetts Company, I. 106; one of the original patentees of Massachusetts, I. 106, 160; his place filled by Thomas Dudley, I. 106; his characteristics, I. 106; appears for Massachusetts, before a

HUM

committee in England, I. 132; placed on a Committee of War, I. 156; elected to be Sergeant Major-General, I. 255.

Humphreys, Robert, a London barrister of the Inner Temple, II. 255; a power of attorney sent to, from Massachusetts, II. 255; to act for Massachusetts in England, II. 255, 258; III. 62; protest made by Massachusetts, II. 260, 261; legal counsel for the agents of Massachusetts, III. 62.

Hundred Associates, the, III. 30.

Hungary, I. 8.

Hunt, Captain, kidnaps several natives, I. 67.

Hunter, Governor of New York, III. 260; to hasten matters in the war against New France, III. 260.

Hunting, I. 298.

Huron, Lake, French forts, IV. 199.

Hurons, the, some of, converted by the Catholics, I. 363; routed by the Iroquois, I. 365, 364.

Hutchinson, a Deputy of Massachusetts, belonging to the moderate party, II. 246.

Hutchinson, Mrs. Ann, her arrival in Massachusetts, I. 195, 196; troubles in Massachusetts caused by her, I. 195-210; her course of action, I. 196; described by Winthrop, I. 196; her dangerous doctrines, I. 196, 197; IV. 94, 95; her party, I. 197, 198; the difficulties in the churches, I. 198-210; her tenets discussed, at the Synod, I. 205, 207; her trial, I. 207-209; her sentence, I. 208; her errors, and persistence, I. 209; leniency shown her, I. 209, 210; finally excommunicated, I. 210; goes to her farm at the Mount, I. 210; continues to cause tumults, I. 212; her subsequent career and death, I. 213; one of her friends serves against the Dutch, I. 388; the ancestress of the new Chief Justice, IV. 300; the Antinomian heresiarch, IV. 300.

Hutchinson, Edward, fined, I. 208; sent to Quaboag to treat with the Indians, II. 132, 133; falls into ambush, II. 133; his death, II. 136; a useful citizen of Massachusetts, II. 190.

Hutchinson, Elisha, Assistant of Massachusetts, II. 359, 389; petition sent to the Lords of the Committee, II. 359.

Hutchinson, Chief Justice Thomas, Governor of Massachusetts, the Historian, I. 284; IV. 1; references to, and quotations from his history, I. 254; III. 107, 108, 303, 304; IV. 1,

HUT

2, 348, 393; his opinion of the condition of Massachusetts in 1640, I. 254; his statement regarding the bewitched people, III. 107, 108; Povey's promotion, III. 271; arguments about Governor Dudley, III. 290; his estimate of the population of Massachusetts, III. 303, 304; his account of the transferment of Governor Burnet from New York to Massachusetts, IV. 1, 2; his proposal to fund the public debt, IV. 56; story of a bargain by which Belcher was removed from office, IV. 74; resolves against the impressment of seamen, IV. 177, 178; meeting of Indian delegates, IV. 184; part taken by, in the redemption of the currency, IV. 188-192, 300, 301; his opposition to the private bank project, IV. 191; represents Massachusetts at the Albany Congress, IV. 201-205; interest in the exiles from Nova Scotia, IV. 215; prepares an Address, which causes embarrassment later, IV. 234, 235; descended from Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, IV. 300; a member of the House of Representatives in Massachusetts, IV. 300; made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, IV. 300; his elevation the cause of resentment in James Otis and his son, IV. 300, 301, 316-318; his position politically and socially, IV. 300, 301, 317, 318, 335, 348, 391-393, 426; opposition to the excise bill, IV. 301; succeeds to Lieutenant-Governor Phipps, IV. 301, 441; made Judge of Probate, IV. 301; informs Shirley of the illegality of the search-warrants, IV. 305; probable reason of Bernard for elevating him to the position of Chief Justice, IV. 307; Memorial petitioning for a hearing upon the subject of the writs of assistance, IV. 307, 308; remarks after the hearing, IV. 310; feeling in Massachusetts against, IV. 317, 318, 391-393; appointed as agent for Massachusetts in England, IV. 335; contest concerning his acting as agent, IV. 335, 336; prepares a Memorial to be sent to the House of Commons, IV. 348; quotation from his History in relation to the action, IV. 348; his attitude in the Second Revolution, IV. 384, 385; advises moderation in the tone towards the King, IV. 386; his methods mislead the British Ministers, IV. 386; action on the receipt of the news of the Stamp Act, IV. 387-394; his house and belongings destroyed by the mob.

HUT

IV. 391-393; popular fury against, IV. 392; valuable manuscripts lost from his History, IV. 393; his speech to the Supreme Court, IV. 394; his influence in regard to the indecision concerning the Stamp Act, IV. 408, 409; the Boston Massacre, IV. 418, 419; acts as Governor, IV. 418, 441; instructions in relation to the General Court, IV. 418; question of a place of meeting for the General Court, IV. 420; made Governor of Massachusetts, IV. 421, 441; the salary of Governor Hutchinson, IV. 421-423; postponement of the General Court's session, IV. 424; discovery in London of letters from Massachusetts, containing unfriendly sentiments to the colonial cause, IV. 425, 426; the letters sent to Boston, IV. 425, 426; petition for his removal from office, IV. 426; his resolute conduct, IV. 428; his country-house at Milton, IV. 429; landing of the tea-cargoes, IV. 429; the matter of the destruction of tea in the harbor, IV. 429, 430; retires to the Castle, IV. 430; desires to visit England, IV. 431; succeeded by General Gage as Governor, IV. 431, 441.

Hutchinson, William, Assistant of Rhode Island, the husband of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, I. 196; removes from Boston, I. 211; elected Assistant of Rhode Island, I. 212; his death, I. 213.

"*Hypocrisy Unmasked*," a reply to Gorton's book, I. 213.

ICELAND, early navigators from, I. 2.

Idiots, the care of, in Connecticut, III. 347.

Illinois River, the, III. 387; line of French stations on, IV. 197, see *French*.

"*Illustrious Providences*," by Mather, III. 91, 92.

Immortality, Indian's conception of, I. 44.

Impertinent File, the, II. iii.

Imports, I. 294, 295. See *Exports and Imports*.

Imposts, the law of, II. 321, 322, 345. See *Laws*.

Impressing of Seamen, the, IV. 174-178.

Indentures, the, requirements of the Stamp Act, IV. 376.

Independence, a Declaration of, I. 281; the actors achieving American Independence, III. 469.

IND

Independence, the War of, in America, I. i, vii; begun in New England, I. i, vii; IV. 433, see *Revolution, the Second*; number of Continental troops serving in, I. vii; a writer of the period fabricates the story of the "Blue Laws," I. 282; condition of the Board of Trade in England, at the close of, III. 18; causes leading to the war, in the time of William III., III. 127; first conflicts of, IV. 437-439.

Independency, its rise to power, I. vi, 342; champions of, I. vi, vii, 323; Chalmers's remark concerning the Confederation, I. 267; condition of, in New England as reported by Randolph, I. 298-300; contest with Presbytery, I. 323-333; Ecclesiastical Councils grafted on, I. 331, 332.

Independents, the, I. 84, 285; Rev. Mr. Robinson the recognized head of the party in England, I. 84, see *Robinson*; religious objects of the colonists, I. 285; their sympathies with Cromwell, I. 323; controversy with Presbyterians, I. 323-333, 339; policy of, I. 324; their weak point, I. 328, 329; a Synod held at Cambridge, Massachusetts, I. 329-331; the Cambridge Platform, I. 330, 332; constitution of the churches in England, I. 330; the Book of Discipline, I. 333; sympathy with the conversion of the Indians, I. 333-335; condition of, in New England as reported by Randolph, II. 298-300; communication from Dr. Gibson, concerning the ministry in New England, III. 421.

Indians, the, some of the natives kidnapped, I. 5, 67; attack John Smith, I. 11-14; the fight with Dermer, I. 18; classification of the race, I. 27; physical characteristics of, I. 27-29; their dialects and language, I. 28, 39-43; classification of, into groups, I. 28, 29; their emotional nature, I. 30; their adornment, I. 30, 35; their supplies for physical needs, I. 30; their wigwams, I. 30, 31; their food, I. 31, 32; *nookhik*, I. 32; their cooking, drink, fishing, tools, and weapons, I. 32, 33, 44, 45; the metals and ores unknown to them, I. 33; their manufactures, I. 33; the pipe, I. 33; their couches and furniture, I. 33, 34; polygamy, I. 34; their domestic animals, I. 34; their boats, I. 34; the marriage covenant, I. 34, 35; war-belts, I. 35; wampum, I. 35; their trade and currency, I. 35; their habits and faculties, I. 35, 36; their games and

IND

war-songs, I. 36, 37; their medicines, I. 37; dances, I. 37; methods of calculation, I. 37, 38; treatment of their captives, I. 37, 44, their law, I. 38; their knowledge of astronomy, I. 33; Sachems and Sagamores, I. 38, 39, the "Indian Primer," I. 40; their religion, I. 41-44; sorcery, I. 43; medicine-man or powwow, I. 43, 44; their ideas of immortality, I. 44; their habits of sociability, I. 44, 45; dispositions, I. 45, 46; endurance, I. 45, 46; relations of Roger Williams with, I. 45; a few seen by the early Pilgrims, I. 62; dealings with the Pilgrims, I. 66-68; wretchedness of their mode of life, I. 71; nine sachems declare themselves loyal subjects of King James, I. 71; trouble with the Plymouth Colony, I. 75, 76; trade with the colonists, I. 75, 145, 239, 345; II. 123, 164, 185, 186, 286, 332; III. 248, 413; IV. 1, 217; rob Weston, I. 76; sale of fire-arms to, prohibited, I. 88, 116, 337, 391; II. 178; sell Manhattan Island, I. 90; their lands acquired by the settlers by purchase, I. 90, 131, 227, 229, 234, 236; II. 49, 70, 122, 123, 186, 293, 314, 347, 348; relations with, I. 116, 129-131, 232, 302-314; II. 123-125, 182-137; legislation for, I. 116, 131; small-pox among, I. 131; claim of Massachusetts to her territory, I. 150, 151; II. 122, 123; burn Providence, I. 167; the Pequot War, I. 184-193; atrocious cruelties and barbarous wars enacted against the colonists, I. 185; II. 131, 140-144, 146, 147, 161, 175, 177, 180-184; III. 26, 27, 86, 131-133, 142-151, 189, 190, 231, 233, 235, 240, 245, 254, 255, 257, 258, 265, 266, 392, 393, 407; IV. 148, 172, 184, 229-231; murder Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, I. 213; close of the Indian war, I. 248; regulations concerning, in the Articles of Confederation, I. 266; strength of, I. 302; threatenings of war and other dangers, I. 302-304, 348-351, 366; II. 118, 119, 122, 189, 275; III. 21, 145, 168, 169, 228; IV. 148, 172-174, 212; information from friendly Indians, I. 303; Act of Cession from the Narragansetts, I. 312, see *Act*, etc.; the fur-trade, I. 315; trouble the Dutch, I. 315; conversions made among, to Christianity, I. 333-335, 363, 375-379, 397, 398; II. 27, 70, 80, 81, 124, 125, 169, 182, 183; III. 37, 238, 444, 446; IV. 119, 120, 125, 132, 183, 252, 325; preaching to, and the

IND

result of it, I. 334, 335, 363; origin of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, I. 335; action of the Society for their benefit, I. 335, 375-377; II. 302, 303; IV. 119; schools for their instruction, I. 334, 376, 378; II. 85, 124, 125; III. 388, 446; IV. 325; a battle with the Narragansetts, I. 347-351; proposals made to the sachems, I. 349; treaties made with, I. 349-351; trouble the colonists, I. 373-375; dealings of the Commissioners of the Confederation with, I. 374-377; bounties given to, I. 376; catechisms printed for, I. 376; efforts for general improvement, I. 376-378; scheme of a government for, I. 377, 378; statistics of, I. 378, see *Population*; embarkation of some for England, I. 379, Benedict Arnold acts as interpreter for, I. 391; near New Haven and Connecticut, I. 394; protracted disputes, I. 398; Indian messenger sent to the regicides, II. 24; Eliot's translation of the New Testament for, II. 27, see *Eliot*; to repay the money of the Atherton purchase, II. 70; settlers in Maine fearful of, II. 80, 81; French and Catholic influence over, and intrigues with, II. 81, 357; III. 28, 237, 238, 386, 407, 410-412; IV. 182, 185, 197, 198, 208, 209, 253, see *French*; Philip's War, II. 122-193; number of "praying Indians" in New England, II. 124; III. 24; number of, attending school, and reading and writing, II. 125; death of Massasoit, II. 125, 126; on the jury against Sausaman, II. 128, 129; murder of Sausaman, II. 128, 129; join Philip in his preparations for war, II. 130; attack Swanzey, II. 130, massacre of the colonists, II. 131; repulsed by Moseley, II. 131; treaty made by the Narragansetts, II. 132; attack of the Nipmucks, II. 132, 133; their treachery, II. 132, 133, 137, 182; III. 142-151; attack at Bloody Brook, II. 142, 143; faithless to their promises, II. 144; battle with the Narragansetts, II. 147-151; friendly Indians bring unfavorable news to the colonists, II. 151; attack upon Lancaster, II. 153, 154, 156; routed by Captain Wadsworth, II. 154; Mrs. Rowlandson's sufferings, II. 154-156; attacks upon Sudbury and Chelmsford, II. 156; attack upon Medfield, II. 157; attack and burn many towns, II. 157-159; routed by Captain Denison, II. 160; important successes, II. 160-165; kill Captain Wadsworth, II. 161;

IND

torture the English, II. 161; trade forbidden, II. 164; attack upon Hatfield, II. 165; attack upon Hadley, II. 166; their fortunes failing, II. 166; proclamation of the government, offering pardon to, II. 167; Talcott kills two hundred and fifty of, II. 167; the "praying Indians" unfaithful to the English, II. 167-169; perfidy against the Indians, II. 168; some few serve as spies for the English, II. 168; restrained by the Magistrates, II. 168, 169; "praying Indians" at Cape Cod worthy of praise, II. 169; captured by Captain Talcott, II. 170; encounters with the English, II. 171; Philip loses many of his tribe, II. 171; death of Philip, II. 172; complaints of wrongs received by, II. 173, 174; continuation of the war in Northern New England, II. 173, 174; massacre of the fort at Arrow-sick, II. 175; friendly Indians despatched to Dover, II. 176; offer to treat with the English, II. 176; taken prisoners by Waldron, II. 176, 177; massacre at Yorkshire, II. 177; attack upon their fort at Ossipee River, II. 177, 178; a formal pacification made with the English, II. 178; the indiscriminate sale of ammunition prohibited, II. 178; continued and renewed outbreaks, II. 178-180; their losses, II. 180; terms made with the English, II. 180; their mode of warfare, II. 181; number of captives, II. 181; relations of the "praying Indians" with the whites, II. 182-184; their settlements in New England towns, II. 184; their welfare considered, II. 184, 185; character and policy of Philip, II. 184-188; the supposed causes of the war, II. 217, 280; effect of the war upon the colonies, II. 262, 277, 323, 324; money for evangelizing, sent from England, II. 302, 303; statements concerning the amount of money used by the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, II. 302, 303; pacific engagements with, II. 304; troubles arise among, II. 353; proclamation issued by Andros, II. 360; change of policy in Andros, II. 360, 361; III. 23; attacked by Andros, II. 361; rumors concerning the movements of Andros, II. 362; number of, in Plymouth in 1689, III. 23; number, ages, and condition of, in New England, also Massachusetts and Plymouth individually, III. 23, 24, 398; IV. 383; trouble from, in the French wars, III. 23-

IND

45; marauders in New Hampshire, III. 24, 25; attack at Dover, III. 25-27; allies of the English, III. 29, 46, 208; IV. 217, 244, 251; allies of the French, III. 29, 33, 34, 45, 254, 386, 391-393; IV. 197, 228-231, 237, 248, 250, 253; need of co-operation against, III. 35; their position a doubtful one, III. 35-37; renewal of treaty with the English, III. 36; effort of Frontenac to negotiate with, III. 36, see *French*; names for the English and French, III. 36; the attack on Schenectady, III. 39, 40; massacre at Fox Point, III. 41; danger from Eastern Indians, III. 43; plan of the campaign against Quebec, III. 44, 45; a truce made for five months, III. 45; forts taken by Captain Church, III. 45; allies of the English frightened from their duty, III. 46; destruction made by them the cause of warfare, III. 48; exchanges of prisoners, III. 51, 141; referred to by Randolph, III. 60; expedition against, under Captain Church, III. 79; treaty made at Wells, III. 85; attacks on York, III. 86, 87, 131; military service against, III. 89; hostilities renewed against Massachusetts, III. 138-147; messengers seek for help from the Five Nations, III. 140, 141; ruin of the fort at Pemaquid, III. 142; capture of Hannah Dustin, III. 144; attack on Exeter, III. 144, 145; their manner of attack, III. 144, 145; their reasons for making a treaty, and mode of keeping one, III. 146; massacre at Lancaster, III. 146; numbers of English killed in war with, III. 147; close of first allied war with the French against the English, III. 147; their allegiance, III. 154; danger to New York, III. 159; representations of Lord Bellomont, III. 160; Captain Kidd a terror to, III. 165; threatened danger, III. 168, 169; marauding bands in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, III. 185; attack on Oyster River, III. 192; hostility to New Hampshire, III. 195; united defence against, III. 200, 201; plan of the expedition against Canada, III. 203, 204; purchase of land by Connecticut declared illegal, III. 210, 211; referred to by Lord Bellomont as being fond of rum, III. 222; trouble the colonists, III. 228; pacific arrangements made, III. 229; fresh expeditions against the English, by the French and, III. 239-244; massacre at Deer

IND

field, III. 240-244; daughter of Mr. Williams marries among, III. 244; renewed attacks on Wells and Dover, III. 245; reward offered for their scalps, III. 247, 269, 411; English attitude towards, III. 248, 249; auxiliaries insolent, III. 252; fresh casualties shown to the whites, III. 254-259, 265; man roasted to death, III. 254, 255; poison the drinking water, III. 257; proposals of peace, III. 265; Dudley accused of favoring, III. 281; Dudley's management of the war, III. 302; inroads made into New Hampshire, III. 318, 320; a deed to Wheelwright, III. 321; land conveyed to Waldron, III. 321; Rhode Island comparatively free from danger of wars with, III. 331; Connecticut slow in aiding, in the war, III. 333; charges of extortion against Connecticut, III. 337; kindness shown to, from Connecticut, III. 347; services of Colonel Church against, III. 355; number of Christian Indians in Massachusetts, III. 357, 398; duration of the war, III. 358, 359; continual warfare shown to the colonists on the frontier, III. 386; Rasele's influence, III. 386, 387, 391-393, 405, 406; matters pertaining to the capture and death of Rasele, III. 386, 387, 406-410; a Bible given to, III. 388; a teacher offered them, III. 388; their treaty renewed, III. 388, 389; outbreak in Nova Scotia, III. 389; attack on Arrowsick Island, III. 394, 395; Lieutenant-Governor Dummer sends a present to, with his private seal affixed, III. 404, 417; renewal of hostilities, III. 404-412; butcheries of children, III. 407; small plunder in their villages, III. 408; attacked and conquered at Norridgewock, III. 408; Chiefs Mogg and Bomazeen killed, III. 409; the French account of the capture of Norridgewock, III. 409, 410; attacked by John Lovewell's party, III. 411, 412; "Submission and Agreement of the Delegates of the Eastern Indians," etc., III. 412, 413; friendly compact ratified, III. 412, 413; cost of the war, III. 413, 414; affairs in Rhode Island and Connecticut, III. 432, 433, 444-447, 460, 465; a school set up among the Mohegans, III. 446; promises of Belcher, IV. 41; labor of Mr. Parks, a missionary to the Indians, IV. 119, 120; scheme of George Berkeley, IV. 132, 133; delegation of chiefs meet Shirley, IV. 146; threaten Annapolis, IV. 148, 173,

IND

174; danger to the English in the attack upon Louisburg, IV. 164; neutrality shown by New York, IV. 171; attack on miners, IV. 184; treaty made with Dummer renewed, IV. 184; French and English influence contrasted, IV. 197-199; effort to promote a better state of security, IV. 199, 200; maltreatment of the English, IV. 205; their rendezvous in Maine, IV. 206; danger in Nova Scotia, IV. 212; encounter with Dieskau, IV. 216-220; influence of William Johnson over, IV. 217; discouraged by the cannon, IV. 219; butcheries of prisoners, IV. 229-231; skirmishes with the English, IV. 241; disperse from Fort Duquesne, IV. 242; contrasts in New France, IV. 251; their murderous ways largely due to French influence, IV. 253; the war in New Hampshire, IV. 260-267; onslaught of the Rangers of New Hampshire, IV. 263-266; the number of, in Rhode Island, IV. 282; referred to in Benjamin Franklin's paper, IV. 295, 296; effort of the General Court of Massachusetts to Christianize, IV. 325; devastations in New England, IV. 332; number of, in Massachusetts, in 1763, IV. 333; evil results of the Sugar Act, IV. 353; school for, at Lebanon, IV. 362; number of, in Connecticut, in 1762, IV. 372; alliances with the Dutch, IV. 384; people disguised as, who destroy the tea in Boston harbor, IV. 429, 430. For further information concerning, see

Aaron.	Long Island.
Abenakis.	Madockawando.
Alderman.	Maine.
Alexander.	Maquas.
Algonquins.	Massachusetts.
Annawon.	Massasoit.
Ben Uncas.	Matoonas.
Bomazeen.	Metacomet.
Brant.	Miantonomo.
Cæsar.	Mixan.
Canadians.	Mogg.
Cannibas.	Mohawks.
Canonchet.	Mohegans.
Canonicus.	Mooanam.
Cape Sable.	Mugg.
Cayugas.	Nahigonssetts.
Chickatabot.	Narragansetta.
Eastern Tribes.	Nausets.
Etetchemins.	Ninigret.
Five Nations.	Nipmucks.
Hurons.	Nipnets.
Iroquois.	Norridgewocks.
James.	Nyantics.
John.	Oneidas.

IND

- Onondagas. St. François.
 Opecheanough. St. John.
 Pawtuckets. St. Lawrence.
 Penacooks. Sausaman.
 Penobscots. Senecas.
 Pequods. Six Nations.
 Pequots. Squanto.
 Pessacus. Tarratines.
 Philip. Tispaquin.
 Plymouth. Tom.
 Pocahontas. Tuscaroras.
 Pokanokets. Uncas.
 Pomham. Ussamequin.
 Powhatan. Wampanoags.
 Quadequina. Wamsutta.
 Sacononoco. Wattascompanum.
 Samoset. Weetamoo.
Indian Corn, I. 81, 82, 70, 72, 129, 298; price of, I. 195; takes the place of coin, I. 295.
"Indian Primer," the, I. 40.
Indian Pudding, I. 298.
Indigo, III. 330.
Individualism, exhibited by Roger Williams, I. 168.
Infants, of the Indians, I. 34; question relating to baptism of, II. 17, 19. See *Baptism*.
Inferior Courts, I. 276, 277; to be held in New Hampshire, II. 268, 269; of the County of Suffolk, II. 34.
Ingersoll, Jared, to unite with Jackson as agent for Connecticut in England, IV. 374-376; his arrival in London, IV. 374; amendments proposed for the Stamp Act, IV. 374; debate on the Stamp Act, IV. 375; accepts the position of Distributor of Stamps in Connecticut, IV. 389, 390; conference with Oliver, IV. 390; his arrival in Boston, IV. 390; required to give up his office, IV. 396, 397.
Inheritance, the laws of, I. 278; III. 458. See *Laws*.
Inner Temple, the, II. 255.
Innocent VIII., the bull of, in regard to witchcraft, III. 116.
Insects of New England, I. 26.
"Instructions," the, prepared for the House of Representatives of Massachusetts by Samuel Adams, IV. 336-339; contents of, IV. 337-339; the Committees of Correspondence, IV. 347.
Instruments of Music, I. 300.
Insurance Policies, requirements of the Stamp Act, IV. 376.
Intoning, IV. 113.
Ipswich, I. 137, 293; II. 146; settlement of, I. 137; the pastorate of Rev. Mr. Ward, I. 280; a place of meeting for the General Court, I. 172; the plantation of John Winthrop, I. 173; the pastorate of Rev.

ISL

- Mr. Norton, I. 318; troops sent against the Indians, II. 137; proceedings against, by the government, II. 326-328; an important town, III. 81; woman from, sentenced for witchcraft, III. 99, 100; postage on letters, III. 307; birthplace of Nathaniel Saltonstall, III. 457; reception given to Pepperell, IV. 168.
Ireland, I. 312; II. 299; III. 48, 356, 428; Cromwell's conquest of, I. 404, 405; ideas concerning the government of, in a treatise by Eliot, II. 27; help contributed for New England, II. 188; condition of, compared with that of Massachusetts, II. 317; affairs in, III. 44; campaign in, under William III., III. 57, 63, 65; exports and imports, III. 424; emigrants from, III. 428; IV. 260; a bill for securing the subjection of, IV. 15; a native of, becomes Lieutenant-Governor in New Hampshire, IV. 61, 163; the Deanery of George Berkeley, IV. 132; William Johnson a native of, IV. 217; troops sent from, to Boston, IV. 416.
Irish, the, I. iv; large emigration from, since 1830, I. iv; settlers in the United States, I. ix.
Iron, I. 23, 295; made in Massachusetts, II. 84; III. 367; exported from Rhode Island, III. 380; certain manufactories prohibited, IV. 194.
Iron-work, I. 394.
Iroquois Indians, the, I. 363; III. 24; rout the Hurons, I. 363, 364; also called the Five Nations, III. 31; the five tribes composing the band, III. 31; a peace to be concluded with, III. 31; the tribes described, III. 31, 32; friendly to the English, III. 32, 33; devastate Montreal, III. 34; the part to be acted by the Canibas, III. 37, 239; Frontenac's first acts, III. 38; efforts of the French to negotiate with, III. 85, see *French*; threatened danger from, III. 168, 169; inconstancy of, III. 237, 248; IV. 218; distrust of the New Englanders, III. 237; their terror of Frontenac, III. 237; effort to obtain their neutrality, III. 238; consultation at Boston, III. 261; delegates from, in Boston, III. 394; the tribe becomes the Six Nations, III. 403; allies of Dieskau refuse to obey, IV. 218; treachery of, IV. 218. See *Five Nations* and *Six Nations*.
Isaiah, II. 44.
Island Battery, the, attacked by Colonel Vaughan, IV. 161, 162; commanded by a new battery erected by the English, IV. 162, 163.

ISL

Isle-aux-Noix taken by Amherst, IV. 245.

Isle of Shoals, the, arrival of William Pepperell, IV. 153.

Isle of Wight, the, I. 112, 135; pursuit of Cotton and Hooker, I. 135; Joseph Dudley appointed Lieutenant-Governor of, III. 150, 181.

Israel, IV. 330.

Israelites, the, comparisons drawn from, I. 206.

Italy, exports and imports of, III. 424.

JACKSON, agent for Connecticut in England, IV. 374; the debate on the Stamp Act, IV. 375.

Jacobi, 3, the oath of allegiance contained in, administered to the agents, II. 220, 222.

Jacobi, 18, grant made in, to Massachusetts, II. 212.

Jacobs, George, accused of witchcraft, III. 98.

Jamaica, the Island of, conquered by Cromwell, I. 404, 408; Cromwell's desire to send the Puritans to, I. 404, 405; Governor Cranfield to depart thence, II. 276; expedition under Admiral Vernon, IV. 134; Shirley to be appointed Governor of, IV. 223; relations with New England, IV. 292.

James, the Printer, a "praying Indian," II. 167; surrenders with his followers, II. 167.

James, Rev. Mr., takes charge of the parish at Charlestown, I. 128.

James I., King of England, I. 6, 94; patents given to the London and Plymouth Colonies, I. 6, 7; II. 212, 314; opposes the dissenters, I. 48; instrument drawn in Plymouth expressing loyalty to, I. 61; loyalty pledged to, by Massasoit and several other sachems, I. 68, 71; patent given to the Council for New England, I. 73; II. 259, 314; his quarrels with the Parliament, I. 91; marked changes in principles during his reign, I. 91, 92, 322; his death, I. 92; executions for witchcraft while in Scotland, as James VI., III. 117; his treatise on Demonology, III. 117.

James II., King of England, known as the Duke of York previous to his accession to the throne, II. 56, 58, 288; nominates the Royal Commissioners, II. 56; land given to, in America, by Charles II., II. 58, 59, 64, 78, 84, 108, 109, 117, 118, 332, 352; IV. 359; proceedings of the

JAM

Royal Commissioners in the territory granted to, II. 63, 64; New Amsterdam, captured from the Dutch, receives the name of New York, II. 63, 64; Albany, his second ducal title, II. 64; Nicolls made Deputy Governor of New York, II. 64; a member of the Council for Foreign Plantations, II. 93; Lovelace succeeds Governor Nicolls as Governor for, II. 98; Fort Albany and New York, recaptured by the Dutch, II. 98, 99, 108, 109; effort of Massachusetts to enclose territory belonging to, II. 108, 109; his province recaptured and taken possession of by Major Andros, as Lieutenant of the Duke of York, II. 116-118; obtains a new patent, II. 117, 118; his patent read to the people of Connecticut, II. 119, 120; organizes an efficient navy, II. 262; his accession to the throne of England, II. 288; proclaimed in Boston, II. 289; Address to, from Massachusetts, arguing for justice, II. 290; desired to send a writ of *quo warranto* against Rhode Island and Connecticut, II. 290; scheme of government proposed by Randolph for Massachusetts, II. 290, 291; commissions for the new government sent to Massachusetts with the resultant action, II. 291-294, 296; III. 284; refuses to allow any Assembly in New England, II. 291, 359, 360; complaints of Randolph in regard to New England, II. 298-304, 306; a General Governor asked by Randolph for New England, II. 298-300; proclaimed at Plymouth, II. 304, 305; receives an Address from Plymouth asking for a charter, II. 305; sends letter to Plymouth, II. 305; Monmouth's insurrection, II. 305, 308; writs of *quo warranto* to be served against Rhode Island and Connecticut, II. 306, 309, 310; Address sent from Rhode Island asking a continuation of privileges, II. 307; proclaimed in Connecticut, II. 308; Addresses sent from Connecticut, II. 309, 311; Sir Edmund Andros appointed General Governor of New England, II. 313, 314; his ownership of Massachusetts, II. 315-317; his rights in New England, II. 316-318; extent of the commission of Governor Andros, II. 317, 318, 331-336, 355-357; retains Colonel Kirk in England, II. 319; his special liking for Andros, II. 319; condition of England, II. 331; the submission of Rhode Island and

JAM

Connecticut, II. 335-342; extortion of rent practised in New England, II. 340; the Declaration of Indulgence, II. 344; unjust deeds performed in his name, II. 349; the people in New England turn to, for relief, II. 350, 351; effort of Andros to ingratiate himself with, II. 352, 353; the promotion of Andros, III. 355; birth of the Prince of Wales, II. 357; Addresses presented by Mather, II. 358; opinion of Mather concerning, II. 358; Massachusetts petitions for an Assembly, II. 359, 360; discontent in America and England, II. 362, 363; his power overthrown by the Revolution of the Seventeenth Century, II. 366, 367-386; III. 34, 35, 463; IV. 287, 291, 346; the entrance of the Prince of Orange into England, II. 367-369, 371; the position of the King and the people, II. 367-369; his cruelty, II. 368; uprising of the people, II. 368, 369; treachery of Sunderland, III. 3; removes John Holt from the office of Recorder of London, III. 9; position of William III. in regard to his colonial maladministration, III. 12; charges against his officers, III. 62; indisposed to relax the dependence of Massachusetts, III. 68; his lawless reign in New England, III. 74; fruitless efforts of Mather in behalf of the College, III. 292; defence of Londonderry against, III. 428; colonies of New England under his power, IV. 287, 288; growth of New England after the expulsion of, IV. 291; speech of Governor Bernard referring to, IV. 316; his abdication, IV. 346.

James VI., of Scotland, comes to England as James I., III. 117; executions for witchcraft, III. 117.

James River, the, I. 10

Jamestown, in Rhode Island, situation of, III. 430; IV. 129.

Jamestown, in Virginia, the founding of, I. 10, 11; adventures of Captain John Smith, I. 11, 12, 14.

Jane, Dr., chosen Prolocutor of the Lower House, III. 12.

Jefferys, Secretary, attempt to restore him to office, III. 322.

Jeffrey, one of the earliest settlers in the neighborhood of Chelsea, I. 88; contributes towards an expedition sent to Merry Mount, I. 88.

Jehosaphat, IV. 92.

Jenckes, Joseph, Governor of Rhode Island, sent when Deputy-Governor to England as agent for the colony, III. 439, 452; elected Governor of

JOH

Rhode Island, IV. 130, 446; his term of office, IV. 130; action in relation to the paper money, IV. 130-132; his death, IV. 130, 132.

Jenkins, Sir Lionel, Secretary of State in England, reports of matters in New England, sent by Randolph, II. 238, 244; letter from the General Court of Massachusetts concerning a royal letter, II. 239; the agents from Massachusetts submit their commission to, II. 250; a letter injurious to Mather sent to, II. 351.

Jenney, John, one of the Puritans at Leyden, I. 50.

Jerseys, the, II. 355; Andros takes possession of the government of, III. 355, 356. See *New Jersey*.

Jerusalem compared to Massachusetts, II. 20.

Jesuits, the, complaints of, made to Lord Sunderland, II. 280; French allies of the Indians, II. 280; III. 29, 238, 390, see *French*; the historian Charlevoix, III. 244; Rasle's mission to the Indians, III. 386, see *Rasle*.

Jesus Christ, I. 121; III. 410.

Jews, the, I. vii.

Joan of Arc, III. 116.

John, Sagamore of the Nipmucks, II. 170; surrender of himself and other Indians, II. 170, 171, 183.

Johnson, Captain, Deputy for Woburn, II. 57; to assist in keeping the patent of Massachusetts safe from harm, II. 57; his death, II. 148.

Johnson, Lady Arbella, her arrival in Massachusetts, I. 114; her sickness and death, I. 114.

Johnson, Augustus, Attorney-General of Rhode Island, IV. 396; appointed Stamp Distributor in Rhode Island, IV. 396; exposed to indignity, IV. 396; hastens to resign his office, IV. 396.

Johnson, Isaac, I. 106; Assistant of Massachusetts, I. 106; II. 388; the son-in-law of Lord Lincoln, I. 106; one of the original patentees of Massachusetts, I. 106, 160; his wife Lady Arbella, I. 114; his death, I. 114, 160; enters into a church covenant, I. 115.

Johnson, Sir William, his birth and youth, IV. 217; his influence over the Indians, IV. 217; marries the daughter of a Mohawk chief, IV. 217; made commander of troops, IV. 217; engagement with Dieskau, IV. 217-219, 279; wounded, IV. 219; made a Baronet, IV. 219; erects Fort Henry, IV. 220; favorite

JON

- officer of the New York Legislature, IV. 224; unfriendly terms with Shirley, IV. 224; relations with Thomas Pownall, IV. 232; succeeds to General Prideaux, IV. 244; joins Amherst, IV. 251; second on the Committee on the Address to the King, IV. 402.
- Jonathan*, I. 206; IV. 90.
- Jones*, one of the Crown lawyers in England, II. 218, 220; makes examination and report concerning the legal condition of Massachusetts, II. 218-221.
- Jones*, Margaret, executed for witchcraft, III. 90, 91.
- Jones*, William, Lieutenant-Governor of Connecticut and New Haven, II. 391; III. 208; IV. 445; omitted in the elections of Connecticut, III. 459.
- Jonquière*. See *De la Jonquière*.
- Journal of the House*, the, III. 267, 395.
- Journal of Winthrop*, the, I. 361.
- Judas*, I. vii.
- Judge*, the, of Aquetnet Island, I. 211.
- Judge of Probate*, the office held by Leverett, President of Harvard College, III. 298; held by Thomas Hutchinson, IV. 301, 302; James Otis elected, IV. 336. See *Wills*.
- Judge of the Admiralty*. See *Admiralty*.
- Judge of the Superior Court*, the, III. 271.
- Judges of Rhode Island*, the, described by Lord Bellomont, III. 222.
- Judges of the Supreme Court*, the, IV. 317.
- Judicatories*, Act for establishing, III. 127-129, 156; disallowed by the Privy Council, III. 156, 157; repeated efforts of the General Court of Massachusetts to pass a similar Act, III. 156-159.
- Judicial Authority*, in New England, I. 138, 276-278; changes made in, II. 318.
- Judicial Courts*, established in New England, I. 271; established in New Hampshire, II. 237; to resume their duties, III. 20. See *Courts*.
- June*, the Seventeenth of, the Battle of Bunker's Hill, IV. 439.
- Jupiter*, III. 119.
- Juries*, I. 138, 172, 277; III. 217; rules of, trials, etc., I. 138; II. 325. See *Courts and Laws*.
- Jurisdiction*, the, of New Haven, I. 270; the word to be substituted for Commonwealth, II. 241.
- Justices of the Peace*, the, I. 116, 277; II. 346; appointed in Connecticut, II. 385; III. 211: duties of,

KEN

- performed by the Assistants under the old charter, III. 128; their jurisdiction, III. 129; described by Lord Bellomont, III. 222. See *Courts and Laws*.
- KEAYNE*, Captain, a man of property in Massachusetts, I. 257; consequences important to the government follow an occurrence connected with a stray sow, I. 257, 258; law-suits entered upon by, I. 257-259.
- Keene*, a town in New Hampshire, IV. 261; injured by Indian ravages and cruelties, IV. 261, 263.
- Keith*, Sir William, Governor of Pennsylvania, IV. 180; his scheme in regard to a system of stamp duties in America, IV. 180, 181.
- Kellond*, a zealous royalist, II. 23; his unsuccessful search for the regicides, II. 23-25.
- Kennebec River*, the, I. 7; II. 178; III. 387, 388, 392, 410; IV. 61, 62, 227; early efforts to form settlements upon, I. 7, 8; visited by Captain Dermer, I. 18; one of the principal rivers of New England, I. 20; fertility of the region near, I. 22; lands on, granted to Gorges, to Mason, and to Allerton, I. 77, 87; a post established, for the purpose of trading with the Indians, I. 87, 145, 220, 239; the Abenakis colonies situated upon, I. 364; III. 37; property on, owned by Plymouth, I. 393; land adjoining, included in the grant to the Duke of York, II. 59, 78, 84, 108, 109, 332; ravages committed by, and battles with the Indian tribes near, II. 174, 175; III. 28, 132, 146, 392-395, 407-409; IV. 185; forts erected on or near, II. 178, 179; IV. 206; treaties made by the Indians near, II. 180; III. 45, 147; ascended by Governor Andros, II. 352; Indian name for, III. 87; provisions of the charter of William III. to Massachusetts, with regard to, III. 71 75; the mission of Father Rasle, III. 139, 238, 386, 387, 407, 408, see *Rasle*; the limit of English rule, III. 154, 230; IV. 62; limits of Acadia, III. 154, 230; IV. 62; English and French settlements on, III. 237, 238; discussions concerning the ownership of land adjoining, III. 388; IV. 62; Arrowsick Island attacked by Indians, III. 394, 395; forts erected on, IV. 206.
- Kennebunk Port*, former name of, I. 403; III. 239.
- Kennebunk River*, the, I. 402.

KEN

- Kent*, Burgesses of, IV. 380.
Kent, town in Connecticut, date of settlement, IV. 121.
Keppel, Admiral, attends a council held at Alexandria, IV. 207, 208.
Kidd, Captain William, his adventures, III. 163-167; interest of Lord Bellomont in, III. 163, 164, 166, 167; his trial and execution, III. 167.
Kieft, Dutch Governor of New York, I. 337; deposed from office, I. 337; succeeded by Peter Stuyvesant, I. 337.
Killingworth, III. 344; the pupils of Yale College study at, under Rev. Abraham Pierson, III. 344, 345.
King, the, the Freeman's Oath in New Haven, I. 228; oaths of allegiance prescribed in New England, I. 241, 255, 256, 263; II. 29, 30, see *Oaths*; condition of the Eastern settlements, I. 270; the right of appeal to, I. 277; the law of treason revised, II. 241, 242. See *names of Kings*.
King Street, early name of State Street, II. 319; uprising of the people in the seventeenth century, II. 370, 371; entrance of Joseph Dudley as Governor into Boston, III. 225; disturbances at the impressment of seamen, IV. 176, 178; twenty-seven trucks laden with money dragged to the treasury, IV. 190, 191; action of the mob in Boston, IV. 390-393; use of cannon, IV. 416; the Boston Massacre, IV. 418, 419.
King's Bench. See *Court of King's Bench*.
King's Chapel, its early history, III. 169, 170.
King's County, the name of, finally changed to Washington County, III. 453; formerly the King's Province, III. 453; IV. 129; towns constituting, IV. 129.
King's Province, the, formation of, II. 69, 70; decree of the Royal Commissioners concerning the government of, II. 70, 114; boundaries of, II. 114; mandates of Charles II. concerning, II. 279-282; Commissioners appointed to inquire into the titles of, II. 282; to come under the new government of Massachusetts, II. 291; no arrangement made for a House of Assembly in, II. 291; President Dudley constitutes a government for, II. 307, 308; Andros sends a history of the claims of, II. 325; Governor Phipps asserts his authority, III. 219; the militia obedient to Governor Dudley, III. 325; included in Rhode Island, and the name changed to King's County,

LAN

- and finally to Washington County, III. 453; IV. 129. See *Narragansett Country*.
Kingston, Canada, former name of, IV. 221; captured by the English, IV. 241, 242.
Kingston, New Hampshire, III. 254, 320, 324; Indian ravages, III. 254, 407.
Kingston, Rhode Island, change of name, II. 308; number of freemen in, III. 380; service in the French war, III. 332; delegates from, sent to the General Assembly of Rhode Island, III. 430.
Kinshon, term used by the Indians to designate some of the whites, III. 36.
Kirk, a loyalist, II. 23; his unsuccessful search for the regicides, II. 23-25.
Kirk, Colonel Piercy, to be the Governor-General in Massachusetts, II. 260, 289; his reputation for cruelty, II. 260, 319.
Kittery, I. 402; III. 45, 86, 145; constituted a town of Massachusetts, I. 402, 403; Indian butcheries, II. 174; III. 140, 147, 247, 254.
Knollys, Rev. Hansard, succeeds Burdet, at Cochecho, I. 216; excommunication of Mr. Larkham, I. 217, 218.
Knowles, Commodore Charles, and Governor of Jamaica, left in charge of Louisburg, IV. 175; his arrival at Boston with ships, IV. 175; impressment of men, IV. 176-178; the expulsion of the French Neutrals from Acadia, IV. 212, 213; to be succeeded at Jamaica by Governor Shirley, IV. 223, 224.
Knox, John, imports the Presbyterian faith into Scotland, I. 322; the doctrine of "itinerancy," IV. 100.
LABRADOR, visited by the Cabots, I. 2; northern limit of British America, II. 64.
Laconia, I. 77.
La Hève, former name of New Dublin, I. 315.
Lakes, the, in New England, I. 20; the Great, I. 28.
Lancaster, Massachusetts, II. 83, 132; III. 24; Indian butcheries, II. 135, 136, 153-156; III. 146, 246; called Nashua, II. 152; Indians taken prisoners, II. 166.
Lancey. See *De Lancey*.
Land, value of, per acre, in 1713, III. 336.
Land Bank, the, IV. 56-58; Act of Parliament suppressing, IV. 58, 143;

LAN

- false charges against Governor Belcher, IV. 73, 74; the scheme of, revived, IV. 189. See *Private and Public Bank*.
- Land-titles*, the question of validity of, I. 278; II. 315; III. 127, 428, 429; IV. 123, 267-269, 358-361. See *Quit-rents*.
- Language*, I. 39-43, 300, 301.
- Larkham*, Rev. Thomas, I. 217, 218; excommunicated by Mr. Knollys, I. 217, 218.
- La Salle*, the French explorer, IV. 251, 252.
- Latin Poem*, a, descriptive of New England, I. 78.
- La Tour*, holds a trading post at St. John, I. 315; incurs the displeasure of France, I. 316, 317; his quarrel with D'Aulnay, I. 316, 317, 336, 337.
- Laud*, Archbishop of Canterbury, I. 122; his accession to the primacy, I. 134; his vigilance, I. 134, 135, 174, 215, 216, 225; alarming rumor in New England concerning, I. 152; his power over the King, I. 155; his effort to prelate the Church of Scotland, I. 160.
- Lauderdale*, Duke of, his cruelties in Scotland, II. 92.
- Law*, Jonathan, Governor of Connecticut, IV. 115, 120, 121, 128, 272, 445; his death, IV. 277.
- Law*, I. 38; of the Indians, I. 38, 39; legislation in Plymouth Colony, I. 61, 146, 147, 241, 242, 278, 279, 393; II. 85, 86; in New England, must not be repugnant to England, I. 98, 177, 281, 344; II. 29, 33, 34, 41, 68, 75, 213-215, 221, 224, 244, 250, 309, 317, 318; III. 64, 374, 464; IV. 122, 123, 132, 204; of banishment, I. 103, 104, 138, 151, 280, 382-384; II. 104, 105, 239, 242; prescribed for the Indians, I. 116, 375; early legislation in Massachusetts, I. 116-118, 121-123, 128, 138, 139, 155-158, 165-167, 172, 173, 176, 249, 276-279, 395; concerning the admission to the franchise in New England, I. 118, 120-123, 149, 172, 180, 220, 228, 272, 287, 288; II. 31, 62, 63, 68, 214, 215, 231, 232, 249; III. 20, 21, 169, 438; relating to capital crimes, I. 147, 158, 281, 282, 311; II. 10-12, 15, 239; III. 76, 90; the law in England concerning property in Massachusetts, I. 160; II. 212; relating to the municipal system of New England, I. 172, 274, 275, 277; concerning churches, I. 172, 173, 397; a code of laws to be draughted in Massachusetts, I. 176-178; of

LAW

- marriage, I. 177, 278, 289; III. 127; an Alien Law, I. 203; the jurisdiction of New Haven, I. 231, 282, 399; legislation in Connecticut, I. 232-234, 282, 395; II. 85, 86, 344, 385; III. 346; IV. 122, 123; relating to personal adornment, I. 249, 297; important movement made in the Legislature of Massachusetts, I. 256, 257; the Articles of Confederation, I. 263-267; the governments of the colonies framed on one model, I. 271-273; laws in force at the time of the Confederation, I. 271-284; distinction between a town and a city, I. 274, 275; of real estate, I. 278; II. 315; The Body of Liberties, by Ward, I. 280-282, see *The Body*, etc.; pertaining to the Sabbath Day, I. 281; III. 440, 441; the Mosaic Law, I. 281, 282; regarding the children of slaves, I. 282; the Blue Laws, I. 282, 399; religious ministrations supported by, I. 283, 284; relating to schools, I. 289, 290, 361, 399; III. 441, 442; IV. 128; relating to military regulations, I. 290-292; II. 345, 346; III. 333; IV. 128; protective laws, I. 293; bullets made a legal tender, I. 295; privilege of legislation, declared by the colonists, I. 327; legislation in Rhode Island, I. 346; II. 335; III. 217, 222, 223, 329, 330, 434-438; IV. 127, 181, 182, 369; revised in Massachusetts, I. 361; banishment of Baptists, I. 382-384; II. 104, 242; of fines, I. 385, 386; II. 9; the Bill of Rights, I. 395; of trade and navigation, rules of observance, I. 405, 406; II. 28, 47, 61, 74, 195, 201, 211, 224, 232, 241-243, 250, 274, 283, 297, 306, 320, 345; III. 15, 64, 148, 158, 159, 223, 380, 381; IV. 298, 305, 306, 333, 381; relating to the Quakers, II. 9-15, 31, 217, 242; concerning exports and imports, II. 28; law pertaining to the number of Assistants, II. 28, see *Assistants*; social system of the colonies depicted by, II. 85, 86, 89; law of customs, II. 93, 94; the English statutes relating to the oath of allegiance, II. 220, see *Oaths*; various laws repealed and changed, II. 238, 239; of New Hampshire, II. 272; of taxes, II. 378, see *Taxation*; of rates, imports, etc., II. 321, 322; changes made by Andros's government in many of the laws, II. 321-325; action of Governor Andros concerning the laws of Connecticut, II. 344; forbidding meetings, II. 345, 346; forbidding removals without permission, II. 346; must

LAW

be approved in England, II. 355, 356; the colonists petition that they may be printed, II. 359, 360; renewed in Connecticut, after the Revolution, II. 335; restricting cargoes as to destination, III. 15, 16, see *Trade*; in relation to the trade in woollens, III. 16, 148; all laws revived that were in action previous to Dudley's presidency, III. 20; the charter of William III. requires all laws to be approved by the King, III. 72-75, 126, 127, 156; laws regarding the ship-timber of New England, III. 73, 344, 365, 369, see *Woods*; embarrassing condition of affairs under the demands of the charter, III. 126-130; revised editions of, III. 126, 211; laws receiving the royal approval, III. 127; concerning the place of residence for representatives, III. 130; pertaining to courts of justice, III. 156-159; concerning Indian warfare, III. 168, 169; against harboring deserters, III. 261, 262; of the Census, III. 329, 330; concerning "propriety governors," III. 431; in relation to Roman Catholics and the franchise, III. 433, 437; concerning riots, III. 449, 450; the statute of mortmain, III. 458; relieving certain sects from parish taxes, IV. 36, 125; requirements of the representatives of New Hampshire, IV. 59; limit to the time of an Assembly, IV. 59; relating to ministers and parishes, IV. 114, 115, 117, 118; law restraining the legal profession, IV. 127; a law library ordered from London, IV. 154; concerning impressing of seamen, IV. 174, 175; in relation to private banking, IV. 189, 190; regarding bills of credit as legal tender, IV. 192; effort to revise the laws of Massachusetts, IV. 192, 193; the colonies desire to arrange their own, IV. 289, 320; questions arising from the laws of trade, IV. 297; in relation to smuggling, IV. 303, 304, 313; opinion of legal principles, of Lord Chancellor Talbot, IV. 309; laws of excise, IV. 337; the Revenue Laws, IV. 362, 333; requirements of the Stamp Act, IV. 376; distinction between legislation and taxation, made by Pitt, IV. 406, 407. See *Acts*, *Legislature*, and *Parliament*.

Lawrence, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, IV. 212; severe measures taken with the French Neutrals, IV. 212-216.

LEG

Lawson, Roger, accusations against, III. 278, 287, 288; his trial, III. 279-281.

Lawyers, no professional advocates in the early trials, I. 277; III. 112; the profession in Connecticut, III. 212; IV. 126, 127.

Leading-staves, I. 291.

Leases, requirements of the Stamp Act, IV. 376.

Lebanon, efforts of Rev. Mr. Wheelock to found a college, IV. 361, 362; a school for Indians established, IV. 362.

Lechmere, Surveyor of the Customs, IV. 307; petition offered by, in regard to the writs of assistance, IV. 307, 308.

Lectures, I. 239; IV. 86.

Leddra, William, tried and executed, II. 14, 17.

Leete, William, Governor of New Haven, and of Connecticut, his arrival at New Haven, I. 229, 230; II. 391; appointed Chief Magistrate of New Haven, II. 24, 391; action concerning the regicides, II. 24; action concerning the proclamation of Charles II., II. 88; his action in the question of submission to Connecticut, II. 45-48, 65, 66, see *New Haven*; chosen Assistant of Connecticut, II. 67, 391; elected President of the Federal Congress, II. 80; succeeds Mason, as Deputy-Governor of Connecticut, II. 115, 390; his administration as Governor of Connecticut, II. 233, 284, 390; a search instituted for Colonel Goffe, II. 284; term of office and death of, II. 284, 285.

Legislature of Connecticut, the, I. 232, 233; divided into two branches, III. 208; declines to furnish troops for the Indian war, III. 446, 447; proclaims George II. IV. 122; matters relating to Yale College, IV. 275-277; approves the action of the Second General Congress, IV. 433. See *General Court of Connecticut*.

Legislature of England, the, IV. 5, 12, 13.

Legislature of Great Britain, the, IV. 4, 32; threats extended to Massachusetts, IV. 5, 12, 13, 42-44; referred to, in Otis's speech on the "Rights of the Colonies," IV. 340-346; privileges of *Magna Charta*, IV. 342; the need of a supreme rule, in the empire of England, IV. 387.

Legislature of Maine, the, I. 221; to be composed of two branches, II. 265, 266; approves the action of the Second General Congress, IV. 433.

LEG

Legislature of Massachusetts, the, I. 117, 126, 138, 139; Deputies to be sent from the towns to, I. 126, 137, 172, 177, 250; III. 127, 130, 416; division into two branches, I. 126, 256, 257, see *Deputies* and *Magistrates*; constituted anew by the charter of William III., III. 71, 72, 74, 465, 466; legislation under the new charter, III. 126-130; addressed by Governor Dudley, III. 227, 228, 233; addressed by Governor Shute, III. 362, 363; inaugural speech of Governor Shirley, IV. 140, 141; an address sent to Shirley, IV. 220; approves the proceedings of the Second General Congress, IV. 433. See *General Court of Massachusetts*.

Legislature of New Hampshire, the, I. 219, 220; the appointment of the first branch to be made by the King, III. 200; dispute with Governor Wentworth, IV. 269-271; approves the action of the Second General Congress, IV. 433. See *General Court of New Hampshire*.

Legislature of New Haven, the, I. 231. See *General Court*, etc.

Legislature of New York, the, accusations against Connecticut, III. 451; admiration of Sir William Johnson, IV. 224; action with regard to the results of the Second General Congress, IV. 433.

Legislature of Newfoundland, the, IV. 326, 327.

Legislature of Nova Scotia, the, IV. 326, 327.

Legislature of Plymouth, the, I. 146, 147; a second class of legislators created, I. 242. See *General Court*, etc.

Legislature of Quebec, the, IV. 326, 327.

Legislature of Rhode Island, the, I. 344; divided into two branches, III. 217; approves the action of the Second General Congress, IV. 433. See *General Court of Rhode Island*.

Leicester, England, I. 99.

Leiah, Lord, his visit to Boston, I. 203.

Leister, Jacob, Governor of New York his course of action, III. 136, 137, 149, 201, 202; his deposition from office, III. 137; condemned to death by Dudley, III. 149, 181; consideration of the attainder, III. 150; Dudley's enmity towards, III. 155, 284, 295; enraged at the conduct of Fitz-John Winthrop, III. 204.

LEY

"*Letter concerning the Religious State of New England*," by Dr. Chauncy, IV. 106-108.

"*Letter to Two Great Men*," the, IV. 294.

Levellers, the, I. 340, 341.

Leverett, Major-General John, Governor of Massachusetts, confers with Governor Stuyvesant, I. 367; arrives with troops in Boston, I. 373, 398; appointed agent for Massachusetts in England, II. 1, 2, 38; Speaker of the Deputies, II. 36; to receive and preserve the patent of Massachusetts, II. 57; to investigate affairs in the Eastern Country, II. 77, 78; to reconstruct the government of Maine, II. 81; succeeds Bellingham as Governor of Massachusetts, II. 106, 388; action taken in regard to Randolph's business, and the royal wishes, II. 193-204, 214, 222-225, 229; Address, petition and letters to be sent to England, with special instructions for the agents, II. 206-209; his death, II. 229, 230.

Leverett, John, Judge of Probate, and President of Harvard College, sent as messenger to New York, III. 255; Governor Dudley warned against his influence, III. 291; elected President at Harvard College, III. 293, 294; disliked by the Mathers, III. 293, 294, 384; retains the office of Judge of Probate, III. 298.

Leverich, Rev. William, settles for a short time at Cochecho, I. 215; his work among the Indians, I. 379.

Lévi. See *De Lévi*.

Levi, Point, III. 47.

Lexington, date of the fight with the British troops, I. iii; the Second Revolution inaugurated, and the third period of New England history opened, I. iii, 437, 438; events leading to the battle at, IV. 254.

Leyden, arrival of the Puritans, I. 50; a church formed under Rev. Mr. Robinson, I. 50; a portion or the congregation emigrates to America, I. 51-60; lesson learned by the Puritans, I. 52, 53, 65, 66; the term *Pillarims* applied to the emigrants departing from, I. 57; character of the emigrants from, I. 72, 73, 82, 141, 142; emigrants called old-comers and forefathers, I. 82; a faction opposed to more emigration from, I. 83, 84; death of Robinson, I. 85; pattern and practice of the church at, I. 101.

LIB

- Liberty Tree*, the, effigy of Oliver hung on, IV. 390.
- Library*, gift of John Harvard to Harvard College, I. 248; collections of books owned by ministers, I. 239; books contributed towards the founding of a college, III. 344; of Yale College, III. 442, 443; the Redwood Library, IV. 133; a law library ordered from London, IV. 154; a collection of books brought by Lord Bellomont to King's Chapel, III. 169; present from Bishop Berkeley for Yale College, IV. 275; catalogues made for Yale College Library, IV. 276.
- Lidget*. See *Lydgett*.
- Lieutenant*, the office of, in the Counties of Massachusetts, I. 256.
- Lieutenant of the Duke of York*, the, II. 117.
- Lieutenant of the King*, the, in Maine, II. 267.
- Lieutenant of the Militia*, the, office filled by Governor Phipps, III. 218, 219.
- Lieutenant-General*, the, of the Militia in Connecticut, IV. 127.
- Lieutenant-Governor*. See *Deputy-Governor*.
- Limerick*, II. 299.
- Lincoln*, Countess of, I. 55.
- Lincoln*, Earl of, I. 106, 107.
- Lincolnshire*, I. 8, 107, 135.
- Linen*, III. 330, 399, 424, 428; IV. 127, 333, 352.
- Liquor*, sale of, I. 278.
- Lisbon*, I. 21; exports and imports, III. 197; IV. 298.
- Lisle*, Lord, his daughter marries Leonard Hoar, II. 106.
- Lister*, Edward, joins the Mayflower's company, I. 59.
- Litchfield*, protected from Indian inroads, III. 445; tract of land granted to Hartford, IV. 121, 122.
- Little*, Isaac, his election rejected by the Governor, IV. 30.
- Little Compton*, situation of, IV. 284.
- "*Little James*," the, brings more settlers, I. 82.
- Liturgy*, matters pertaining to, I. 323.
- Live-stock*, IV. 331, 373. See *Cattle*.
- Liveen*, John, trouble caused by his will, III. 457, 458.
- Liveen*, Mrs. John, her death, III. 458.
- Liverpool*, complaints from the merchants, in regard to the Navigation Laws, III. 17.
- Livingston*, Philip, joins the boundary commission, IV. 70.
- Livingston*, Colonel Robert, connec-

LON

- tion with the enterprise of Captain Kidd, III. 163.
- Locke*, John, Secretary to the Council for Trade, his supposed connection with the Toleration Act, III. 11; appointed on the new Board of Trade, in England, III. 18; his writings referred to by Otis, IV. 823.
- Lombardy*, witchcraft in, III. 116.
- London*, I. 6, 135, 174, 225, 238, 320, 399, 404; II. 189, 253, 297, 301, 312, 344; III. 154, 162, 163, 169, 215, 223, 281, 283, 289, 398; IV. 25, 61, 62, 73, 124, 154, 190, 270, 271, 274, 277, 278, 324, 356, 357, 369, 407; arrangements made for the departing Pilgrims, I. 55, 57-59; agitation of the subject of a new emigration, I. 97; vessels detained by royal order, I. 152; Winslow's visit to, as agent for Massachusetts, I. 238, 339; commercial relations with Massachusetts, I. 294, 295; supplies from, for St. John, I. 316; Quakers come from, to America, II. 8-10; insurrection of Venner, II. 27; III. 60; book of Eliot published in, found to contain seditious principles, II. 27, 28; the beginning of the records of Massachusetts, II. 294; Sir William Phipps renews his acquaintance with Mather, II. 380; entrance of the Prince of Orange, II. 381; Massachusetts men in, III. 183; rates of postage, III. 308; the non-conforming ministers, III. 359; displeasure at the religious movement in Boston, III. 420-423; position of John Tomlinson, IV. 67; publication of a letter from Edwards describing the revival in Massachusetts, IV. 80, 81; joy at the news of the surrender of Louisburg, IV. 167; rate of exchange with Massachusetts, IV. 191, 192; visit of Benning Wentworth, IV. 256; death of Vaughan, IV. 280; "The Rights of the British Colonies," etc., published in, IV. 340; the slave-trade, IV. 366; arrival of Jared Ingersoll, IV. 374; Dr. Franklin serves as agent for Pennsylvania, IV. 407; the merchants influence Lord North, IV. 420; discovery of letters containing sentiments unfriendly to the colonies, IV. 425, 426.
- London*, Bishop of. See *Bishop*.
- London Adventurers*. See *Merchant Adventurers*.
- London Colony*, the, I. 6, 7, 10.
- London*, the Recorder of, III. 9.
- Londonderry*, Ireland, the defence against James II., III. 428; emigration from, III. 428, 429.

LON

- Londonderry*, New Hampshire, III. 428; the potato introduced by the settlers, III. 428; question of land-titles in, III. 428, 429.
- Long Island*, I. 230; II. 8, 63, 108, 115; III. 162; IV. 91; settlements on, I. 230, 236, 396; IV. 89, 113, 116, 276; given to the Duke of York, II. 58; called Yorkshire, II. 64; the ownership of, II. 66; the quarrel with the Dutch, II. 115-117; regiments stationed at, IV. 233.
- Long Island Indians*, the, I. 371-373; protected by the English, I. 374, 375.
- Long Island Sound*, I. 3, 402; II. 41; III. 53, 89, 329, 439; IV. 111; early visitors to, I. 3; settlements on, I. 226-230, 234.
- Long Parliament*, the, I. iv, 108, 319; III. 2, 9, 117; ordinance abolishes Episcopacy, I. 328.
- Long Wharf*, the royal ships at anchor, II. 58; reception of Governor Andros, II. 319, 320; frigate *Rose* anchored off, II. 375; reception to Pepperell, IV. 168.
- Longitude* of New England, I. 2.
- Longmeadow*, revival of religion, IV. 79.
- Lord Bishop of London*, the, II. 225, 226.
- Lord Chancellor*, the, II. 55, 216.
- Lord General*, the, I. 398.
- Lord High Treasurer*, the, III. 8.
- Lord Keeper*, the, I. 135; II. 259.
- Lord Lieutenant*, the, I. 256.
- Lord Privy Seal*, the, of England, II. 216. See *Anglesey*.
- Lord Proprietary*, the, incorporates the borough of Agamenticus, I. 222.
- Lord Proprietor of Maine*, the, II. 263, 263-267.
- Lord Treasurer*, the, permission given to an emigrating party, I. 99; to appoint officers of customs in New England, II. 211; recommendation of Randolph for office, II. 221.
- Lord's Day*, the, laws for the observance of, III. 127, 346, 440, 441, 448. See *Sabbath* and *Sunday*.
- Lord's Prayer*, the, required to be said in English by the witches, III. 93, 98; repeated by Mr. Burroughs at his execution, III. 101.
- Lord's Supper*, the, conditions of admission to, in New England, I. 285; II. 34; III. 171; customs of, I. 289; question relating to, and to the rite of baptism, II. 17-19; admission to, according to the Book of Common Prayer, II. 34; views of the Quakers differ from those of the Rogerians in regard to, III. 440;

LOR

- great increase of communicants, IV. 80, 102; offence given by Whitefield, IV. 98, 99.
- Lords*, House of. See *House of Lords*.
- Lords Chief Justices of England*, the, their opinion sought concerning the charter of Massachusetts, II. 220.
- Lords Commissioners*, the, charges against the provincial government, III. 375.
- Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, III. 148.
- Lords Commissioners of Foreign Plantations*, the, formation of, I. 152, 155, 156, 237; petition from Winslow disapproved by Winthrop, I. 237; Winslow committed to Fleet prison, I. 237, 238; orders the production of the charter of Massachusetts, I. 251; letter from Winthrop in relation to the demand, I. 252, 253; threatenings extended to Massachusetts, I. 253, 254; William Vassall a member of, I. 324; appeal from Vassall's friends, I. 326; a declaration of her position sent by Massachusetts, I. 327; Winslow to be sent as agent to, I. 327; memorials to, asking for a General Governor, seized, I. 327, 328; complaint of the Shawomet people, I. 340; instructions given to Winslow, I. 341; their answer to the Massachusetts government concerning Gorton, I. 342; patent obtained by Roger Williams, I. 344; questions of boundary arise in New England, I. 345; the Council of Foreign Plantations organized, II. 30, see *Council of Foreign*, etc.; ancient practice of managing colonial affairs renewed under the title of the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, II. 194, 195. See *Lords of the Committee*, etc.
- Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty*, the, III. 159.
- Lords Justices*, the, III. 155; commission given to William Partridge, III. 194; letter threatening Massachusetts with the loss of her charter, III. 374; opinion of York and Wear upon the projected Synod in Boston, III. 421, 422; warnings held out to Massachusetts, IV. 44; Shirley's promotion, IV. 221, 222; directions to Governor Wentworth during the dispute with the Dep-uties, IV. 269.
- Lords of Admiralty*, the, III. 368.
- Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations*, the, formation of, II.

LOR

194, 196, see *Lords Commissioners*, etc.; agents to be sent to New England, II. 196, 197; the claims of Mason and Gorges to be considered, II. 196, 197; Randolph selected to be their agent in Massachusetts, II. 198; report concerning the shortcomings of Massachusetts, II. 211-215; matters pertaining to the legal condition of Massachusetts, and the claims of Mason and Gorges, II. 215-227; the oath of allegiance to be taken by the agents and by Massachusetts, II. 219, 220; the agents summoned before, II. 226, 227; memorial from Randolph laid before, II. 237, 238; their clerk sails for Boston, II. 240; rebuke given to Cranfield, II. 275; report of the new government in Massachusetts, II. 286, 297; complaints of Randolph against New England, II. 298-300, 306; expect to receive a quarterly report from the Massachusetts government, II. 320; receive reports from Andros, II. 323, 324; petitions to, from the people of Massachusetts, II. 359, 360; the Board of Trade, otherwise called the Lords of Trade, constructed by William III., III. 17, 18, see *Lords of Trade*; the management of, pronounced unsatisfactory, III. 17; result of the arraignment of Andros and others, III. 62; action of the King in relation to the new charter for Massachusetts, III. 69.

Lords of the Council, the, demand for the production of the charter of Massachusetts, I. 152.

Lords of the Regency, the, IV. 167.

Lords of the Treasury, the, II. 94; instructions concerning Brenton, III. 136; application to extend the Stamp Duties to the colonies, IV. 334.

Lords of Trade, also called the Board of Trade, the, Board constructed by William III., III. 17, 18; appointment of the Committee, III. 55; receives a letter sent from Randolph, III. 60, 64; Andros presents a Memorial to, III. 64; matters relating to the new charter for Massachusetts, III. 66-69; letter from Phipps concerning the execution of the witches, III. 105; complaints of Governor Phipps, III. 136; significance of the title of the Board, III. 143; plan for the consolidation of New England, III. 152, 153, 154; Lord Bellomont desires instructions as to his movements, I. 155, 160, 161; matter of Lord Bellomont's salary, III. 161; the matter of a

LOR

Church of England in Boston, III. 170; dissatisfied with Massachusetts, III. 178-180; Massachusetts desired to rebuild the fort at Pemaquid, III. 178, see *Pemaquid*; the charters in New England in danger, III. 179, 180; instructions to Usher, III. 194; correspondence concerning the affairs in New Hampshire, III. 196-198; desires to control the election of Governors in the colonies, III. 200; rights of appeal from the colonies, III. 204, 205; instructions with regard to the military matters of Connecticut, III. 207, 208; desire to control matters in Rhode Island, III. 214-223; matters pertaining to the militia of Rhode Island, III. 218-221; their reproof to Rhode Island, III. 221, 222; demands a copy of the laws of Rhode Island, III. 222, 223; receives a letter from Quarry, III. 232, 233; receives letters from Dudley on colonial affairs, III. 282, 285, 270, 272, 280, 299, 317, 318; matters of colonial government laid before, III. 273-277, 327, 328, 330, 331; Dudley writes the Statistics of Massachusetts, III. 304, 305; letter of Partridge to, III. 318; Usher's letter concerning Dudley, III. 322, 323; letter from Dudley describing Rhode Island and its government, III. 326, 327; law for taking a census, III. 329; Dudley's letter complaining of Connecticut, III. 338; letter of Dudley concerning naval supplies and woollens, III. 366, 367; letters in relation to the havoc of the woods, III. 368, 371, 372; instructions with regard to the shipping, III. 374; advised of the derelictions of Massachusetts, III. 377; Bridger's complaint at the loss of office, III. 381; report to George I. concerning Nova Scotia, III. 382; Shute's charges against the Assembly, III. 384; Shute's letter concerning French and Indian alliances, III. 393; report to George I. describing the American dependencies, III. 398-400; complain of the independence of Massachusetts, III. 399; displeased with Vaughan's appointment, III. 425; agency given to Blathwayt, III. 430; effort to compel Rhode Island and Connecticut to submit their laws to royal revision, III. 430, 431; charges against Rhode Island, III. 431, 439; questions of boundary in the colonies, III. 452, 453; IV. 66-72, 284-286; contest concerning the fixed salary

LOT

for the Governor, IV. 17-36, 46, 48, 52, 54, see *Governor*; urged to send a military force to Massachusetts, IV. 26; letter from, applauding the prudence of Governor Burnet, IV. 30; matter of payment to the House, IV. 31; Burnet desires legal assistance from England, IV. 31, 32; favors the election of Dunbar in New Hampshire, IV. 64; opposition to Governor Belcher, IV. 64, 67; order to proclaim George II. in Connecticut, IV. 122; business relating to manufactures in Connecticut, IV. 127; grants compliance with Shirley's request, IV. 136; recommends Shirley to succeed Governor Belcher, IV. 139; Halifax named for the President of, Lord Halifax, IV. 186, 224; a scheme of colonial union, IV. 200-205; Johnson in high favor, IV. 224; letter concerning Shirley's removal from office, IV. 224; Secretary Pownall, IV. 231; Thomas Pownall, brother of the Secretary, made governor of South Carolina, IV. 254, 255; independence of the colonies, IV. 290; unfriendly imputations put upon the acts of the colonies, IV. 292; Governor Bernard's first impressions of Massachusetts, IV. 297; letter of Bernard concerning the writs of assistance, IV. 313; breach of Acts of Trade to be punished, IV. 313; requests the Governor of Massachusetts to have a census taken, IV. 330; scheme of colonial taxation, IV. 331, 334; letters from Governor Bernard relating to the shipping and various matters in Massachusetts, IV. 332-334, 339, 397, 398; dispute arising from the New Hampshire Grants, IV. 360, 361; petition from Rhode Island with remonstrance concerning the Sugar Act, IV. 364-367; report from Governor Bernard in relation to the animus in Rhode Island, IV. 367, 368; report of the population of Connecticut, IV. 372. See *Lords Commissioners of Foreign Plantations* and *Lords of the Committee*, etc.

Lothian, IV. 380.

Lothrop, Captain, assumes command against the Indians, II. 137; his company despatched to guard the wagons of wheat, II. 141, 142; his death, II. 142; his men massacred at Bloody Brook, II. 142, 143.

Lothrop, Barnabas, Counsellor in Andros's government, II. 333, 399;

LOV

appointed Counsellor of Massachusetts, III. 234; IV. 441.

Lottery, funds raised for a College building, IV. 276.

Loudoun, Earl of, Commander-in-Chief of the British troops, to supersede Governor Shirley in his command, IV. 223, 227, 228; his unsuccessful undertakings, IV. 228, 229; his quarrel with Massachusetts, IV. 233, 235; superseded by General Abercrombie, IV. 235, 236; sends the rangers against the Indians, IV. 263, 264; levy of troops in Connecticut, IV. 280.

Louis XIII., the Hundred Associates, III. 30.

Louis XIV., a devotee to the Romish religion, III. 3; part of a report submitted to, by Frontenac, III. 37, 38; rumors of attack from, III. 145.

Louis XV., French power, IV. 198; sheltered from reproach by the use of the Indians, IV. 262.

Louisburg, I. v; III. 389; IV. 147, 160, 175, 209, 217, 241; date of the capture of, I. v; the retrocession of, to France, I. vi; IV. 169, 178-180, 186; the fortress described, IV. 149, 150; plan of the English to capture the fort, IV. 149-164, 272; the surrender of, IV. 163, 164, 173, 212; the reception of the news, and effects of the conquest, IV. 164-169; demonstrations in Boston, IV. 164, 165; importance of the conquest of, IV. 168, 169; bought back by France, IV. 169, 178-180, 186; suffering among the troops, IV. 170, 174; cost of the expedition against, to Massachusetts, IV. 190; reimbursement of the colonies for their loss, IV. 190-192, 284, 300, 301, see *Bills of Credit*; unsuccessful attempt against, by Lord Loudoun, IV. 228, 229; attacked by Amherst and Wolfe, IV. 242-245; again captured by the English, IV. 242, 243; troops stationed at, IV. 254; expedition against, first conceived in New Hampshire, IV. 257, 258; part taken by New Hampshire in the expedition against, IV. 257-264; part taken by Connecticut in the attack on, IV. 272, 273; part taken by Rhode Island in the attack on, IV. 282.

Louvois, the government of Canada supervised by, III. 80.

Lovelace, Lord, Governor of New York, II. 98; III. 255.

Love's Pond receives its name from Lovewell, III. 412.

LOV

Lovewell, John, III. 411; IV. 265; his attacks on the Indians, III. 411, 412; his death, III. 412.

Lovewell, Colonel Zaccheus, commands a New Hampshire regiment, IV. 265; action at Ticonderoga, IV. 265.

Low Countries, the, I. 48, 49, 259.

Lower House, the, III. 180.

Ludlow, Roger, Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts, his arrival in Massachusetts, I. 113, 115; elected Assistant, I. 113, 139; II. 388; elected Deputy-Governor, I. 189; II. 388; removed from office, I. 171; favors the emigration to Connecticut, I. 178-180; begins a settlement at Fairfield, I. 234.

Lumber, III. 330, 424; IV. 331, 365, 373. See *Woods*.

Lusher, Eleazer, Magistrate of Massachusetts, II. 77, 389; sent to inquire into matters in the Eastern settlements, II. 77, 78.

Lützen, I. 230.

Lydggett, Colonel Charles, land given by Governor Andros to, II. 328, 329; referred to by John Winslow, II. 367; captive at Fort Hill, II. 375.

Lyford, Rev. Mr., arrives in America, I. 84, 85; engaged to settle at Cape Ann, I. 96.

Lygonia, the, I. 223, 224, 402; opposition to the occupation of, by Massachusetts, II. 3.

Lynman, Major-General Phinehas, commands the New England troops, IV. 217; the glory of the victory over Dieskau owing to, IV. 279; the expedition against Havana, IV. 372.

Lynde, Joseph, his story, II. 347, 348.

Lynn, a disturber of the peace, I. 165.

Lynn, settlement at, I. 113; III. 377; formerly called Saugus, I. 118; company from, settle on Long Island, I. 236; Elliot preaches to the Indians, I. 334; visit of Clarke to, I. 386; marks of gratitude to Pepperell, IV. 168.

Lynn Common, portions of, unjustly disposed of by Governor Andros, II. 329.

MADAGASCAR, III. 163-167, 222.

Madeira, III. 330.

Madockawando, II. 180; III. 87; the treaty made with the English, II. 180.

Magistrates, the Board of, I. 272; the power of the Governor, taken in connection with their own, I. 272, 273, 277; called Assistants in some

MAG

of the colonies, I. 273, 277; solemnize marriages, I. 278, 289; their power in relation to church and minister, I. 330; regulations adopted by the Cambridge Synod, I. 331, 332. See *Assistants and Counsellors*.

Magistrates of Connecticut, the, rules and regulations of, I. 232, 233, 273; their functions, duties, and pay, I. 274, 276, 287, 288; matters pertaining to the royal charter, II. 41-43; measures taken in relation to the Dutch conquest, II. 99; proclaim James II. as King, II. 308, 309; a letter from Randolph, II. 309-311; the charter demanded by Governor Andros, II. 336-342; the reassemblage of, II. 385; the old government reinstated, II. 385; III. 198, 199; called Assistants after the charter, II. 390; a list of officers, with date of election, II. 390, 391; IV. 445, 446. See *Assistants, Council, Counsellors*, and *General Court of Connecticut*.

Magistrates of Maine, the, II. 265, 266; new arrangements made by royal authority, III. 71. See *General Court of Maine*.

Magistrates of Massachusetts, the, I. 116; the Board to consist of Governor, Deputy-Governor and Assistants, I. 118; their privileges and duties, I. 118, 176, 177, 253, 259, 277, 287, 288; permanency of office, I. 123, 176; significance of the choosing of Deputies, I. 126; the Legislature to be divided into two branches, I. 126, 137, 257-259; a House of Correction to be built in Boston, I. 128; the election of, I. 139, 141; the negative voice, I. 141, 180, 181, 253, 259; those appointed in England, I. 149; number of, allowed by the charter, see *Assistants*; Roger Williams banished from Massachusetts, I. 165, 195; a new order of, instituted, I. 176; election of, I. 201; oaths of allegiance to be taken by, I. 255, 256; a legal code drawn, I. 279, see *Laws*; must be church-members, I. 287, 288; question of their power decided by the Court, I. 318, 319; attitude of, toward Parliament and the King, I. 319-321; hold a conference with Randolph, II. 198-200; complaints against, made by Randolph, II. 202, 203, 234, 235, 243, 244; their number to be increased, II. 231-233, 237; the popular and moderate parties, II. 246-248; vote an Address to the King, II. 256, 257; a new order of government in-

MAG

- stituted, II. 291, 294; escorted to the Council Chamber, II. 370; action taken upon the deposition of Governor Andros, II. 370-382; a new General Court formed, and the duties of the Council assumed, II. 378, 379, 382, see *Council and Counsellors of Massachusetts*; a list of their names, with term of office, II. 388, 389, 398, 399; IV. 441-444; continue in the old arrangement of government, III. 20; a new charter received, III. 71. See *Assistants, Council, Counsellors, and General Court of Massachusetts*.
- Magistrates of New Hampshire*, the, their rules and functions, II. 267, 268, 271-274; their names, II. 394; IV. 450, 451; result of the deposition of Andros, III. 187; regulations made for the Royal province, III. 188. See *Council and General Court of New Hampshire*.
- Magistrates of New Haven*, the, rules and regulations of, with their functions and duties, I. 231, 273, 274, 287, 288, 308; must be church-members, I. 287, 288; conference with Stuyvesant, I. 367; action against the Quakers, II. 16; action concerning the regicides, II. 24; annual election of, II. 47; become Assistants of Connecticut, II. 66, 67, 80; names of, with term of office, II. 391, 392. See *General Court of New Haven*.
- Magistrates of Plymouth*, the, their rules, functions and maintenance, I. 273-275, 278; ecclesiastical demands, I. 287, 288; revilings of Gorton, I. 305; action against the Quakers, II. 16; the Deputies do not sit as a separate body, II. 86; the ancient government restored, II. 383; their names, II. 387, 388; new arrangements provided for the government, III. 71. See *Assistants and General Court of Plymouth*.
- Magistrates of Providence*, the, instrument of government of the Providence Plantations, I. 345, 346; dissensions and conflicting elections, I. 389; II. 111, 112; a list of their names, II. 392, 393. See *Assistants and General Court*, etc.
- Magistrates of Rhode Island*, the, early instrument of government, I. 345-347; conflicting elections of, I. 389; to administer the government of the King's Province, II. 70; their indifference to office, II. 110, 111; difficulties in the payment of, II. 111; the charter surrendered to Governor Andros, II. 334, 335; old

MAI

- Board of Government resumed, II. 383, 384; a list of their names, II. 383; IV. 447-449. See *Assistants, Council, and General Court of Rhode Island*.
- Magna Charta*, regulations in England, for the rule of colonies, II. 317; rights of taxation, IV. 344. See *Great Charter*.
- Mail*. See *Post-office*.
- Maine*, number of troops furnished by, in the war of the American Rebellion, I. viii, note; extent of time covered by Adjutant-General's report, I. viii, note; one of the New England States, I. 1; visited by early explorers, I. 2, 5, 6, 17, 18; Gorges interested in the country, I. 6; first efforts at settlements, I. 7, 8, 52, 78; geography and fauna of, I. 20, 22, 23, 26; names of Indian tribes residing in, I. 28, 29, 363; II. 81; III. 24; matters pertaining to the territory granted to Gorges by the Council for New England, I. 77, 154, 163, 220, 221, 223; II. 78, 195-197, 202-204, 208, 209, 216, 217, 224, 227, 232, 234, 241, 264, 265; III. 371, 380; a trading-house established on the Kennebec, I. 87, 145, 220; a grant of land on the Kennebec obtained by Allerton, I. 87, 143, 145; a trading-house established on the Penobscot, I. 144; commission for the government of, I. 220, 221; officers of government, I. 221; number of Deputies in Maine, I. 221; Courts and the General Court established, I. 221, 222, see *General Court of Maine*; divided into two counties, I. 221, 222; Agameuticus, the seat of the official residence, I. 222; some of the settlements ask to be under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, I. 223; the Lygonia or Plough Patent, I. 223; grant of land given to John Dy, I. 223, 224; conflicting patents, I. 223, 224; settlements of Gorges not admitted to the Confederation of New England, I. 263; independent plantations made, I. 270; the submission to Massachusetts, I. 402, 403; to send Deputies to the General Court of Massachusetts, I. 403; opposition to the occupation of, by Massachusetts, II. 3, 78; claim of the King to, II. 58; grant of land to the Duke of York, II. 59, 78, 332; visited by the Royal Commissioners, II. 78; the County of Cornwall, II. 78, 332; effect of the French war, II. 80; mandate of the King in regard to the government, II. 81; her government recon-

MAL

structed by Massachusetts, II. 81, 195; few towns in, II. 84; Indian depredations, during Philip's War, II. 175-181; the law officers of the Crown to examine Gorges's claim, II. 195, 196; report of the lawyers and judges, II. 197, 212, 213; Randolph's representations of, II. 202, 203, 234; agents to be sent to England to settle the Gorges claims, II. 204, 208-210; the Gorges claim bought by Massachusetts, II. 209, 216, 217, 224, 227, 264; III. 380; Massachusetts requested to return her purchased land to England, II. 227, 228, 232; endeavor of Massachusetts to explain the purchase of, to the King, II. 241, 243, 250, 252; her government, II. 264-267; Danforth to be President of, II. 266; sends a memorial to the King, II. 266, 267; Danforth discharged from the Presidency of, II. 304; visited by Governor Andros, II. 313, 352-354; the Province of, to be included in Andros's commission, II. 317, 331, 332; extension of her territory, II. 331-333; Commissioners to manage its affairs, II. 332; extortion in regard to land-titles, II. 333; story of Castine, II. 352, 353, 361; outbreaks of the Indians, II. 353, 357, 361; III. 40, 41; the Revolution of the Seventeenth Century, II. 370-386; Danforth occupied with the administration of, III. 22; English possessions in, III. 45; to belong to Massachusetts Bay, III. 70, 71, 75; provisions of the charter of William III., III. 71-75; the result of Colonel Church's expedition, III. 85; Governor Phipps visits, III. 105; a fort to be built, III. 131; Indian wars and cruelties, III. 131, 132, 140-143, 145, 147, 169, 185, 238-241, 245-247, 249, 254, 258, 265, 386, 389, 405-411; IV. 185; representations of Lord Bellomont, III. 160; help from Connecticut, III. 262; experiences trouble from the Jesuit station in, III. 238, 386, 387, 407-410, see *Rasle*; troops sent to, III. 266; opposition to the royal demand for timber, III. 371, 379, 380; continual Indian war, III. 386; conference of Shute with Indians, III. 387-389; question of boundary, III. 388; IV. 70; treaties made with Indians, III. 388, 389, 413; arrival of Whitefield, IV. 98; the home of William Pepperell, IV. 147, 168; scheme of government proposed by Bernard, IV. 290.

Malaga, imports from, I. 295.

MAR

Maltby, a zealous dissenter in England, IV. 74; connection of, with Belcher's removal from office, IV. 74.

Manchester, Lord, letters to, commending the cause of Massachusetts, II. 32, 33; his view of New England, II. 191.

Manchester, mills at, III. 428.

Mandamus, the, given to Mason, II. 269.

Mandamus Counsellors, the, IV. 431, 433; names of, IV. 444.

Manhattan Island, bought from the natives, I. 89, 90. See *New York*.

Manning, James, D. D., first President of Brown University, IV. 363, 364.

Manomet River, I. 89.

Mansfield, Lord, IV. 407.

Mansfield, Mount, I. 19; its height, I. 19.

Manufactures, I. 292, 293; III. 399, 424; IV. 353, 365, 373; of the Indians, I. 33; certain kinds prohibited in Massachusetts, IV. 194.

Maps, Smith's Map of New England, I. 16, 17, 64; desired by the Royal Commissioners, II. 73.

Maquas, the, III. 255.

Marblehead, a petition sent to the Governor, IV. 152; asks protection for her fishing vessels, IV. 318-320; kind offers to Boston merchants, IV. 432.

March, Major, conducts the war in Maine, III. 146; fights with Indians, III. 146, 239; expedition against Port Royal, III. 250-253; his command given to Wainwright, III. 252.

Margeson, Edward, one of the passengers in the Mayflower, I. 59.

Mariana, a piece of land, I. 77.

Marie, envoy from D'Aulnay, I. 317.

Marine, the Minister of, a plan submitted to, for the conquest of the colonies, III. 30.

Market, the, to be kept at Boston every Thursday, I. 128.

Marlborough, Duke of, his victories arrested, III. 259, 260; slighted by government, III. 352.

Marlborough, Earl of, his son visits Boston, I. 203.

Marlborough, town of, II. 83, 135, 136, 154, 161; attacked by Indians, II. 157, 158, 167; III. 254; offers opposition to Whitefield, IV. 99.

Marquesses of Normanby, the, III. 312.

Marquette, III. 387; IV. 251, 252.

Marriage, among the Indians, I. 84,

MAR

- 85; laws of, I. 278, 289; II. 244; III. 127.
Marshall, Captain, killed by Indians, II. 148.
Marshfield, I. 144; II. 126; IV. 211.
Martha's Vineyard, I. 18; III. 71. 137; the work accomplished by the Mayhews, among the Indians, I. 384, 378, 379; II. 124, 169.
Martin, Christopher, one of the Mayflower's company, I. 59.
Martin, the, a ship of war, II. 58.
Martinico, Island of, commercial relations with Massachusetts, III. 399.
Martinique, expedition against, IV. 317.
Martyn, Richard, Counsellor of New Hampshire, II. 271-273, 394.
Mary, wife of William III., Queen of England, II. 879; III. 48, 71, 81, 219, 306, 346, 365; IV. 308; proclaimed Queen in New England, II. 381, 382, 385, 387, III. 54, 55; Addresses sent from Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, III. 56, 57, 79, 199; the audience given to the agents from Massachusetts, III. 66, 69.
Maryland, approach of the Massachusetts troops, I. iii; excepted from Governor Andros's jurisdiction, II. 355; the dwelling-place of a portion of the Iroquois Indians, III. 31; alarm from the Indians, III. 42; price of postage, III. 305; her charter endangered, III. 454; scheme of colonial union and alliance with the Indians, IV. 200-205; joins in the conference of Governors, IV. 222, 223; matters of trade, IV. 333.
Mascougas, Indian attack on the fort at, III. 406.
Masham, Mrs., her influence with Queen Anne, III. 259, 260; her brother, Lord Hill, III. 260, 262.
Mason, Captain, son of Robert Mason, inherits his father's claim, III. 187, 188; the claim sold to Samuel Allen, III. 187-190; delay of the payment of his claim, IV. 267-269; conveys his land to a company, IV. 267-269.
Mason, John, Treasurer of the Royal Navy, and Governor of Portsmouth, Hampshire, I. 77, 78, 182; obtains grants of territory in New England, I. 77, 160, 161; II. 212; III. 186, 187, 320, 321; IV. 68; complains to the Privy Council in relation to Massachusetts, I. 132, 154, 160, 161, 163, 237; his death, I. 160, 161, 218; sends out a set of men with the purpose of settling, I. 218; his property inherited by his grandsons, I. 218, 219; I. 187, 187; his controversy

MAS

- with New Hampshire, III. 318-321, 428; new towns laid out in New Hampshire, III. 429.
Mason, Captain John, Deputy-Governor of Connecticut, takes command of the troops in the Pequot War, I. 186, 187; Deputy for Dorchester, in the General Court, I. 187; attacks and reduces the Pequot nation, I. 187-193, 401; II. 147; III. 337; service of, in the State for ten successive years, II. 115, 390; his resignation II. 115; buys land of Uncas, in behalf of Connecticut, III. 337.
Mason, Captain John, son of Captain Mason, famous in the Pequot War, II. 148; receives a fatal wound, II. 148, 149; made an Assistant of Connecticut, II. 148, 149, 391.
Mason, John (Tufton), inherits his grandfather's claim, I. 218; II. 236; III. 186, 187; his name changed from Tufton, I. 218; III. 187.
Mason, John, grandson of Captain Mason of the Pequot War, III. 337; his allegations concerning Connecticut, and certain lands bought from Uncas and the Mohegans, III. 337, 338, 456; authorized to instruct and civilize the Mohegan Indians, III. 445, 446.
Mason, Mrs. John, executrix of her husband's estate, I. 219.
Mason, Robert (Tufton), inherits his grandfather's estate, I. 218; his name changed from Tufton, I. 218; III. 187; his claims to be considered, II. 196-198; copy of his Memorial sent to New England, II. 199; Randolph said to be his agent, II. 200, 201; contest with Massachusetts in regard to the land claims, II. 204-227, 267, 277; private offer made by Massachusetts to purchase his claim, II. 209, 216; business in England relating to his claim, II. 210-213, 215-218, 224, 227, 239, 243; annoys the people of New Hampshire, II. 269, 270; demands rents, II. 269, 271, 273, 274; his trip to England, II. 270, 271; the Privy Council assists him, II. 270; his plot with Cranfield, II. 270, 271; falls out with Cranfield, II. 272; his appointment of Chancellor and line of conduct, II. 273, 274; prosecutes his claims, II. 274, 275; despotism of his course, II. 274-276; represents New Hampshire in the Governor's Council, II. 292, 333, 394; his death, III. 187; his claims inherited by two sons, III. 187, 188; the claim bought by Samuel Allen, III. 187, 188, 190;

MAS

judgments obtained by, III. 197; further business relating to, III. 196, 197, 318-321, 428, 429; IV. 68, 267-269.

Mason, Stephen, Counsellor, signer of the Memorial against Dudley, III. 282.

Mason, the, I. 293.

Massachusetts, one of the New England States, I. iii, iv, 1, 20; date of Governor Andros's imprisonment, I. iii; date of the visit of Bartholomew Gosnold, I. iii. 4; the battles at Lexington and Concord inaugurate the Second Revolution in New England, I. iii; IV. 437-439; service of her troops in the war of the Rebellion of the United States, I. iii, viii, note; preservation of her statistics, I. iv; her economical progress, I. iv, v; soil and resources of, I. iv, 22, 23; taxable property of, I. iv, v; value of the registered products of, I. v; service of her troops in the campaign of 1757-58, I. vi; IV. 237, 238; expense of the military service of 1758, I. vi; IV. 237, 238; work of her founders and ministers for liberty, I. vi, vii, 107-110, 323; citation from Minot in relation to, I. vi, and note; number of troops furnished by, in the War of American Independence, I. vii; number of troops furnished in the War of the Rebellion in the United States, I. viii, note; visited by the northmen, I. 2; probably seen by the Cabots, I. 2; visited by the early explorers, I. 2-6, 17; Cape Cod named by Gosnold, I. 4; climate of, I. 20-22; earthquakes, I. 21; official returns of death, I. 22; agricultural season, I. 22; the Massachusetts Indians, I. 29; other tribes of Indians living in, I. 29; organization and settlement of the Plymouth Colony, I. 47-60, 64, see *Plymouth Colony*; Governor Carver of Plymouth, the first governor elected, I. 61; II. 387; the Indians hold a conference with the whites, I. 66-68; treaty with Massasoit, I. 67, 68, 243; II. 125; the harbor of Boston visited by Standish and others, I. 71, 72; the first Thanksgiving Day in, I. 72; the Charles River discovered, I. 72; the settlement at Wessagussett, I. 76, 78, 89; grant of territory to Mason involving the northern boundary of, I. 77; settlement attempted by Captain Wollaston, I. 78, 79, 87, 88; the "forefathers," I. 82; settlements at Nan-

MAS

tasket and Winnisimmett, I. 88; the settlement at Naumkeag, Salem, I. 88; Blaxton's farm at Shawmut (Boston), I. 89, 117, 128; Thompson's Island in Boston Harbor, I. 89; the settlement at Mishawum, (Charlestown), I. 89; the settlement at Cape Ann, I. 89, 95, 96; origin of the Massachusetts Colony, I. 91-110; scheme of Rev. John White, I. 94; the "Dorchester Adventurers," I. 94; plan of settlement at Gloucester, I. 94, 95; efforts of Mr. White to plant a settlement at Naumkeag, I. 96; a party arrives at Naumkeag, I. 97; grant of land and a royal charter given to six persons, with twenty associates, I. 97, 98; population of, I. 97, 100, 113, 114, 137, 271, 404; II. 82; III. 81, 303, 304, 357; IV. 182, 197, 198, 333, 383; the corporation named "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay," etc., I. 98; the first instrument of government known as the charter of Charles I., I. 98, 99, 103, 104, 109, 149-153, 170, 172, 177, 281; II. 28, 63, 72, 201, 202, 231, 250, 294, 316; III. 65; IV. 68, 70, 72; original number of Assistants, I. 98, 106, 149; II. 28, 231-233, 237, 249; forbidden to make laws repugnant to England, I. 98, 172, 177, 281; II. 29, 33, 34, 75, 213, 215, 220, 221, 224, 238, 239, 241-244, 250, 318; III. 64, 72, 178, 179, 374, 466; IV. 204, 341; Matthew Cradock chosen Governor of the Company, I. 99; emigration of settlers to, I. 99; a large number of ministers accompany them, I. 99; arrival of the party at Naumkeag, I. 99, 100; first church in, organized, I. 101, 102, see *First Church*, etc.; effort of the Brownes to establish the Church of England, I. 103; the Brownes banished, I. 103; the law of banishment, I. 103, 104, 138, 165; II. 6, 7, 9, 12; the colony fearful of persecution on account of their religious views, I. 104, 122; a General Court held in England, I. 105; arrangement for a new emigration to, I. 105, 106; the charter and administration of, to be transferred to, I. 105, 106, 110, 137, 269; position and character of the Massachusetts Company, I. 105-110; John Winthrop chosen Governor of the emigrating company, I. 106; John Humphrey chosen Deputy-Governor, I. 106; eighteen Assistants chosen, I. 106, see *Assistants*; Humphrey's place supplied by

MAS

Thomas Dudley, I. 106; the Arbella, I. 110-113; voyage of the Company to America, I. 110-113; Address of the departing emigrants, I. 111; arrival of the party at Salem, I. 113; number of immigrants arriving in one season, I. 113; discouraging reception for the immigrants, I. 113, 114; organization of, I. 113-132; explorations of Governor Winthrop, I. 114; a church covenant formed, I. 115, see *Church*; first Cisatlantic Court of Assistants, I. 115; legislative, judicial, and executive measures taken, I. 115-117; a ferry established, I. 117; a severe epidemic causes a removal from Charlestown to Boston, I. 117; first General Court held at Shawmut, I. 117, 118, 123; number of Courts to be held annually, I. 117, 138, 256, see *Courts* and *General Court*; action in regard to the election and duties of the Governor and Deputy-Governor, I. 118, 123, 126, 272-274, see *Governor* and *Deputy-Governor*; decision regarding the office and duties of the Magistrates, I. 118, 123, 125, 126, 138-141, 150, 151, 273, 277, 278, 287, 288, 318, 319, see *Assistants*, *Counsellors*, and *Magistrates*; regulations regarding the freemen, I. 118, 120-123, 150, 271, 272, see *Freemen*; the question of establishing the capital at Newtown, I. 119, 123-125; the Governor's residence at Newtown, I. 119, 123, 124; scarcity of food, I. 119; arrival of supplies, I. 119, 120; Winthrop and Dudley re-elected as Governor and Deputy-Governor, I. 120, 126, 133, 201, 202, 360, 400; II. 388; the Freeman's Oath taken, I. 120, see *Oaths*; persons admitted to the Company and to the franchise, I. 120-123, see *Elections*; the residents become a majority of the English Company, I. 120; an aristocracy of goodness formed, I. 121, 122; the franchise to be given only to church-members, I. 121-123, 149, 172, 180, 220, 228, 272, 287, 288; II. 63; Governor Winthrop removes to Boston, I. 124, 125; Boston becomes the capital city of, I. 124, 128; a question of Church and State, I. 124, 125; question raised with Watertown concerning taxation, I. 125, 126; the germ and development of the second house of the Legislature, I. 126, 137-139, 141, 175, 250, 256-259, 273, 274, see *Deputies*, *House of Representatives*, and *Legislature*;

MAS

the Deputies to be sent from the towns to the General Court, I. 126, 137-139; a church organized in Roxbury, I. 127; number of people emigrating to, I. 127, 132, 144, 148, 154, 169, 238, 248; the Deputy-Governor removes to Roxbury, I. 127; description of Boston, I. 128, 129, see *Boston*; relations with the Indians, I. 129-131, see *Indians*; land purchased from the Indians, I. 131; II. 122, 293; the land depopulated of Indians, I. 131; II. 122; danger apprehended from the complaints of Mason and others to the Privy Council, I. 132, 150, 154; Cradock and others appear in behalf of the settlers, I. 132, 133; influence of prominent men on emigration, I. 134-136; the King calls for the production of the charter in England, I. 136, 137; alarming news from England, I. 136, 137; number of towns in, I. 137, 256, 275; II. 82, 181; III. 81; IV. 182; disaffection to Winthrop, I. 139, 140; election of Dudley as Governor, I. 139, 251, 357, 400; II. 388; Winthrop's course of action triumphant, I. 140, 141; the General Court interferes in the case of Hocking, I. 145; industries of, I. 143; II. 83, 84; III. 357, 367-369, 399; IV. 352-354; her exports and imports, I. 148; II. 84; III. 305, 357, 366, 367, 374, 398, 399; IV. 333, 352, 353; ship-building, I. 148, 294; II. 304, 399; IV. 20; graduates of Oxford and Cambridge among the clergy, I. 149; position of the clergy, I. 149, see *Clergy*; renewed hostility in England in regard to the charter and government of Massachusetts, I. 150-161, 195; action in regard to the demands for the charter, I. 152, 155-158; Winslow sent to mediate for, in England, I. 152, 237, 238, 327, 339-342, 382, 383; II. 1; matters pertaining to the scheme of a General Governor for the colonies, I. 152, 156, 157, 161, 237, 252, 327; II. 2, 218, 221, 222, 238, 289, 260, 298, 300; III. 55, 56, 64, 154, 233, 399, 400; corporations in England having the affairs of the colony in charge, I. 155, 161, 237, 251; II. 30, 93, 194, 195; III. 17, 55, 148, see *Lords Commissioners* and *Lords of Trade*; a military commission organized, and other regulations made concerning the militia, I. 156-158, 177, 256, 290-292, see *Militia*; the fort at Castle Island to be completed, I. 157; the beacon to be set on the sentry hill, I. 157;

MAS

the Freeman's Oath required to be taken, I. 157; measures taken to secure musket-balls, I. 157; question of ownership of Massachusetts, I. 158-161, 163; the proceedings of the Council for New England injurious to, I. 158, 159; effort in England to oust the colonists from, I. 159; a writ of *quo warranto* issued against the Company, I. 159-161; II. 218, 220; efforts of Mason to annul the charter of, I. 161; trouble concerning Roger Williams and the Magistrates, I. 162-165; the Resident's Oath, I. 164; Haynes chosen Governor, I. 164, 170; Bellingham chosen Deputy-Governor, I. 164, 170, 400; II. 388; Roger Williams banished from Massachusetts, I. 165, 214; the red cross obliterated from the colors of England, I. 169-171, 175, 176; election of Magistrates, I. 171; measures for settled institutions, I. 171-173; powers of towns, I. 172; Vane chosen Governor, I. 174, 175; II. 388; Haynes deposed from office, I. 175; desire to draught a code of laws, I. 176, 177, see *Laws*; the emigration of Hooker and others to Connecticut, I. 178-181; receives application for aid in the Pequot War, I. 186; sends troops to the aid of Mason, I. 186-188, 191, 192; sufferings of the settlers, I. 194, 195; the Antinomian faction, I. 194-210; the ministers aroused on the subject of Mrs. Hutchinson, I. 198; Governor Vane desires to leave the country, I. 198, 199; hearing concerning Governor Vane, I. 198, 199; unkindness shown to Winthrop, I. 202; departure of Vane, I. 203-206; an Alien Law, I. 203; a Synod summoned, I. 204, 205; action of the Court concerning Mrs. Hutchinson, I. 206-210; Wheelwright banished from Massachusetts, I. 206, 207, 223; members of the Antinomian party expelled, I. 211; lays out the township of Hampton, I. 214, 215; relation of the towns in New Hampshire to, I. 214, 215, 220; hatred of, by certain parties, I. 216; plan of annexing Cochecho, I. 217; questions of boundary between the colony and other colonies, I. 219, 243, 244, 390, 401-404; III. 213, 323, 335, 336, 453; IV. 41, 52, 66-72, 139, 269-272, 274, 284-286, 358, 359; annexation of towns in New Hampshire, I. 219, 220; the new towns to send two Deputies to the Court of, I. 219; the new Deputies exempt from the obligations of church-member-

MAS

ship, I. 220; four counties instituted, I. 220, 256; Gorges sends a commission to, for the government of his province, I. 220, 221; a portion of the towns in Gorges's patent are annexed to, I. 222, 223; Wheelwright's banishment revoked, I. 223; Cromwell favors the clergy from Massachusetts, I. 223; the Magistrates appealed to in the case of the patents of Maine, I. 224; new arrivals found New Haven, I. 226; her government copied in other places, I. 233; Springfield taken under her jurisdiction, I. 235; commissioners appointed to define the boundary between the colony of Massachusetts and that of Connecticut, I. 235, 236; families from Lynn found Southampton, I. 236; effect of the large emigration, I. 238; Andrews, a haberdasher in London, makes payment to, I. 244; action taken to found a College, I. 247, 248, see *Harvard College*; suffers from Indian war, I. 248; the College to be at Newtown, I. 248; gift of John Harvard to the College, I. 248; renewed vigor, and emigration, I. 248, 249; manners and customs, I. 249; public registration of births, marriages, and deaths, I. 249; the post-office for foreign correspondence, I. 249; Winthrop's tenure of office, I. 249, 250; Bellingham elected Deputy-Governor, I. 251; II. 388; a peremptory demand from England for the production of the charter, I. 251; Governor Winthrop's letter to the Commissioners in relation to the charter, I. 251-253; possibilities of a Dutch alliance, I. 254; II. 193, 198, 262; election of Bellingham as Governor I. 254, 400; II. 388; matters pertaining to the regular and fixed salary for the Governor, I. 254, 273; II. 318; III. 161, 228-231, 266, 269, 272, 275, 277, 299, 300, 328, 354, 362-364, 372, 423, 466, 467; IV. 2-34, 39, 41-46, 48, 52, 54, 137, 143-145, 381; administration of Bellingham, I. 255; Winthrop again elected Governor, I. 255; changes in the oaths taken by the Governor and the Magistrates, I. 255, 256; the adoption of a constitutional government, I. 256, 257; the internal government, I. 256-259; relations of the colonies to one another, and to the world abroad, I. 256-268; the story of the stray sow and the consequences of the affair, I. 257-259; controversy between the Magistrates and the Deputies, I. 257-259; the colonies adopt certain Ar-

MAS

ticles of Agreement, and form the Confederation of the Colonies, I. 259-269, see *Confederation*; Haynes and Hooker come from Connecticut to confer in regard to the Confederacy, I. 261; a fast ordered, I. 261, 262; contents of the Articles of Agreement, I. 263-267; the settlements of Gorges and Narragansett Bay denied admission to the Confederacy, I. 263, 347; rules concerning the Commissioners of the Confederation, I. 265, 266, see *Commissioners*, etc.; Parliament institutes a commission for governing, I. 267; length of duration of the Confederacy, I. 269; primitive government and details of the law, I. 269-284, see *Laws*; Plymouth a separate community from, I. 270; New Hampshire merged in, I. 270; payment of public officers, I. 273; first city government, I. 275; institution of towns originated in, I. 275, 276; "Town," "Merchants' or Strangers'," and "Inferior Courts" organized, I. 277, see *Courts*; tenacity of, concerning the rights of appeal in trials, I. 277, 310, 311, 316, 325, 326, 341; II. 2, 31, 74, 75, 251, 318; III. 204, 205; principal legislator of, in the early times, I. 280-282; The Body of Liberties, IV. 280, see *The Body*, etc.; the death penalty, I. 281, 282, see *Capital Crimes*; law pertaining to children of slaves, I. 282; customs of religion, and social life, I. 283-301, see *Church and Religion*; the Magistrates must be church-members, I. 287, 288; action of the church upon the government, I. 287, 288; the Courts and churches composed largely of the same people, I. 288; matters pertaining to education and the establishment of schools, I. 289, 290, 361, 406; II. 87-89; the fisheries, I. 293, 294; II. 82, 84; III. 399; IV. 332; corn made a legal tender, I. 295; the Magistrates hold back from Indian war, I. 303, 304; the settlers on Narragansett Bay, appeal to, for protection, I. 304-307; annoyances caused by the conduct of Gorton, Greene, and Holden, I. 304-314, 339, 340; the petitioning settlement received under the jurisdiction of, I. 304, 305; action in the matter of the Shawomet settlement, I. 306-312; dealings with the Indians in the case of Gorton, I. 306-314; decision in regard to Miantonomo, I. 308; letter received from Holden, I. 309; the Commissioners march upon Shawo-

MAS

met, I. 309, 310; the disturbers threaten to appeal to England's law, I. 310, 311; the arraignment of the Shawomet people, I. 311, 312; the Shawomet offenders banished, I. 312; the Indians promise thirty days' notice of war, I. 313, 314; at the head of the Confederation, I. 314, 336, 352; relations with European colonists, I. 314-319, 363-373; the affair of La Tour and D'Aulnay, I. 315-317, 336; relations with French neighbors, I. 315-317, 336, 363, 364; the politics of, disturbed, I. 317, 318; Endicott elected Governor, I. 318, 363, 400; II. 388; Wintarop elected Deputy-Governor, I. 318; II. 388; order passed concerning the King of England and the Commons, I. 319, 320; her relations with England and the Parliament, I. 319-321, 335, 336; her clergy, the champions of liberty, I. 323, 324, 342; threatened with Presbyterian sway, I. 324-326; arrival of William Vassall, I. 324; conflict of Presbytery and Congregationalism, I. 324-333, 339, 342; party offering a Remonstrance to the General Court, I. 325, 326; the action of the Court on the subject of Vassall's "Petition," I. 326-333; reasons for sending a commission to the Commissioners for Plantations, I. 327; Memorials seized, asking for Presbyterian government and a General Governor, I. 327, 328; a Synod held at Cambridge, I. 329; first Missionary Society of Protestant Christendom, I. 333, 334; seeks the aid of England in her efforts to convert the Indians, I. 333-335; the result of the effort to convert the Indians, I. 334-336, 375-379; II. 85; origin of the Society for promoting and propagating the Gospel in New England, I. 335, 375; her judgment sought in the Confederacy, I. 336, 352; letter from Stuyvesant, claiming land in the name of the Dutch, I. 336, 337; the troubles with New Netherland, I. 336-338, 364-373, 398; Winslow sent to England as agent for, I. 339, 341; II. 1; the champion of Independency, I. 342; Gorton desires permission to pass through, I. 342; claims land in Roger Williams's patent, I. 345; trouble with the Narragansetts, I. 347-351; the desire of Coddington to have Rhode Island enter the Confederation, I. 347, 393; furnishes men for the Indian war, I. 348; rumors of war from the Mohawks,

MAS

I. 350; peace concluded with the Indians, I. 351; dispute with Connecticut, I. 352-355; her opinion in the case of the toll levied upon vessels in the Connecticut River, I. 353; indignation at the judgment of the Commissioners, I. 354; proposal to amend the Articles of the Confederation, I. 354; exacts a tax on all vessels in Boston Harbor, I. 354, 355; the tax taken off, I. 355; party opposition to Winthrop, I. 356, 357; trouble between Hingham, the Rev. Peter Hobart, and the Magistrates, I. 357-360; the triumph of Winthrop, I. 358-360; Winthrop returned to the office of Governor, I. 360, 361; improvement of affairs under Governor Winthrop, I. 361; death of Winthrop, I. 361-363; the execution of Charles I., I. 363, 365; position of affairs under Cromwell, I. 363, 404-407; III. 302, 303; New France seeks aid from, I. 364; the visit of Drulillettes and Godefroy, I. 364; renewed trouble with the Dutch and Governor Stuyvesant, I. 364-373; the General Court decides against war with the Dutch, I. 367-369; dissensions in the Confederacy, I. 367-373; letters sent to Connecticut and New Haven, I. 370, 398; charged with breach of covenant, I. 370, 372; the dispute to be referred to the General Courts, I. 371; alarming conduct of Ninigret, I. 371, 373-375; arrival of ships, sent by Cromwell to conquer New Netherland, I. 373; news of peace with Holland, I. 373; reconciliation between the colonies, I. 373; her efforts to teach and care for the Indians, I. 375-379; money sent by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, I. 376; II. 302, 303; the work of conversion of the Indians at Natick and Martha's Vineyard, I. 377-379; number of Indians and "praying Indians" in, I. 378, 379; II. 124; III. 23, 24, 357, 398; IV. 333; aid to be sent to Harvard College, I. 380; hostility to the Baptists, I. 382-384; treatment received by John Clarke, I. 385, 386; the Baptists fined and punished, I. 385, 386; the dispute with Pawtuxet settled, I. 390; return of John Winthrop, I. 394; Winthrop desires to have his settlement a dependency of, I. 395; families from, join in settling Middletown, I. 396; ecclesiastical policy of, I. 397; her laws consulted by New Haven, I. 399; period of Endicott's administration,

MAS

I. 400, 401; service of Winthrop, Dudley, and Bellingham in the office of chief magistrate, I. 400; extends her confines, I. 401-404; boundaries laid down in the charter, I. 402; enjoys the friendship and leniency of Cromwell, I. 404-406; II. 28; the people asked by Cromwell to settle in Ireland, I. 404; asked to emigrate to Jamaica, I. 404, 405; the answer of Endicott and the government to the overtures of Cromwell, I. 404-407; her prosperous condition, I. 404-408; the Navigation Act of Cromwell allowed to press lightly upon, I. 406, 406; II. 28; wisdom of those who cared for, and ruled over, I. 406, 407; coins money, I. 407; II. 33, 315; trade with the West Indies, I. 407; death of many of her founders, I. 408; neither of the Cromwells proclaimed in, II. 1; death of Oliver Cromwell, II. 1, 27; receives an order to proclaim the younger Cromwell, II. 1; accession of Charles II. to the British throne, II. 1; John Leverett chosen to be agent in England for, II. 1, 2; complaints of, sent to the King from the Quakers, and persons from the Eastern Country, II. 1-4; Addresses sent to the King and to Parliament, seeking to retain her charter, II. 2, 21; course of action in the case of the Quakers, II. 4-17, 30, 31, 35; laws passed against the Quakers, II. 9, 13, 35, 217, 239, 242; numbers of Quakers imprisoned, fined, or otherwise punished in, II. 16; Congregational reform, II. 17-20; joins in a Synod to discuss the rite of baptism, II. 18-20; the *Half-Way Covenant*, II. 19; a colonial Synod convoked, II. 20; the search for the regicides, II. 21-26; relations with Charles II., II. 21-36; the General Court votes to observe the Navigation Act and to increase the number of Assistants, II. 28; significance of the charter of Charles I., II. 29; duties of allegiance to the King, II. 29, 30; Charles II. proclaimed King, II. 30; order from the King to cease action against the Quakers, II. 30; choice of agents to carry an Address to the King, II. 31-33; Mr. Norton and Mr. Bradstreet sent as agents to England, II. 31, 33; their charter confirmed by Charles II., II. 33; the message from the King, II. 33, 34, 55, 60, 62, 68, 73, 221; orders of Charles II. concerning religion and the government of, II. 33, 34, 55,

MAS

68, 73; the franchise ordered to be detached from church-membership, II. 34, 61, 62, 231-233, 237; effect on Mr. Norton of the result of the agency, II. 35, 230; a day of thanksgiving observed, II. 35; the law for scourging Quakers re-enacted, II. 35; censorship of the press, II. 35; a fast day observed, II. 35; a committee appointed to consider the King's mandates, II. 38; part of her land given to Connecticut, II. 41, 42, 44; Lord Clarendon's reasons for raising a rival power to, II. 42; the charter granted to Connecticut, ends in dissolving the Confederation, II. 42-48, 64, 67, 94; hostility of Clarke the Baptist to, II. 50, 69, 190; a precedent created by Clarendon with which to rebuke Massachusetts, II. 52, 53; renders no satisfactory compliance with the royal demands, II. 55; Royal Commissioners to be sent to, for the adjustment of claims, II. 55, 56; preparations made to receive the Commissioners, II. 56, 57; order to keep her patent safe and secret, II. 57; the King revives the claim of England to North America, founded on the discovery of the Cabots, II. 58, 259, 314-317; arrival of the Royal Commissioners, II. 58, 60; a letter presented from the King, II. 60; objects of the embassy, II. 60-62; repeated commands from England in regard to observing the laws of Navigation and of Trade, II. 61, 74, 195, 196, 201, 211, 215, 216, 220, 224, 222, 234, 241, 250, 252, 274, 297, 320; III. 17, 178; IV. 297, 305, 306, 313; action in regard to the demand for assistance in reducing New Netherland, II. 62; a new law passed concerning admission to the franchise, II. 62, 63; desire of the King to control the militia of, II. 62, 226; a petition sent to Charles II., II. 63; the Commissioners endeavor to undermine her position, II. 67-71; the final attempt of the Commissioners to reduce the colony to obedience, II. 71-77, 80; Bellingham succeeds Endicott as Governor, II. 72, 388; the death of Governor Endicott, II. 72, 73; censured on account of their petition, II. 72; debt of gratitude to Endicott, II. 72; Willoughby made Deputy-Governor, II. 73, 388; application to know the full import of the King's wishes, II. 73; contest with the Commissioners, II. 74-77; desires to continue under the charter of

MAG

Charles I., II. 75, 76, 223, 381; a petition from a few towns asking for relief from, II. 77; willing to amend certain laws, II. 77; the Commissioners depart from, in anger, II. 77, 78; arrangements made by the embassy for the ruling of Maine, II. 77, 78, 81; the Magistrates examine the condition of Maine, II. 77, 78; express commands from the King conveyed to, II. 79, 81; present of masts sent to Charles II., II. 79, 80; III. 364, 365; Maine again under her jurisdiction, II. 81; condition of, after forty years, II. 82-99; described by the Royal Commissioners, II. 84, 85; revised collection of the General Laws and Liberties published, II. 85; cares and chances of the colonist, II. 86-90; writings of the men and women of, as compared with those of other lands, II. 89, 90; the opinion of an historian concerning her distinction and successful position, II. 90; her view of the sectarian rivalry in England, II. 91; her position toward England, II. 94, 95; the renewal of the Confederacy, and amendment of the Articles, II. 95-98; number of troops to be raised in, proportionately for the next fifteen years, II. 97, 98; the controversy concerning the rites of baptism, II. 100-105; death of Governor Bellingham, II. 105, 106; Leverett succeeds Bellingham as Governor, II. 106, 388; Leonard Hoar's Presidency at Harvard, a failure, II. 106-108; a portion of Maine taken into the colony, II. 108, 109; the county of Devonshire, organized, II. 109; rebuked by the Royal Commissioners, II. 110; sends vessels and a land force against the Dutch, II. 115; peace declared with Holland, II. 116; the land unoccupied by the Indians on the arrival of the colony, II. 122; Philip's War, II. 122-193; two churches of Indians, II. 124; early relations with the natives, II. 125; beginning of Philip's War, II. 130, 131; treaty made by the Narragansetts, II. 132; terrible encounter with Philip at Brookfield, II. 134-136; continuation of cruelties and devastations by the Indians, II. 137-144; remarkable appearance and bravery of Colonel Goffe, II. 138; the first meeting of the new Confederacy, II. 139, 140; action of the Confederacy in regard to the Indians, II. 144, 145; attack upon the Narragansetts, II. 147-151; attack on Lancaster, II. 152-

MAS

156; terrible encounters with Indians, II. 158-167; towns sacked and burned, II. 159; restraint placed upon Indians, II. 168, 169; surrender of Pomham, II. 170; King Philip shot, II. 172; the government takes action concerning the terrors in Maine, II. 175, 176; a pacification made with the Indians, II. 178; number of towns destroyed by Indians, II. 181; Indians sold into slavery, II. 183, 184; character and policy of Philip, II. 184-188; Philip's condition when leaving Mount Hope, II. 186; the misery resulting from Philip's War, II. 188, 189; the end of the Confederacy, II. 191-193; desire to be neglected by Charles II., II. 193; result of the Indian war, II. 193, 198; renewed dispute with England, II. 194-228; her commercial importance, II. 195, 196; action of the Privy Council in regard to Mason's and Gorges's claims, II. 196; corporation in England managing the affairs of trade for the colonies, II. 196, see *Lords of the Committee* etc.; restrictions of the Laws of Trade and Navigation, II. 195, 196, see *Laws of Trade and Navigation Act*; the Lords of the Committee bring matters to a crisis, II. 196, 197; agents demanded by England to receive his Majesty's requests, II. 197; Edward Randolph selected to make minute inquiries and report to the King, II. 198; arrival of Randolph, II. 198; action taken in regard to the royal mandates, II. 199-204; efforts of Randolph to create party spirit, II. 200; an answer prepared for the King, II. 200, 202, 204; Randolph's misrepresentations, II. 201-203, 210; Randolph sails for England, II. 204; Address and petition sent to Charles II., II. 205-209; Messrs. Stoughton and Bulkeley chosen as agents for the colony, II. 207, 208; letters and instructions furnished the agents, II. 208, 209; effort to buy the claims of Mason and Gorges, II. 209, 216; action of the agents in regard to the business intrusted to them, II. 210-228; accused of breaking the laws of the King, II. 211; report of the Lords of the Committee and the Justices, concerning the legal condition of, II. 211-212; the agents receive the royal commands, II. 212-215; judgment given in respect to the ownership of Maine and New Hampshire, II. 212, 213; rules in

MAS

regard to the jurisdiction of, declared in England, II. 212, 213, 221; to ask the pardon of the King for, and cease the coinage of money, II. 213, 215, 242, 313; to grant hospitality to the Church of England, II. 214; no governor to be elected without the royal approbation, II. 214; to renounce the preferment of church-members, II. 215; report of the agents to Massachusetts, II. 215, 216; petition of New Hampshire to remain under her jurisdiction of, II. 215, 216; an Address of thanks sent to the King, II. 216; the Gorges claim purchased by, II. 216, 217, 224, 232; III. 188, 380; the King's displeasure at the purchase, II. 216, 217, 227, 232; one of the supposed causes of the Indian war, II. 217; hated by Randolph, II. 217; the Lords of the Committee continue their measures, II. 217-219; her charter in danger, II. 218-221, 223, 224, 235, 238, 240; New Hampshire not to be granted to, II. 218, 222; action of the General Court requiring an oath of fidelity from the country, II. 219, 222; Randolph misrepresents the oath of fidelity, II. 219; the oath of allegiance to the King to be taken in, II. 219, 220, 222, 223, 250; the agents in England required to take the oath, II. 220, 222; report of the crown-lawyers concerning the charter of, II. 220, 221; a *quo warranto* to be issued against the charter of, II. 221; new laws ordered to be framed, II. 221; the agents summoned before the Lords of the Committee, II. 221; the agents desire to return to, II. 222, 223, 226-228; the Governor and Court act upon the demands from England, II. 222-225; another Address prepared for Charles II., II. 223, 224; new despatches to the agents, II. 223, 224; demand freedom to trade, not being represented in Parliament, II. 224; instructions regarding New Hampshire, II. 224; willing to repeal all laws repugnant to England, II. 224; desires to be allowed to coin money, II. 224; religious and civil liberties attacked by Randolph, II. 225, 226; the Lords of the Committee advise the appointment of Episcopal clergymen in, II. 225, 226; renewed demand concerning the franchise, and the Church of England, II. 226, 231-233 237; the number of Assistants to be increased to agree with the number in the charter, II. 226, 231-

MAS

233, 237, 249: the agents permitted to return to, II. 226, 227; asked to deliver Maine, upon certain conditions, to England, II. 227, 228, 232; Randolph sails for, II. 228; her charter in danger, II. 229-244; Bradstreet made Governor, II. 229, 231, 388; death of Governor Leverett, II. 229; Bradstreet succeeds Symonds as Deputy-Governor, II. 230, 231, 388; Danforth elected Deputy-Governor by successive elections, II. 231, 388; arrival of the agents, II. 231; arrival of Randolph, II. 231; the King's letter read to the General Court, II. 231, 232; other agents ordered to England, II. 231, 233-237; Randolph appointed Collector, Searcher, and Surveyor for New England, II. 232; matters pertaining to her trade and commerce, II. 232, 262; III. 147-149, 304, 305, 357, 367-369, 398, 399; IV. 284, 305, 306, 350-354, see *Trade*; the Court acts upon the demands of the King, II. 232, 233; the Governor takes the prescribed oath, II. 232; the Navigation Act enforced, II. 232; claim to New Hampshire relinquished, II. 232, 233, 236; takes the proprietorship of Maine, II. 233, 234; delay in answering the King's letter, II. 233; the matter of the franchise re-arranged, II. 233, 241, 242, 249; Randolph seizes vessels, II. 234; receives an angry letter from the King repeating his demands, II. 235, 236; Randolph desires the King to send a writ of *quo warranto* against, II. 235, 238; the laws to be revised, II. 236; Nowell and Richards chosen as agents, to go to England, II. 236, 237; departure of Randolph, II. 237; Randolph's memorial referred to the Lords of the Committee, II. 237; Report of the Lords of the Committee, II. 237, 238; the law against keeping Christmas Day repealed, II. 238; changes in military regulations, II. 239; letter to Sir Lionel Jenkins, II. 239; begs for indulgence, in the matter of sending agents, II. 239; return of Randolph, II. 240; an imperative letter from the King, II. 240; threatened with a *quo warranto*, II. 240, 250; an Auditor-General appointed by the King, II. 240, 241, 244; an Address sent to the King, II. 241; action in relation to the Church of England, the Gorges Claim, and Navigation Act, II. 241-243, 250; Dudley and Richards sent to England as agents, II. 241, 244,

MAS

249; wording of laws changed, II. 241, 242; instructions given to the agents, II. 242, 243; continued misrepresentations of Randolph, II. 243, 244; the popular party in the House of Deputies, II. 245, 246; the moderate party, II. 246-248; character and circumstances of Joseph Dudley, II. 248, 249; the agents from Massachusetts State before the Privy Council, the fulfilment of the demands of the King, II. 249, 250; the design of the King to crush, II. 250-256; further instructions sent to the agents, II. 251, 252; insists upon the rights in her charter, II. 251, 252; Randolph ordered to England, II. 251, 253; the writ of *quo warranto* issued, II. 253-255; Randolph to deliver the writ of *quo warranto*, II. 253, 254; the "Declaration" of the King to be carried to, II. 254, 255; the agents return with the royal message to, II. 255; special instructions with a power of attorney given to Robert Humphreys in London, II. 255, 256, 258; Randolph sails for England, II. 257; another Address sent to the King, II. 258; decree of Chancery vacating her charter, II. 258-261, 288, 292-294, 316, 317; III. 2, 9, 19, 198, 225, 291; IV. 6; no Colonial Assembly permitted in, II. 260; the Governor's Council to be of his own appointment, II. 260; an Address sent to the King, II. 260, 261; appointment of Colonel Piercy Kirk as Governor-General, II. 260, 289, 319; her powerlessness to resist the decree, II. 261-263; danger from the corsairs of Barbary, II. 262; condition of the Confederacy, II. 262, 263, 286, 287; assumes the government of Maine, II. 264-267; refused the claim to New Hampshire, II. 267, 268; Maine acknowledges benefits from, II. 267; annoyed by Randolph and Cranfield, II. 275, 277; causes of the Indian war, II. 280; a commission appointed to inquire into the claims to the Narragansett Country, II. 281, 282; end of the Confederacy, II. 286, 287; death of Charles II., II. 288; James II. proclaimed King, II. 288, 289; Address sent to the King, II. 290; the plan of Randolph's government, II. 290, 291; the last charter election, II. 291; Randolph arrives from England with the new government, II. 291, 292; the President, Deputy-President, and other officers of government, II. 291, 292; the General Court to dis-

MAS

continue its meetings, II. 291, 296, 325; Dudley and Stoughton to be the President and Deputy-President of, II. 292; abdication of the government, II. 292-294; matters pertaining to land titles, II. 293, 314, 316, 333, 347-350; III. 127; a committee appointed to keep all important papers, II. 293, 294; the records of fifty-eight years closed, II. 294; Thomas and Joseph Dudley compared, II. 294, 295; President Dudley and his Counsellors take possession of the government, II. 296, 297; letter to the Lords of the Committee, II. 296, 297; efforts of Randolph and others of his party to establish the Church of England in, II. 297-299, 301, 318, 322, 323; III. 169; complaints and misrepresentations made by Randolph to parties in England, II. 297, 304, 354; III. 56; matters relating to the management of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, II. 302-304, see *Society*, etc.; the government of Dudley, II. 304; proposed union of Connecticut, II. 311-313; arrival of Sir Edmund Andros as General Governor of New England, II. 313; claim of England to the land of, II. 314-316; growth of towns and corporations, II. 315; power and proceedings of Andros and his Council, II. 316-331; officers of the new government, II. 316, 317, 398, 399; a new seal and flag brought to, II. 318; a revenue to be settled for the support of the Governor, II. 318, see *Governor*; reception given to Governor Andros, II. 319; meeting of the New Council, II. 319-321; a quarterly report to be made to the Lords of the Committee, II. 320; innovations made in religion and law, II. 322-331; legal transactions rendered burdensome and expensive, II. 324-331; towns refuse to attend elections, II. 326; proceedings against Ipswich, II. 326-328; encroachments of the government, II. 326-329; portions of commons taken by the Governor, II. 329; Andros's commission extends over the Province of Maine, II. 331; the extortion of taxes and land titles, II. 332-334, 340, 347-350; Governor Andros receives the surrender of the charter of Rhode Island, II. 334; Andros demands and receives the charter of Connecticut, II. 340-342; complaints against Rev. Mr. Morton, II. 343, 344; the Declaration of Indulgence, II. 344; the government

MAS

consolidated, II. 344, 345; usurpations of Andros continued, II. 345-347, 354; IV. 287; the militia brought into subjection, II. 346; the writs of intrusion, II. 347-349; Increase Mather sent to England as agent for, II. 351, 352, 358, 381; III. 54, 55; Andros's jurisdiction extended, II. 355; Addresses from, presented to the King, II. 358; petitions to the Lords of the Committee, II. 359, 360; rumors concerning the movements of Andros and the Indians, II. 362-365; news of the entrance of the Prince of Orange in England, II. 366-369; the Revolution of the Seventeenth Century in New England, II. 370-386; Andros retires to Fort Hill, II. 370; the Declaration read in Boston, II. 371; the attack upon Andros, II. 373-375; the attempt of Andros to escape, II. 375; III. 57, 215; name of the new government, II. 377; the resumption of the government, II. 377, 378, 382; attempt to convoke the General Court as formerly, II. 378; news of the accession of William and Mary, II. 379, 380; exertions of Mather and of Phipps in behalf of, II. 381; III. 54, 55, 61-71, 188; William and Mary proclaimed in, II. 381, 382; III. 54; charges drawn up against Andros and others, II. 382; names of her Governors, II. 388, 398; IV. 441; names of the Deputy-Governors, II. 388; IV. 441; the month of elections, II. 388; names of the Assistants, Counsellors, or Magistrates, II. 388, 389, 398, 399; IV. 441-444; names of the Commissioners of the Confederacy, II. 394-398; prospects and troubles after the Revolution, III. 1-53; result of the contest with Charles II., III. 1, 2; her charter legally vacated, III. 2, 9, 19; germ of a separation from England, III. 13, 14, 127; restrictions imposed on trade by the laws of England, III. 15, 16, 18, 148, 330, 464; IV. 331, 335, 352, 353, 366, 367, 381, 386, 401, 421; moral effect of a supposed resumption of the charter, III. 19, 20; first General Court after the Revolution, III. 20; the King orders a continuation of the administration, III. 20; election of Governor Bradstreet, III. 20; IV. 441; election of Danforth as Deputy-Governor, III. 20; IV. 441; trouble from the Indians and the French, III. 23-45; extent of the frontier, III. 24; the "praying In-

MAS

dians" not reliable, III. 24; orders troops into the field, III. 28; war declared between England and France, III. 29-147; for details of the proceedings of the army in the French and Indian wars, see *England and English*; the attacks on Port Royal successful, III. 42; failure of the expedition against Quebec, III. 42-51; position of, at the British Court, III. 43; failure of the expedition against Montreal, III. 44-47; the Indians make a truce for five months, III. 45; disastrous results of the attack on New France, III. 51, 52; issues bills of credit, III. 52; matters pertaining to the bills of credit, the depreciation of the currency, and the resumption of specie payment, III. 52, 53, 269, 273, 310, 311, 363, 364, 384, 414, 433, 434; IV. 18, 20, 31, 33, 35, 49, 52-58, 126, 140, 141, 148, 147, 187-192, 258, 284, 300, 301; exactions of the Navigation Laws, III. 53; order to send Andros and others to England, III. 53, 57, 61; directions from the King concerning her charter and government, III. 55, see *William III.*; Addresses to the King, III. 56, 57; a copy of the "Declaration" of the Boston men carried to England, III. 57; her need of a charter government set forth to Lord Shrewsbury, III. 57, 58; Oakes and Cooke sent as agents to England, II. 61, 62; Sir Henry Ashurst acts as agent for, III. 62, 77-81, 161, 312; Andros and others are tried in England, III. 62-64; reason of the action of the agents in regard to Andros's trial, III. 62, 63; William III. indisposed to relax the dependence of, III. 67, 68; Sir George Treby to frame a new charter for Massachusetts, III. 67-71; contents of the new charter, III. 70-77, 468; the new province called Massachusetts Bay a dependency of the British Crown, III. 71, 83; her coast-line, III. 71; power of the Governor, III. 71, 72; arrangements pertaining to the General Court, III. 71, 72, 74; the laws to be under the revision of the King, III. 72, 126, 156-159; IV. 289; exactions of the new charter in regard to the franchise and the church-membership, III. 72, 125-129, 169; the cutting of ship-timber in, to be restricted, III. 73, 363-372, 374, 375, 380, 415, 419, 429; IV. 73; the Governor to depend on the province for his support, III. 74; IV. 289; Plymouth and New Brunswick to be-

MAS

long to her jurisdiction, III. 75, 80, 81, 414; IV. 285, 286; views of the people concerning the charter, III. 75-77; Sir W. Phipps elected Governor, III. 78; IV. 441; officers of the new government, III. 78, 79; election of Stoughton as Deputy-Governor, III. 78; IV. 441; renewal of the expedition against New France, III. 80-82; principal towns in, III. 81; return of Phipps and Mather, III. 82, 83; transfer of the Chief Magistracy to Governor Phipps, III. 82-84, 88; the new charter read, and oaths of office taken, III. 83; unable to renew the attack on New France, III. 85; troubled by the French and Indian wars, III. 85-90; industry ruined, III. 89; witchcraft and the executions of witches, III. 90-124; the Goodwin children, III. 92-94; case of the Parris children, III. 94-97; the case of Rebecca Nourse, III. 97, 100; condition of witchcraft at the time of Governor Phipps's arrival in, III. 98, 99; Governor Phipps acts without authority, III. 99, 112; a Commission of Oyer and Terminer called to try the witches, III. 99, 104, 112; execution of Bridget Bishop, III. 99; number executed for witchcraft, III. 101, 102, 123; Corey pressed to death, III. 101, 102; the transactions of witchcraft considered, III. 104-124; the General Court supercedes the Court of Special Commission, III. 104, 112; Governor Hutchinson's statements concerning witchcraft, III. 107, 108; proposal to establish a Naval Office, III. 125; the laws to be revived, III. 126-129; the attempt to create Courts of Justice, III. 128, 129, 156-159; powers of the different courts and the rights of the Justices of the Peace, III. 128, 129; party division and trouble in the election of Counsellors, III. 129, 130, 200, 233-235, 270, 271, 277, 301, 315, 377-379; change of regulations in the Lower House, III. 130; the Deputies must reside in the towns they represent, III. 130, 416; Sir W. Phipps proceeds to build a fort on the site of the former fort at Pemaquid, III. 131-133, see *Pemaquid*; a treaty concluded with the Indians, III. 132; renewal of the expedition against Canada, III. 133; the indiscretions of Governor Phipps, III. 135-138, 191, 192; Phipps ordered to return to England, III. 136, 138; Indian hostilities renewed, III. 138-147; the attitude and

MAS

power of the Iroquois, III. 140; messengers seek for Indian aid, III. 140; the adventures of Hanuiah Dustin, III. 144; the treaty of Ryswick concluded, III. 146, 153, 381; close of first allied war of French and Indians against, III. 147; Vice-Admiralty Courts established, III. 149; punishment of Leisler by Dudley, III. 149, 155, 181; Constantine Phipps serves as agent for, in England, III. 150; election of Richard Coote, Lord Bellomont, for Governor, III. 150, 151; IV. 441; death of Bradstreet, the last of the founders, III. 151; matters pertaining to the selection of Phipps as Governor, III. 152, 192, 219; matters pertaining to the repeated requests to keep the fort at Pemaquid in repair, III. 154, 178, 186, 228-230, 233, 267, 269, 272, 275, 277, 301, 328, 362-364, 372, 466; IV. 62, 63; extent of territory in, III. 154; notice from the Governor of Acadia, III. 154; affairs under Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton, III. 155, 159; Governor Bellomont's arrival, III. 156; proceedings in England concerning an Act establishing Courts of Justice, III. 156-159; the trial by jury, III. 157; information communicated by Lord Bellomont, in his letters to England, III. 159-161; death of Lord Bellomont, III. 160, 175, 176; matters pertaining to the salary of Lord Bellomont, III. 161, 267, 466; the piracies investigated, III. 161-167; efforts to revive the Church of England in, III. 169; rules of baptism and admission to the Lord's Supper, III. 171; matters pertaining to the charter and Act incorporating Harvard College, III. 172-175, 183, 184, 291-294; death of Governor Stoughton, III. 176; the Council becomes the chief executive authority, III. 180; Dudley seeks to be elected as Governor, III. 181; Cooke sent as agent to England, III. 183; choice of Wait Winthrop for special agent to England, III. 183, 184; Winthrop withdrawn from office, III. 184; death of William III., III. 184; the accession of Queen Anne, III. 184, 224; Joseph Dudley appointed Governor of, III. 184, 224, 225; IV. 441; relations with New Hampshire, III. 185-187, 191, 192; influences bearing on the grant of the second charter, III. 186; strife with Lieutenant-Governor Usher, III. 191, 192; effect of the news of the Revolution of 1689, in England, III. 198, 199; chief

MAS

executive officers appointed by the Crown, III. 200; desires help from Connecticut against the Indians, III. 201; authority given to the Governor of, to command the Connecticut and Rhode Island militia, when necessary, III. 205-208, 219, 331, 333, 339, 362; survey made by Woodward and Saffery, III. 213, 335; relations with Rhode Island, III. 218; Dudley returns to, with his appointment as Governor, III. 225; IV. 441; reception given to Dudley, III. 225; Thomas Povey chosen Lieutenant-Governor, III. 226; IV. 441; feeling of Dudley towards, III. 226-228; Address of Dudley to the people, III. 227, 228; war declared between England and France, III. 228-265; the people urged to fix a regular salary on certain officers, III. 228-231, 266; the diversity of the two branches of the Legislature, III. 231, see *Council and House of Representatives*; new Court in the name of Queen Anne, III. 231, 232; letter from Dudley to the Lords of Trade, III. 232; appointment of officers of government, III. 233-236; a grant of money to Dudley, III. 236; a ten years' war with the Indians and French, III. 236-265; the sack of Deerfield, III. 240-244; purpose of the expedition against Quebec, III. 244; French intrigues with Indians, III. 244, 245, see *French*; commission sent to the Five Nations, III. 248; expedition of Major Church into the Eastern Country, III. 249, 250; expeditions against Canada and Nova Scotia, III. 250-265; Tory influence brought against Massachusetts, III. 258; Sir William Ashurst, though a strong friend, declines to act as agent for, in England, III. 259, 312, 356, 427; provisions the fleet sent under Lord Hill to reduce New France, III. 259-264; the peace of Utrecht, III. 265, 303, 304, 359, 381; fresh inroads from the Indians, III. 265; treaty made with Indians, III. 265; a fixed salary for the Governor demanded by the Queen, III. 266, 267; Address sent to the Queen, III. 267, 268, 275; Dudley's letter to Lord Nottingham, III. 268; a bounty offered for Indian scalps, III. 269, 411; representations made by Dudley, III. 270, 271; question of the election of a Speaker, III. 273, 274, 301, 377-379, 419; Lieutenant-Governor Povey succeeded by William Tailer, III. 274;

MAS

IV. 441; explains her position in relation to the fort at Pemaquid, III. 275, 276; explains the impossibility of a fixed salary for the Governor, III. 276; an Address sent to the Queen, III. 276; charges against and discontent with Dudley, III. 277, 281-283, 297, 298, 314, 315, 466, 467; Memorial from members of the Church of England, sent to England, III. 277; Rouse and other parties accused of supplying the enemy in Nova Scotia with military stores, III. 278-281, 290; petition to the Queen for Dudley's removal from office, III. 281-283; the first newspaper in British America, III. 283; pamphlet entitled "The Deplorable State of New England," etc., III. 283-289; a "Defence" and "Apology" sent to the Queen, III. 289; conduct of Dudley considered, III. 289, 290; matters pertaining to the trial of Vetch, III. 298-301; grants of salary to Dudley, III. 298, 299, 301; collisions with Dudley suspended, III. 301, 302; condition of Puritanism, III. 303; attitude of the sovereigns towards, III. 303; number of inhabitants at the time of the treaty of Utrecht, III. 303, 304; expenses in Queen Anne's war, III. 304; prices of goods, III. 304; report of Dudley upon the condition of, III. 304, 305; her revenue, III. 305; matters pertaining to the Post-office, III. 305-310, 335; the public and the private banks, III. 311, 312, 355, 356; IV. 187, 188, 191, see *Land, Private, and Public Bank*; Sir Henry Ashurst and Constantine Phipps act as agents for, III. 312; death of Sir Henry Ashurst, III. 312; Jeremiah Dummer elected agent for, III. 312; dissatisfaction with Phipps, III. 312; attitude of England towards Dudley, III. 313, 314; death of Queen Anne, III. 314; Dudley continues in office six months by Act of Parliament, III. 315; Colonel Burgess appointed to be Governor of, III. 315; William Tailor appointed Lieutenant-Governor of, III. 316; IV. 441; death of ex-Governor Dudley, III. 313; claim of Usher, III. 318, 319, 355; compared with New Hampshire, III. 324; death of Usher, III. 325; Dudley's complaint of Rhode Island, III. 327; expenses of the war with the French, III. 331, 332; troops requested from Rhode Island, III.

MAS

332; a Post-office to be established in Queen Anne's dominions, III. 335; prelude to the Stamp Act, III. 335; a commission appointed to examine into the Mason and Mohegan claims, III. 337-340; Lord Cornbury's influence, III. 339; the accession of George I., III. 350-352; fear of Catholicism, III. 351; choice of a new Governor for, III. 353; the King's Governor dependent on the Legislature for his support, III. 353, 354; her policy towards the home government, III. 353, 354, 361, 466; IV. 289; influence of the British Ministry, III. 354, 359, 361; Address to George I., III. 355; Burgess gives up his appointment as Governor, III. 356; Colonel Shute appointed Governor of, III. 356, 357; IV. 441; Lieutenant-Governor Tailor superseded by William Dummer, III. 356, 357; IV. 441; arrival of Governor Shute, III. 357; its condition at the accession of Governor Shute, III. 358-362; ill-success of the war with the French, III. 360; instructions of Shute, III. 361, 362; rebuilding of Pemaquid, III. 362, 363; matters pertaining to Shute's salary, III. 363, 372-374, 379, 380, 423; strife and dissensions between Governor Shute and the Legislature, III. 363, 364, 372-380, 395-398, 401, 454, 467; naval stores furnished by, III. 365-369, 380; trade with England, III. 366, 367; tax laid on English goods, III. 373, 374; her charter threatened, III. 374; charges against, made by the Lords Commissioners, III. 375; freedom of the press established in, III. 375; petition to garrison Port Royal, III. 381; the possession of Nova Scotia, III. 381, 382; the Governor's power over the General Court, III. 382, 383; erection of Massachusetts Hall at Harvard College, III. 386; conference of the Governor with Indian tribes, III. 387-389; French intrigues, III. 387, 390, 391; renewed war with the Indians, III. 389-393, 404; departure of Governor Shute for England, III. 398; described to King George, III. 398-400; number of vessels built in one year, III. 399; manufactures in, III. 399; annual charge of, III. 399; her independence complained of, III. 399, 400; character of Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, III. 401; effort of the people to remove Walton and Moody from office in the army, III.

MAS

402, 403; manner of making some public payments, III. 402, 403; agency and cruelty of the French and of Father Raskie, III. 405; IV. 253; chief magistrate obtains a ratification of the Indian treaty, III. 413; annual expenses of the government, III. 414, 415; mode of legislation, III. 415; House of Representatives complained of by Shute, III. 415-417; Mr. Dummer to be joined by Cooke in the agency, III. 417; Cooke desires further instructions from, III. 418; the House condemned by the Privy Council, III. 418, 419; the Explanatory Charter, III. 419, 420; ministers present a memorial to the General Court, III. 420, 421; a religious movement, displeasing to England, III. 420-423; death of George I., III. 423; Shute's commission vacated, III. 423; scarcity of money, III. 426; incorporates the town of Rumford, Concord, III. 429; benefits accruing from the possible return of New Hampshire to, III. 432; neutrality of Rhode Island in the Indian war, III. 432, 433; the financial error, III. 433, 434; mining interests, III. 440; religious rule, III. 440; aid desired from Connecticut in the Indian wars, III. 446, 447, 465; danger to her charter averted by Dummer's book, III. 453-456; the political situation, III. 463-469; her responsibility, III. 465; recording-officer of, III. 465; jealousy of her royal Governors, III. 466; her Governors compared, one with another, III. 466, 467; important maxim of political science, III. 467, 468; measures of the patriot legislators, III. 468; first century of, III. 469; accession of George II. to the throne of England, IV. 1, 2; appointment of Governor William Burnet, IV. 1, 2; dispute concerning the fixed salary of the Governor, IV. 2-34, 124; reception given to Governor Burnet, IV. 3; threatened displeasure of Parliament, IV. 5, 6, 32; "Advice" sent to the towns in, IV. 14, 16; threats held out by Lord Carteret, IV. 15; value of shipping interests, IV. 20; contest concerning the lawful place of meeting for the General Court, IV. 22-24; power of the charter concerning the Governor and the General Court, IV. 22; Memorial sent to the King, IV. 24; Mr. Wilks to act as agent for the House, IV. 25; Burnet embar-

MAS

assed for funds, IV. 26, 27; Burnet receives fees from vessels, IV. 27; grant of money to Mr. Wilks and Mr. Belcher, IV. 28; vote to issue bills of credit refused by the Governor, IV. 31; death of Governor Burnet, IV. 34, 39; manner of making public payments, IV. 35; vote to supply the treasury with bills of credit, IV. 35; Baptists and Quakers relieved from parish taxes, IV. 36; vote directing the Treasurer to pay money to Jeremiah Dummer, IV. 36; the choice of an Attorney-General, IV. 36, 193, 194; appointment of Governor Jonathan Belcher, IV. 37, 38, 441; ancestors and characteristics of Governor Belcher, IV. 38, 39; William Tailer made Lieutenant-Governor a second time, IV. 40, 441; influence of Governor Belcher, IV. 40, 46, 47; the judicial courts, IV. 46, 47; the controversy concerning public supplies and payments, IV. 47-52; the treasury empty, IV. 49, 51; redemption of the bills of credit, IV. 52-58; Memorial to be presented to the King, IV. 53; authority of the King over the Governor and the province, IV. 53, 54; a debt of thirty thousand pounds to be paid by, IV. 55; notes of Rhode Island increase the confusion, IV. 55, 56; rise in the valuation of silver, IV. 56; the plan of a Land Bank, IV. 56-58; New Hampshire desires annexation to, IV. 60, 66; affairs of New Hampshire blended with those of Massachusetts, IV. 61; the quarrel between Dunbar and Governor Belcher, IV. 61-63; a garrison placed in Pemaquid, IV. 62, 63; Edmund Quincy sent to England, IV. 71; growing dislike to Governor Belcher, IV. 72-74; Governor Belcher removed from office, IV. 72-74, 120; religious excitement, IV. 76-110; arrival of Whitefield, IV. 82; the religious work of Whitefield in, IV. 82-85, 87, 88, 90, 98-101, 109; work of Tennent and Davenport, IV. 87, 91-98, 103; check upon the excitement, IV. 89-109; offence given by Whitefield in the matter of the Lord's Supper, IV. 98, 99; change of opinion concerning Whitefield, IV. 98-101; departure of Whitefield, IV. 101; results and character of the great awakening, IV. 101-109; extract of a letter from the Rev. Dr. Chauncy, IV. 106-108; arrival of William Shirley, IV. 135; efforts to make

MAS

Shirley the Governor of, IV. 186-189; recruiting for the Spanish War, IV. 188; appointment of Shirley as Governor of, IV. 189, 140, 441; inaugural speech of Shirley, IV. 140, 141; financial condition, IV. 140, 141, 146, 147; rise of exchange between the province and Massachusetts, IV. 140, 141; the treasury empty, IV. 142, 143; application for troops, IV. 142, 145; grants of money to Shirley, IV. 146; a Committee of War, IV. 147; hostile movements at the North, IV. 147; troops sent to Annapolis, IV. 147, 148; plan to reduce the French fort of Louisburg, IV. 149-164; report of the Committee of War, IV. 151, 152; troops sent to Canseau, IV. 156; the capture of Louisburg and the reduction of Cape Breton, IV. 163-169; the troops extolled by Dr. Chauncy, IV. 165, 166; the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, IV. 169, 178, 179, 186, 262, 284; troops to be furnished for the new plan of conquest, IV. 171; Fort Massachusetts taken by French and Indians, IV. 174; action at Annapolis, IV. 174; Louisburg returned to France, IV. 178-180; the stamp duties and increased taxation, IV. 180, 181; proposal to erect a line of forts along the frontier, IV. 181; Governor Shirley obtains leave of absence, IV. 183; the death of Tailer, IV. 184; appointment of Spencer Phipps as Lieutenant-Governor, IV. 184; reform of the currency, IV. 186-192; the new tenor currency, IV. 190; outlay on the expedition to Louisburg, IV. 190; William Bollen acts as agent for, in England, IV. 190, 325; reimbursed for her outlay on the expedition against Louisburg, IV. 190-192 328, 330; honorable course of Thomas Hutchinson in regard to finance, IV. 191, 192, 300; effort to revise the provincial laws, IV. 192, 193; certain manufactories prohibited, IV. 194; return of Governor Shirley from England, IV. 195, 196; delegates sent to the Congress at Albany, IV. 200-205; a scheme of colonial reunion proposed, IV. 200-205; the conference of Governors, IV. 207, 208; belief of the colonists with regard to the French and Indian wars, IV. 207; arrival of the exiles from Nova Scotia, IV. 214-216; expedition against Fort Niagara, IV. 220, 221; promotion of Governor Shirley, IV. 221, 222; a con-

MAS

ference of the Governors at New York, IV. 222, 223, 227; plan of campaign laid down, IV. 222, 223, 227, 228; Shirley to be superseded by Lord Loudoun, as Commander-in-Chief, IV. 223, 224, 227; Shirley ordered to England, IV. 224; term of office of Spencer Phipps, IV. 226; discouraging outlook, IV. 226, 227; war declared against France, IV. 227; arrival of Lord Loudoun as Commander-in-Chief of the army, IV. 227, 228; the capture of Fort William Henry by the French, IV. 229-231, 264, 283; number of troops in arms under Pepperell, IV. 230; appointment of Governor Pownall, IV. 231, 441; Pepperell made Lieutenant-General of the forces of, IV. 232; quarrel of Lord Loudoun with, IV. 233, 234; beneficial influence of the accession of Pitt to power, IV. 237, 238, 251-254; number of troops furnished for the French wars in 1758, IV. 237; expenses of the government and military expenses, IV. 237, 238; monument erected to Viscount Howe in Westminster Abbey, IV. 239; exploit of Colonel Bradstreet, IV. 241, 242; capture of Fort Frontenac, IV. 241, 242; reduction of Louisburg and Quebec, IV. 243-251; surrender of Canada, IV. 251-255; departure of Governor Pownall to be the Governor of South Carolina, IV. 254, 255; farewell Address to Governor Pownall, IV. 255; arrival of Francis Bernard as Governor, IV. 255, 441; the last Governor of Massachusetts in common with New Hampshire, IV. 256; troops in her pay, IV. 259; expense of sustaining Fort Dummer, IV. 270; war subsidies, IV. 270; resumption of specie payment, IV. 270; application to Connecticut for aid against Louisburg, IV. 272; discreditable action of Connecticut in regard to the terms of settlement, IV. 274, 276; charters ships from Newport to aid in the war, IV. 282; accession of George III., IV. 287; forms of government under William III., IV. 288, 289; manner of obtaining her rights, IV. 289-293; representations of the King's officers with regard to her independence, IV. 292; accession of Governor Bernard to, IV. 296; Bernard's impressions of and representations to England, IV. 297-299; scheme of government proposed by Bernard, IV. 298, 299; death of Chief Justice Stephen Sewall, IV. 299; Sewall's

MAS

place filled by Thomas Hutchinson, IV. 299, 300; Hutchinson sent to England as agent for Boston, IV. 300; Hutchinson made Lieutenant-Governor of, IV. 301, 441; Hutchinson made Judge of Probate, IV. 301; law concerning smuggling, IV. 303; the Sugar Act passed in England, IV. 303, 336, see *Sugar Act*; reform of the currency produces commercial activity, IV. 304, 305; question of American liberty, IV. 304-313; violation of the Laws of Trade, IV. 305, 306; commercial position at the accession of Bernard, IV. 315, 308; the Writs of Assistance, IV. 305-313; possible cause for the elevation of Hutchinson, IV. 307; hearings for and against the Writs of Assistance, IV. 307-313; intelligent loyalty of, IV. 315, 316; the legal tender, IV. 316, 317; expedition against Martinique, IV. 317; feeling of resentment in regard to the Writs of Assistance, IV. 317; favor shown to Otis, IV. 318; quarrel of the House with Governor Bernard, IV. 318-322; statement prepared by the House as a "Vindication" of their course, IV. 322-324; fear of the establishment of an Episcopal Church, IV. 325, 326; Bollen dismissed from his agency, IV. 325; Jasper Mauduit appointed as agent in England, IV. 325; religious controversy with important results, IV. 325, 326; alarm against the authority of Parliament, IV. 325, 326; courteous message to the Governor and Address to the King, IV. 327; scheme of colonial taxation, IV. 328-334; debt incurred in the recent war, IV. 329, 330; project of a census, IV. 330; loss from the discontinuance of the fishery, IV. 332; molasses distilled into rum, IV. 332, 333; letter of Governor Bernard, giving information in regard to the shipping and various other matters, IV. 332-334; preparations in England for the Stamp Act, IV. 334; debate concerning the choice of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson to be the agent in England, IV. 335, 336; restrictions placed on the trade of, IV. 335, 340, 352, 353, 356, see *Trade*; matters pertaining to the Sugar Act, IV. 336, 339; a set of "Instructions" prepared for the House of Representatives, contents of, IV. 336-339; apprehension felt with regard to the increased taxation, IV. 338; a letter of rebuke sent to the

MAS

agent in England, IV. 339, 340; Otis's statement of the "Rights of the British Colonies," IV. 340-347; the question of unjust taxation, IV. 342-346; demands representation in England, or exemption from taxation, IV. 342-346, 348-350, 354-357, 389, 420, 421, 428-430; expenditure on wars, etc., IV. 343; the Committees of Correspondence, IV. 347, 424, 425; arguments of Thacher in favor of the colonists' rights, IV. 349-355; necessity for home manufacture, IV. 353; death of Oxenbridge Thacher, IV. 354; distinction between duties and taxes, IV. 354-356; right of Parliament asserted to tax the colonies, IV. 356; information received of the passing of the Sugar Act, IV. 356; preparations for the Stamp Act, IV. 356, 357; settlers depart for the new towns in New Hampshire, IV. 360; legality of Writs of Assistance, IV. 362; her Circular Letter to the other colonies, IV. 368, 398; Chief Justice Francis Dana, IV. 375; requirements of the Stamp Act, IV. 376, see *Stamp Act*; immediate consequences of the Stamp Act, IV. 377-403; royal governors sent from England, IV. 382; the Puritan element, IV. 383; tone of the petition to Parliament, IV. 385, 386; intelligence received of the passing of the Stamp Act, IV. 387; conduct reported by Governor Bernard, IV. 339; Andrew Oliver accepts the position of Distributor of Stamps, IV. 339; news of the conduct of Virginia, IV. 389; the riots in Boston, IV. 390-394, see *Boston*; the Stamps to be placed in the Castle, IV. 395; effort of Governor Bernard to induce the people to comply with the King's request, IV. 397, 398; the meeting of Colonial Congress, IV. 398-403; the manifestoes of the Congress, IV. 400-403; last ten years of colonial dependence, IV. 404-438; the Stamp Act fails of execution, IV. 408; new Act imposing taxes on tea and other articles, IV. 410, 413; trouble with the Governor about provision for troops, IV. 411; protest against the new duties, IV. 411, 412; a Circular Letter sent to the Provincial Assemblies, IV. 412; conduct of the angry people, IV. 413-415; meeting of a provincial convention, IV. 415, 416; arrival of British troops, IV. 416; complaint of the investment by the troops, IV. 417; conduct condemned by Par-

MAS

lament, IV. 417; convention of towns condemned, IV. 417; the Governor shows no discretion in regard to the meeting of the General Court, IV. 417; Bernard released from office, IV. 418; departure of Governor Bernard, IV. 418; Hutchinson is left at the head of the government, IV. 418; the Boston Massacre, IV. 419; the perpetrators receive a fair trial, IV. 419; the duties on imported goods repealed except the duty on tea, IV. 420; misconceptions of Lord North, IV. 420; resolution to cease importing tea, IV. 421, 427; accession of Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, IV. 421, 441; Bernard continues to hold his commission, IV. 421; accession of Governor Hutchinson, IV. 421, 441; the salary of Governor Hutchinson, IV. 421-423; a Circular Letter sent to the several towns in, IV. 424; statement of colonial rights, published to the world, IV. 424, 425; discovery of letters containing unfriendly sentiments to, IV. 425, 426; Address sent to Dr. Franklin, IV. 426; question of royal support for the judges, IV. 426; in the van of the resistance to British usurpations, IV. 426, 427; resolution of the East India Company to export the tea, IV. 427, 428; destruction of tea in Boston, IV. 429, 430; the "Boston Port Bill" ordered by England, IV. 430; arrival of General Thomas Gage as Governor, IV. 431, 441; law in relation to meetings, IV. 431; departure of Governor Hutchinson for England, IV. 431; the Boston Port Bill goes into effect, IV. 431, 432; the *Mandamus* Counsellors, IV. 431, 433; sympathy for Boston, IV. 432; meeting of a Second General Congress, IV. 433; preparations for war by General Gage, IV. 434; a Provincial Congress held, IV. 434; Committees of Safety and Supplies, IV. 434; Committee to propose a plan of defence, IV. 434; arrangements for troops and commanders of troops, IV. 434, 435; Generals appointed by the Provincial Congress, IV. 435; her minute-men, IV. 435; orders to the militia, IV. 435; Lord Chatham urges conciliatory measures, IV. 436; retaliatory Act passed in England, IV. 436; a new Provincial Congress held, IV. 436; arms stored at Concord by the Provincial Congress, IV. 436, 437; attempts of General Gage to destroy

MAS

military stores, IV. 436, 437; the battles of Lexington and Concord, IV. 437; the war of American Independence begun, IV. 433; her militia pours into Boston, IV. 438; the battle of Bunker's Hill, IV. 439; George Washington to be General-in-Chief of the American armies, IV. 439; Acts passed by, and proceedings of, see *General Court and Council of Massachusetts*.
Massachusetts Bay, I. 1; III. 66, 245; IV. 159, 260; visited by the early explorers, I. 2, 4; the Massachusetts Indians on the shores of, I. 29; the Mayflower drops anchor, I. 60; settlements upon, I. 87-89, 144, 148; plan of settlement on, for the benefit of sailors, I. 94, 95; province called by the name of, III. 71.
Massachusetts Company, the, I. 97, 131, 132, 225, 281; II. 229, 314; formation of, in England, its corporate title, I. 97-99; II. 259; a charter obtained, I. 98, 99; officers of, I. 99, 105, 106; change of officers and transferment of the charter to America, I. 105-108; names and position of the Company and its associates, I. 107-110; Cradock and others appear in behalf of the Company, I. 132, 133, 159, 160; assaults upon its charter, I. 136, 137, 152, 153, 159-161; II. 253-255; its charter declared null and void, II. 259, 316, 317; III. 2, 9, 76; IV. 6. See *Massachusetts*.
Massachusetts, Fort, IV. 174. See *Fort Massachusetts*.
Massachusetts Hall, erection of, III. 336.
Massachusetts Indians, the, I. 29, 129.
Massasoit, visits the Plymouth Colony, I. 67, 68; treaty made with the colonists, I. 67, 68; visit of the Pilgrims to his home, I. 70, 71; attends the Thanksgiving-Day celebration, I. 72; his gratitude to Winslow, I. 76; renews his treaty, which was always maintained, I. 243; II. 125; his death, II. 125, 126.
Master of Ordnance, the, I. 7.
Masters, a Deputy from Watertown, I. 127.
Masterson, Richard, a Puritan, I. 50; one of the Mayflower's company, I. 60.
Masts, a present of, sent to the King of England, II. 79, 80; III. 364, 365; exported from Massachusetts, II. 84; used as exports and as one of the supplies for the royal navy,

MAT

III. 345, 365, 367, 380, 398, 419, 424, 425; IV. 73, 200.

Mather, Rev. Cotton, his influence in favor of liberty of thought, I. vi, 323; his account of the murder of Mrs. Hutchinson, I. 213; his writing, concerning the dispute about the rite of baptism, II. 20; his characteristics, III. 92, 93, 105, 182; part taken by, in the affair of witchcraft, III. 92-94, 99-101, 105; his treatise and views on witches, III. 92-94, 105; his account of the trial of Bridget Bishop, III. 99; his enmity to Governor Joseph Dudley, III. 181, 182, 227, 290-292, 294-297; a letter from, concerning Dudley, III. 183; his ambition in regard to Harvard College, III. 292, 293; his influence at the College waning, III. 292, 293; his place on the Board of Government given to Mr. Brattle, III. 293; his correspondence with Governor Dudley, III. 295-297; displeased with the administration of President Leverett, III. 384; projects a Synod, III. 420, 421; the excitement caused by an earthquake, IV. 77.

Mather, Rev. Increase, a minister in Boston, settled over the Second Church, and President of Harvard College, II. 322, 351; deputed to carry an answer to Governor Andros, in regard to the Episcopal worship in Boston, II. 322; his departure and journey to England in behalf of Massachusetts, II. 351, 352, 357-360; Addresses presented to the King, II. 358; pleads the case against Andros, II. 358; courteously received and deferentially treated in England, II. 358; III. 82, 183; request concerning the laws and an Assembly, II. 359, 360; petitions to the Lords of the Committee, II. 359, 360; his acquaintance renewed with Sir William Phipps, II. 380; his interference in regard to the order for continuance of the government of Andros, II. 381; petitions offered to the new King, II. 381, 382; his exertions in behalf of the charter of Massachusetts, III. 54, 55, 58, 61, 71, 73-83, 188; his book against the Common Prayer, III. 60; Messrs. Cooke and Oakes to be associated in the agency with, III. 61, 75, 79, 183, 377; nomination of officers in the new government given to, III. 77-79; his interview with the King, III. 79; plan of annexing Plymouth to New York, III. 80, 81; returns to Boston, III. 82, 83, 172; bearing

MAY

on witchcraft of his work on "Illustrious Providences," III. 91, 92; resumes the Presidency of Harvard College, III. 172; institutes a change of government at the College, III. 172, 173; his relations with Governor Dudley, III. 181, 182, 294, 295; opposition of Elisha Cooke, III. 183, 377; desires to be again appointed as agent to England, III. 183, 184; a friend to Connecticut, III. 199; his efforts in behalf of Harvard College, III. 292; influence at the College waning, III. 292, 293; letter to Governor Dudley, III. 295; express displeasure called forth by President Leverett, III. 384.

Matoonas, his execution, II. 183.

Mats, I. 33.

Mattapan, former name of Dorchester, I. 115; a church established, I. 115.

Mauduit, Jasper, a dissenter, IV. 325; to act as agent in England for Massachusetts, IV. 325, 336; special papers sent to, IV. 339, 340, 347.

Maurice, III. 4.

Maverick, Rev. Samuel, I. 89; settles on Noddle's Island, I. 89, 203, 325, 326; church under his ministry, I. 115, 116; one of the petitioners regarding the Presbyterian controversy, I. 325, 326; fined, I. 328; one of the Royal Commissioners, II. 58-60; his house in the Broad Way, New York, II. 78.

Mavis, the, I. 25.

Mayflower, the, the vessel carrying the Pilgrims to America, I. 58, 70, 86, 147; II. 379; number of tons' burden, I. 58; the persons on board, I. 58-61, 72, 73; drops anchor at Provincetown, I. 60; brings her passengers to Plymouth, I. 64; II. 379; returns to England, I. 69; news carried to England by, I. 73; name given to the passengers of, I. 82.

Mayhew, Rev. Jonathan, settled over the West Church in Boston, IV. 324; agitation of a religious question, IV. 324, 325; his publication entitled the "Observations on the Charter and Conduct," etc., IV. 325; his writings of importance to the cause of religious liberty, IV. 326; preaches a sermon exciting to the mob, IV. 391, 393.

Mayhew, Thomas, the result of his missionary work among the Indians, I. 334, 376, 378, 379; II. 124; one of the owners of Martha's Vineyard, I. 334.

Mayhew, Thomas, Jr., his missionary

MAY

- work among the Indians, I. 334, 335, 378, 379; II. 124; his death, I. 379.
- Maynard*, Sir John, to take charge of the Great Seal of England, III. 9; his characteristics, III. 9.
- Mayor of Gorgeana*, the, I. 222.
- Meadow-lark*, the, I. 25.
- Meal*, I. 299.
- Meat*, IV. 373.
- Medfield*, the attack upon, II. 157; party from, attack Pomham, II. 170.
- Medford*, Governor Usher has a stately house at, III. 324, 325; the death of Usher, III. 325.
- Medicinal Springs*, I. 23.
- Medicine-man*, the, I. 37, 43, 44.
- Mediterranean Sea*, the, I. 8.
- Meeting-house*, the, I. 288; II. 345; church in Dedham described, I. 296.
- Melville*, Andrew, ecclesiastical successor to John Knox, I. 322.
- Memoirs*, prepared in 1690, to prove and disprove the irregularities of trade, III. 64.
- Memphrenagog*, Lake, IV. 266.
- Mendon*, II. 132; III. 329; suffers from Indian outrages and warfare, II. 132, 157, 168, 183.
- Menis*, the town destroyed by Captain Church, III. 249, 250.
- Mercer*, Colonel, capitulation of Oswego, IV. 228.
- Merchant Adventurers*, the, foundation of the company, I. 55-57; II. 212; terms agreed upon with the Plymouth colonists, and business resulting from, I. 55-57, 73, 79, 82-87, 141-143, 237-240, 244, 245; the patent taken out by John Pierce, I. 73, 79, 243; fraudulent conduct of Pierce, I. 79.
- Merchants*, the, losses, in Boston, through La Tour, I. 339; increase of wealth in Massachusetts, II. 90; complaints in England concerning the alleged neglect of the Navigation Act in New England, II. 195; III. 17; petition sent to the King, II. 196; reception given to Governor Andros in Boston, II. 319; unite with the inhabitants of Boston in the "Declaration" of 1689, II. 371; complaints in Boston concerning the mail accommodations, III. 305, 306; assistance rendered by, in Boston, in regard to obtaining money for a certain Address, IV. 28.
- Merchants' Courts*, I. 277.
- Merrimac River*, the, I. 20, 76, 77, 97, 129, 219, 402; II. 109, 152, 289; III. 147, 185, 254, 406; IV. 200; boundary of Mason's claim, I. 77;

MIL

- settlements on, I. 220; III. 428, 429; questions of boundary, IV. 68-70, 72.
- Merrimeeting Bay*, the new Indian outbreak, III. 352, 393.
- Merry Mount*, affair at, I. 88; the May-pole cut down, I. 98.
- Meserve*, Lieutenant-Colonel, IV. 259; troops sent to Louisburg, IV. 264; his death, IV. 264.
- Meserve*, George, Distributor of Stamps in New Hampshire, IV. 395, 396; resigns his office, IV. 395, 396.
- Metacom*, or *Metacomet*, the Indian name of King Philip, II. 126. See *Philip*.
- Metals*, the, I. 33.
- Mexico*, Gulf of, I. 28; a chain of French posts extends from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to, III. 33; IV. 197, 208.
- Miantonomo*, chief of the Narragansetts, I. 130, 166, 302; visits Boston, I. 130; Aquetnet Island bought from, I. 211, 212; treaty with the Mohawks, I. 303; to appear at Boston, I. 308, 306, 307; new occasion for alarm, I. 304-314; his right questioned to dispose of land to Gorton, I. 306-308; his quarrel with Uncas, I. 307, 308, 313, 337; his sentence and death, I. 308.
- Michigan*, Lake, French forts upon, IV. 199.
- Middle Temple*, the, IV. 135.
- Middleborough*, II. 128; IV. 120, 194; the town devastated by Indians, II. 131, 159, 182.
- Middlesex County*, I. 256; II. 327, 363; IV. 185; a court persists in exercising its jurisdiction under Andros's commission, III. 22, 23.
- Middletown*, I. 396; IV. 111.
- Milbourn*, the New York commissary, III. 203; responsibility of Winthrop's retreat thrown upon, III. 204; executed by order of Dudley, III. 284, 295.
- Milford*, Connecticut, I. 229; IV. 120, 121; organization of, I. 229, 230; its system of Church and State, I. 230; joins with New Haven, I. 230, 231; pledges aid for a projected college, I. 395; provides a schoolmaster at the public expense, I. 399; arrival of the regicides, II. 23, 25, 38; her attitude towards Connecticut, II. 45, 47, 338, 339; troops sent against the Indians, II. 137; effort to establish Yale College, III. 343, 344; pupils of Yale taught here, III. 345, 442.
- Military Commission*, organized, I. 157, 158. See *Militia*.
- Military Committee*, the, their per-

MIL

mission necessary to persons leaving town during Philip's War, II. 164.

Militia, the, number of troops furnished by the New England and Southern States in the War of American Independence, I. vii; the rules and regulations of, including the arms and regimental divisions, I. 116, 157, 158, 256, 290-292, 300; II. 145; III. 153, 438; IV. 128; the King desires to control the troops in Massachusetts, II. 62, 232; number of troops to be raised in the different colonies, in time of war, II. 97, 98; sufferings of, II. 151, 152; opinions formed by Randolph, II. 203, 226; reorganization of, II. 236, 239; organization in New Hampshire, II. 269; Act to bring them under the subjection of Governor Andros, II. 346, 356; Wait Winthrop to be commander of, II. 377; the Governor of Massachusetts to be Commander-in-Chief of the Militia, III. 72, 126, 153; the Governors of New York and Massachusetts empowered to control the militia of Connecticut and Rhode Island, III. 126, 137, 153, 205-208, 218-220, 325, 331-333, 339, 334; protection of returned captives, in Connecticut III. 347; regulation of, in Connecticut, IV. 127, 128; troops extolled by Dr. Chauncy, IV. 165, 166; disturbances in Boston, IV. 176-178; capitulation of Canada, IV. 251; activity of Connecticut in the war against New France, IV. 279-281; statistics of the regiments of Connecticut, IV. 372, 373; men in the riots, IV. 396; warlike preparations in Massachusetts, IV. 435; organization of, reformed, in Rhode Island, IV. 435; orders to prepare for war, IV. 436; pours into Boston from all parts of New England, IV. 438. See *Army*.

Milk, I. 299.

"*Milk for Babies*," III. 92.

Milk Street, IV. 429.

Milton, II. 161; IV. 392, 429; a prohibited manufactory at, IV. 194.

Minas, IV. 184.

Minerals, in New England, I. 23.

Mines, II. 252; III. 439, 440.

Minister of Marine, the, III. 30.

Ministers, titles to their names, I. 300. See *Clergy*.

Ministry, the, property left to, III. 457, 458; movement in behalf of learning, IV. 361. See *Clergy* and *English Ministry*.

Minot, citation from, I. vi, note; his opinion in relation to the changes

MOM

in the regulations of intercolonial commerce, IV. 332.

Mint, the, I. 407; II. 297.

Minute-men, the, III. 146; IV. 435, 437, 438.

Minx, the, I. 26.

Mishawum, former name of Charlestown, I. 89; visited by an exploring party, I. 97, 98; a church organized in, I. 115. See *Charlestown*.

Missionary Society, the first, in Protestant Christendom, I. 334.

Missionary Work among the Indians. See *Indians* and *Society for the Propagation*, etc.

Mississippi River, the, I. 28; III. 29; IV. 208; French stations extending from the St. Lawrence to the mouth of, III. 29; IV. 197.

Mr. and Mrs., the prefixes used peculiarly, I. 300.

Mitchell, his writings, II. 89.

Mixn, concludes a treaty with the whites and Indians, I. 349; message sent to, I. 366, 367.

Mobs, IV. 390-394.

Mogg, an Indian chief, III. 409; killed at Norridgewock, III. 409.

Mohawk River, the, IV. 220.

Mohawks, the, one of the Iroquois tribes, I. 192, 193, 303; II. 173, 362; III. 31, 204; IV. 217, 368; joined by the Pequots, I. 192; threaten the whites with warfare, I. 313, 350, 366; their relations with the English, II. 188, 275; wavering in their alliance, III. 41.

Mohegans, the, I. 29, 187, 302, 307; II. 98; the Pequots seek to enlist them against the English, I. 184; Pequot survivors join, I. 193, 375; their sachem and their position as a tribe, I. 302; attacked by the Narragansetts, I. 348; unconverted to Christianity, I. 379; II. 124; IV. 125; aid the English against Philip, II. 183, 184, 137, 143, 147, 160, 165, 188; partly ruled by the Mohawks, III. 31; controversy with Connecticut concerning their lands, III. 336-340; complaints of English trespassers, III. 444, 445; convention to install Ben Uncas as their sachem, III. 445, 446; dispute about lands, III. 456; claims of, III. 459; instance of an Indian convert in the tribe, IV. 125. See *Uncas*.

Molasses, I. 298; III. 330, 345, 399, 424; IV. 331, 373; duty on, IV. 303, 353, see *Sugar Act*; distilled into rum in Massachusetts, IV. 332, 333; the trade in Rhode Island, IV. 365-367.

Momoronook Creek, II. 66.

MON

- Monckton**, Colonel, IV. 211; severely wounded, IV. 249.
- Money**, I. 35; corn and beaver take the place of, I. 295; coined by Massachusetts, I. 407; II. 33. See *Bills of Credit and Coinage*.
- Monhegan Island**, I. 15, 66, 78; visited by Captain John Smith, I. 15; fugitive whites flee to, II. 175.
- Monmouth**, Duke of, son of Charles II., II. 216; his insurrection unsuccessful, II. 288, 290, 299, 305, 368.
- Monro**, Colonel, capitulates to Montcalm, IV. 229-231; the loss of Fort William Henry, IV. 229-231, 264, 283.
- Montague**, Earl of, one of the Council for Foreign Plantations, II. 98.
- Montague**, town of, II. 162.
- Montcalm**, Marquis de, General in the French army, succeeds Dieskau, IV. 228; the capture of Oswego, IV. 228; capture of Fort William Henry, IV. 229-232, 264, 283; a journal throwing light upon his conduct, IV. 231; his victory over Abercrombie, IV. 238-241; the capture of Quebec by the English, IV. 245-249; taunted by Vaudreuil, IV. 248; his death, IV. 249; inscription commemorative of, erected in Quebec, IV. 249; succeeded by De Lévi, IV. 250.
- Montreal**, III. 30, 39, 40, 237, 240; IV. 171, 262; royal Governor in, III. 30; the Iroquois devastate the place, III. 34; arrival of Frontenac, III. 36; unsuccessful expedition against, III. 44-47; reinforcements sent to Quebec, III. 49, 50; plan of attacks upon, III. 133, 134, 202, 203, 256; hostility of the French and Indians at, III. 237, 238; De Vaudreuil succeeds De Callières as Governor, III. 238; failure of the attack of Nicholson, III. 263; its position, IV. 208; new attacks upon, planned, IV. 216, 244; comparative security of French and English cities, IV. 226, 227; the fall of Quebec, IV. 242-250; the French Generals withdraw to, IV. 249-251; military operations directed against, IV. 250, 251; approach of General Amherst, IV. 266; capitulation of, IV. 266, 284.
- Moanagam**, renews ancient league at the Plymouth General Court, I. 243.
- Moody**, Major, accusations against, III. 393, 394; to be removed from command, III. 393, 401, 402.
- Moore**, Colonel Samuel, expedition against Louisburg, IV. 259, 260.

MOU

- Moors**, the, III. 167.
- Moose**, the, I. 26, 31, 33.
- Moose-skins**, I. 298.
- Mooshausick River**, the, I. 166.
- Mordaunt**, Lord, afterwards Earl of Peterborough, nominally at the head of the Treasury of England, III. 8.
- Moreton**, I. 109.
- Morocco**, I. 10.
- Morrell**, an Episcopal clergyman, I. 78; remains at Wessagussett, I. 78.
- Morrice**, Secretary, carries the royal message to Endicott, II. 21; censures Massachusetts, II. 72; the opposition to Endicott, II. 73; conveys to Massachusetts express commands from the King, II. 79.
- Mortgages**, II. 324.
- Mortmain**, the statute of, III. 458.
- Morton**, Rev. Charles, settled over the Church in Charlestown, II. 299, 343; III. 356; Randolph's complaint of, II. 299; his expectation of the Presidency of Harvard College, II. 299, 344; his circumstances and position in England, II. 299, 343, 344; complaints against, on account of his preaching, II. 343, 344; III. 356; designated to fill the Vice-Presidency of Harvard College, III. 173.
- Morton**, George, I. 50; one of the Mayflower's company, I. 60.
- Morton**, Thomas, his action at Merry Mount, I. 87, 88; sent to England, I. 88; injurious representations of, I. 132, 237.
- Morton's Hold**, I. 98.
- Mosaic Law**, the, III. 121.
- Mosely**, Captain, II. 131, 137; repulses the Indians, II. 131; attacks the Indians at Bloody Brook, II. 141-143.
- Moses**, the, law of, I. 231, 282.
- Mosquito**, the, I. 26.
- "Most Humble Defence and Apology,"** etc., offered to the Queen, III. 289.
- Mostyn**, Admiral, the expulsion of the French Neutrals from Nova Scotia, IV. 212-216.
- Moulton**, Captain, sent in search of Rasle, III. 406-409; the death of Rasle, III. 408.
- Mount**, the, former name of Brainerd, I. 210.
- Mount Dagon**, I. 98.
- Mount Desert**, the island presented to Governor Bernard, IV. 317, 318.
- Mount Hope**, II. 129, 279-282; the home of King Philip, II. 129, 133, 170, 171, 186; occupied by Captain Savage, II. 131.
- Mount Mansfield**, height of, I. 19.

MOU

- Mount Washington*, height of, I. 19.
Mount Wollaston, a church at, organized, I. 198.
Mountains, ranges in New England, I. 19.
Mounteagle, Lord, II. 270.
Moxus, Indian wars at Wells, III. 87.
Mugg, a treaty made with the English, II. 178; is killed in battle, II. 179.
Muggleton, Ludovick, II. 4.
Mulberries, I. 24.
Murder, laws relating to, I. 280-282; IV. 431. See *Capital Crimes*.
Murray, General, left to hold Quebec, IV. 250; joined at Montreal by other forces, IV. 251.
Murray, Lord Mansfield, Attorney-General in England, IV. 407.
Muscongus Bay, I. 220.
Music, I. 291, 300; absence of instruments of, I. 300.
Muskets, I. 291.
Musquash, the, I. 26.
Mussey, a widow, murdered by Indians, III. 240.
Myles, Rev. Mr., Rector of King's Chapel, III. 169; remonstrance against the Synod, III. 421.
Mystic, assigned to Mr. Cradock of the Massachusetts Company, I. 118; settlement at, I. 118; Massachusetts ousted from, II. 44.
Mystic River, the, matters of boundary, I. 114, 401; II. 46; ships launched, I. 294.

NAHIGONSETT BAY, I. 166.

- Nahigonssett Indians*, the, I. 166. See *Narragansett*.
Nahunkeike, I. 96.
Nantasket, seat of Oldham's party, I. 85, 88, 95, 99, 142; visited by the Rev. Mr. Smith, I. 99, 142; arrival of immigrants, I. 118; sailing of fleet from, for Quebec, III. 44, 46, 47, 49-51; Shute embarks for London, III. 398; assembling of the fleet under Commodore Tyng, IV. 155, 156; arrival of a fleet with troops, IV. 416.
Nantucket Island, visited by Captain George Waymouth, I. 5; number of "praying Indians" in, II. 124; part of the coast line of Massachusetts, III. 71.
Napery, abundance of, in the early times, I. 297.
Narragansett Bay, the, I. 2, 70, 166, 211, 212, 227, 304, 312, 313, 381, 344; II. 8, 49, 50, 69, 70, 119, 125, 129, 140, 141; probably visited by the North-

NAR

- men, I. 2; visited by Verrazzano, I. 3; its size, I. 20; Indian tribes dwelling by, I. 29, 186; II. 140, 141; the settlements on, not admitted to the confederation of New England, I. 263; difficulty in relation to boundary of Connecticut, II. 41, 49-51, 113, 114; III. 214, 278-282, 328, 329, 335; the pathway to the ocean for the settlements in Rhode Island, II. 83; western boundary of Plymouth Colony, II. 110; IV. 284, 285; destruction of the English settlements in Philip's War, II. 157; story of the "Adventure," III. 162; a resort for buccaneering vessels, III. 221; account of the "Gaspee," IV. 422, 423.
Narragansett Country, the, land bought from the Indians, I. 166; new settlements, I. 211; trouble caused by Gorton's party, I. 304-313, 339; the settlement at Shawomet, I. 306, 309-312; Gorton's party banished from Shawomet and other places, I. 311, 312; Act of cession to the King, of the Narragansett people and territory, I. 312, 313, 340; II. 69, 70, 279, 335; the Act of Cession taken to England, I. 340; Gorton obtains the royal permission to live at Shawomet, I. 340; return of Gorton to Shawomet, I. 340-343; successful attempt of Roger Williams to obtain a government for, I. 344, 345; the settlements also called the Providence Plantations, I. 344, see *Providence Plantations*; Gorton's settlement and Providence unite in a convention of the Narragansett settlements, I. 345, 346; constitution of the government, I. 346; failure of the plan, I. 346, 347; Coddington sails for England, I. 346, 381; Presidents of the settlements, I. 346, 347, 386, 387; incapable of a settled government, I. 381; Coddington returns with a patent for governing, I. 381; Coddington's patent returns Shawomet, Providence, and Warwick to their former isolation, I. 382; patent of Coddington set aside by Clarke, I. 387-389; returns to the administration of Roger Williams's patent, I. 389-391; desirability of Winthrop's settlement, I. 395; Connecticut asks for a grant covering the domain of, II. 39; charter obtained by Winthrop, II. 40, 41; charter of Connecticut conflicts with that of Rhode Island in regard to the Narragansett territory, II. 48-51, 53, 54; II. 278-282; III. 328, 329, see *Connecticut* and

NAR

Rhode Island; the Atherton Company also interested in the royal decision, II. 49-53; government instituted in the charter of Rhode Island, II. 52; visited by the Royal Commissioners, II. 69, 70; part of the country made into a distinct government, called the King's Province, or Narragansett Country, II. 70; Philip leaves his home and flies to the interior, II. 183; fight with the Indians during Philip's War, II. 144-153, 167, 170; Connecticut and Rhode Island dispute for the government of, II. 278-282; Royal decision as to the government of, II. 279-282; Commissioners appointed to inquire into the different claims of boundary and possession, II. 282, 287; its rule to be conducted by Dudley, II. 291, 292; its political history identical with that of Massachusetts, during Dudley's Presidency, II. 304; Dudley's act concerning the government, II. 307, 308; the subjects of the King discharged from the power of Connecticut or Rhode Island and the Providence Plantations, II. 308; Andros sends a report of its claims to England, II. 335; flight of Dudley to, II. 375, 376; Phipps asserts his authority to control the militia, III. 219; Dudley's influence over the militia, III. 325; for further history, see *King's Province*.

Narragansett Fort, the, I. 188, 189; II. 147; attacked and destroyed in the Pequot War, I. 188-193; attacked by the settlers and destroyed, II. 147-151, 160; stormed in Philip's War, II. 147-149, 151.

Narragansett River, the, land adjoining, ceded to Connecticut, I. 236; Winthrop's mention of, in his new charter, II. 49; boundary questions, II. 282; III. 329.

Narragansetts, the, tribe of Indians, living in Rhode Island, I. 29; II. 125, 130; one of the Algonquin tribes, I. 29; the Nyanatics tributary to, I. 29; probably the originators of wampum beads, I. 35; retreat before Miles Standish, I. 130; their chief Miantonomo visits Governor Winthrop, I. 139; plot against the colonists, I. 131; expedition against, during Philip's War, I. 145-147; land sold to Roger Williams, I. 166; the Pequots seek to enlist them against the English, I. 184; Roger Williams's influence in behalf of the colonists, I. 184, 185; conclude a treaty with the colonists, I. 185;

NAU

aid the English, I. 185, 188-190; danger threatened by the Pequots, I. 192; Pequot survivors join, I. 193, 375; sale of the island of Aquetnet, I. 211, 212; their chiefs Canonicus and Miantonomo, I. 302; a powerful tribe, I. 302; II. 132, 144; rumor of an attack upon the English, I. 302, 303; trouble arising from Gorton's settlement, I. 304-314, 327, 339-343, 347-351; II. 279; Act of cession to King Charles, I. 312, 313, 340; II. 69, 279, 335; promise thirty days' notice of war, I. 314; messengers from Boston, return with a message of defiance, I. 348; conclude a treaty with whites and Indians, I. 349-351; attempt upon Uncas's life, I. 350, 351; treaty with Uncas, I. 356; rumors of alarm from, I. 360; II. 126; chiefs summoned to come to Boston, I. 371; unconverted to Christian belief, I. 379; II. 124; make a treaty with the colonists, II. 132, 133; breach of the treaty, II. 144; attack at South Kingston, II. 147-151; number of Indian warriors, II. 147, 151; their strength broken and the English victorious, II. 149-151; slaughter of Captain Pierce's party, II. 158, 160; their sachem Canonchet captured, II. 160; a sachem of, executed in Boston, II. 183; relations with the English, II. 186, 187. See *Miantonomo*.

"*Narrative, showing the Manner*," etc., of Philip's War, II. 139, 140.

Narragansett Bay, the, II. 41, 49. See *Narragansett Bay*.

Narragansett River, the, II. 41. See *Narragansett River*.

Nashua, former name of Lancaster, Massachusetts, II. 152; pastorate of Rev. Mr. Rowlandson, II. 152; devastated by the Indians, II. 152, 153. See *Lancaster*.

Nashua River, the, its location, II. 152.

Natick, the site chosen for the general improvement of the Indians, I. 377, 378; a church for Indians established, II. 124; Sausaman employed as schoolmaster at, II. 127; Indians withdrawn to Deer Island, II. 169; Indian settlements, II. 184.

National Capital, the, I. iii; relieved by Massachusetts troops, I. iii.

Naumkeag, former name of Salem, I. 77, 96-98; Endicott leads a party of emigrants to, I. 97; description of, I. 99, 100. See *Salem*.

Naumkeag River, the, alleged boundary of New Hampshire, II. 202.

NAU

- Naunton*, Sir Robert, Secretary of State in England, I. 54; represents the case of the Puritans to the King, I. 54.
- Nauset*, Indian name for what is now Eastham, I. 71; removal of Plymouth people to, I. 393.
- Nausets*, the, tribe of Indians on Cape Cod, I. 29; exasperated against the English, I. 67; agreement of the colonists to pay for corn taken on their arrival, I. 71.
- Naval Office*, the, officers chosen for Boston and other ports, II. 241; proposed establishment in Massachusetts, III. 125; an officer to take charge of ports of entry in Connecticut, III. 211; held by William Tailer, IV. 40; orders sent to the officers in America to enforce the Navigation Laws, IV. 331, 332.
- Navigation Act*, the, I. 405, 406; II. 28; Cromwell's leniency towards New England, I. 405, 406; II. 28; the colonists agree to conform to the requirements of, II. 28; orders sent to New Haven, II. 47; the Royal Commissioners to enforce strictly, II. 61; complaints of the Royal Commissioners, II. 74; the merchants of London irritated at the alleged evasion of, II. 195, 196; Randolph complains of the neglect of, in Massachusetts, II. 201, 211; the Privy Council and Lords of the Committee demand a strict observance of, II. 213, 215; answer of Massachusetts, II. 224; renewed demand of England, II. 232; General Court of Massachusetts orders a strict observance of, II. 241-243; Massachusetts reports obedience to, II. 250, 252; to be observed in Connecticut, II. 283; President Dudley takes the oath of observance of, II. 297; oath of observance taken by Governor Andros, II. 320; complaints of Rhode Island and Connecticut, II. 306; hopes of the colonists in regard to the effect of the change of administration, III. 6; legislation and restriction upon the colonial trade, III. 15; effect of the laws upon the supplies of the colonists, III. 52, 53; letters from Randolph accusing the colonists of neglect of, III. 59, 60; special and new commands laid on Massachusetts, III. 148; Act establishing Courts disallowed by England on account of its interference with, III. 157, 158; to be rigorously enforced in Massachusetts, III. 178, 179; resentment of the General

NEP

- Court of Massachusetts, III. 178, 179; Rhode Island passes an Act for the better observance of, III. 223; neglected by New Hampshire, III. 317, 318; neglected in Rhode Island, III. 330, 331; charges against Connecticut of violation of, III. 339; Bernard gives a varying report, IV. 297, 298; Governor Bernard to attend to the strict execution of, IV. 297, 298; trade forbidden by, carried on to a large extent, IV. 305; orders sent to naval officers in America to enforce strictly, IV. 331, 332; laws neglected in New England, IV. 381; administration of, deleterious to both countries, IV. 381. See *Trade*.
- Navy*, the, position held by John Mason, I. 77.
- Navy of England*, the, II. 58, 79, 262; a present of masts sent from Massachusetts, II. 79; III. 364; the supplies in America to be carefully guarded, III. 345, 364, 365, 380, 381, 424, 425; IV. 73, 200; contracts for naval supplies, III. 365; supplies for, a subject of contention in Massachusetts, III. 380, 381; company formed for trade in supplies for, III. 430; seamen impressed for, IV. 174-178; orders sent from England, IV. 331, 332.
- Navy of France*, the, overpowered by England, IV. 254.
- Neal*, Captain Walter, takes charge of an emigrating colony, I. 218.
- Neale*, Thomas, appointed to take charge of letters and other mail, III. 306; his patent, III. 307, 308.
- Neat Cattle*, I. 292.
- Neck*, the, a strip of land in Boston, I. 119, 129; the preparations of General Gage, IV. 434.
- Needham*, Goodman, the sexton of the Old South Church, II. 323.
- Negroes*, an escaped captive brings news of King Philip, II. 170; brought to Rhode Island, III. 330; number of, in Massachusetts, III. 357; IV. 333; number of, in New Hampshire, III. 424; number of, in Rhode Island, III. 430; IV. 128, 282, 330; number of, in Connecticut, III. 439; IV. 372; converted by the revivals, IV. 120. See *Population*.
- Nelson*, John, his company take command of the party from the Rose frigate, II. 373; his force attacks Andros, II. 373, 374; has charge of the Fort in Boston, II. 375; feeling towards Dudley, III. 277.
- Neponset River*, the, I. 129.

NET

Netherlanders, the, harassed by the navy of England, II. 262.

Netherlands, the, John Smith serves in, I. 8; the "cautionary towns," I. 59; creditable service of Captain Mason, I. 186; war between, and England, I. 366; visited by William III., III. 69, 220.

Nets, I. 82.

Nevis, island of, the affair of John Winslow, II. 366, 367.

New Amsterdam, I. 89; II. 40; former name of New York, I. 89; Dutch settlement on Manhattan Island, I. 89, 90; population of, I. 89, 90; II. 63; land bought of the Indians, I. 90; party from, try to expel the English from their outpost on the Connecticut, I. 146; Roger Williams embarks from, for England, I. 214; trouble with New Haven and Connecticut concerning the encroachments on land, I. 315, 337; furnishes two arbitrators in the case of Governor Stuyvesant, I. 365, 366; peace declared between England and Holland, I. 373; arrival of Quakers, II. 10; arrival of the Royal Commissioners, II. 63; number of population, II. 63; conquest of New Amsterdam by the English, II. 63, 64; the name changed to New York, II. 64; Colonel Nicolls proclaimed Deputy-Governor of, II. 64. See *New Netherland* and *New York*.

New Brunswick, I. 315; to belong to Massachusetts, III. 75.

New Brunswick, town in New Jersey, IV. 87.

New Dublin, I. 315; formerly named *La Hève*, I. 315.

New England, division of its history into periods, I. iii, viii; dates of her three revolutions, I. iii, see *Revolutions*; date of the erection of Gosnold's house, I. iii, 4; Gosnold's expedition, I. iii, 4; nationality of inhabitants, I. iii, iv, ix; date of the beginning of a large foreign immigration, I. iv; number of Puritans in, I. iv; large Irish immigration, I. iv; economical progress of, I. iv, v; resistance offered to the French and Dutch, I. v; her enterprise against Louisburg, I. v; the British Empire upheld by, I. v; political relations of, I. v-viii; the liberty of England due to the Puritans, I. vi, vii; the effort of the ministers for liberty of thought and action, I. vi, vii; preparation for separate national existence, I. vii; beginning of the War of American Independence, I. vii; number of States at the time

NEW

of the War of Independence, I. vii; comparisons drawn from the surrender of King Charles by the Scotch, I. vii; its character permeates England, I. vii; number of Continental troops in the War of Independence, I. vii; contribution of troops in the War of 1861, I. vii, viii, note; her history during the first period, I. viii; the population of, I. viii, ix, 100, 132, 271; II. 82; III. 30, 304, 357; IV. 226, 291, 383; proportion of the inhabitants in the United States descended from, I. ix; large emigration to New York, I. ix; region designated by the name, I. 1, 2; situation of, in relation to longitude, I. 2; visited by the northmen, I. 2; early explorers of, I. 2-18; claimed by England on account of the discoveries of the Cabots, I. 2; II. 58, 259, 314-316; early efforts at settlement, I. 5-17; a map of, drawn by John Smith, I. 16; names of places given by Charles I. in many instances, I. 16; the name given to the country, I. 16; the second permanent American colony, I. 18; its plateaus and mountains, I. 19; condition of things with which the colonists had to cope, I. 19-26; its geography, I. 19-21, 23; climate, rainfall, and salubrity, I. 20-22, 27; fertility and forests, I. 22, 23; mineral wealth, I. 23; medicinal springs and resources, I. 23, 24; food of the early colonists, I. 23, 24; its nuts, fruits, and shrubs, I. 23, 24; fishes, birds, and animals, I. 24-26; its insects and reptiles, I. 26; aboriginal inhabitants of, I. 27-46, see *Indians*; native vegetables, I. 31; language of the New-England Indians, I. 40; deficiency of ritual among the Indians, I. 43; a permanent European colonization, I. 47; debt owed to Puritans, I. 47; religious impulse directs the settlement of, I. 47-49; number of people emigrating to, I. 58, 60, 72, 73, 82, 99, 100, 113, 127, 132, 238; the first Thanksgiving Day, I. 72; formation of the Council for New England, I. 73; schemes of colonization meeting with failure, I. 77; Robert Gorges appointed General Governor of, I. 78; the settlers to be free-holders, I. 86; attempts at settlement by the French and Dutch, I. 89; formation of the Massachusetts Company, I. 97, 98; classes of emigrants, I. 113; General Courts, I. 138; the plan of a General Governor

NEW

for, I. 152, 156, 157, 161, 237, 252, 327; II. 2, 218, 221, 222, 238, 239, 260, 298, 300; III. 55, 56, 64, 164, 233, 400; foreign corporations having the affairs of the colonies in charge, I. 155, 161, 237, 251; II. 30, 93, 194, 195; III. 17, 55, 148; distribution of land attempted by the Council for New England, I. 159-161; municipal system, I. 172, 274-276; proceeding in regard to the formation of churches, I. 172, 173; one of the most ancient settlements in, I. 215; relations of the colonies to one another and to the world abroad, I. 256-268; the Confederation of the colonies and the Articles of Confederation, I. 259-268; Parliament institutes a commission for the government of, I. 267; the power of the Confederacy, I. 269, 314, 362; the government, laws, and social life, I. 269-301; towns of, from a municipal point of view, I. 274-276; number of towns, I. 275; II. 82; first city government, I. 275; judicial authority, I. 276-284; town officers and officers of the State, I. 276, 277; II. 345, 346; laws of, founded in part on English law, I. 282, 283; valuable collections of books, and great love of learning, I. 280, 290, 496; II. 87; exports and imports, I. 293-295, see *Exports and Imports*; roads and ferries, I. 295, 296; III. 307; dwellings and architecture, I. 296, 297; furniture and dress, I. 297, 298; amusements and customs, I. 299-301; influence of the clergy for liberty, I. 323; execution of Charles I., I. 333; position of affairs under Cromwell, I. 363, 404-407; II. 28; III. 302, 303; the southern colonies, I. 381-399; the Cromwells unproclaimed in, II. 1; visited by the Royal Commissioners, II. 55-81; condition of, after forty years, II. 82-99; Act passed under the Cabal Ministry fruitful of mischief to, II. 93, 94; position of the colonies one to another, II. 94, 95; dissolution and renewal of the Confederacy, II. 94-98; number of churches, II. 102; Philip's War, II. 122-193; number of "praying Indians" in, II. 124, see *Indians and Population*; debt incurred by the war, II. 188, 189; her relations with England, II. 188-193; letter from Lord Anglesey to, II. 189; influence of Winthrop and Clarke upon the political destiny of, II. 190-193; the Confederacy weakened, II. 190-193; how regarded by Puritan nobles,

NEW

II. 191; the independence of Massachusetts, II. 193; dispute with England, II. 193-228; possibility of a Dutch alliance, II. 193, 262; political position of England, Holland, and France, II. 197, 198; Edward Randolph to be sent to, with special instructions, II. 198, 199; misrepresented by Randolph, II. 210, 211, 214, 219; Randolph appointed Collector and Searcher of, II. 221, 232; the religious and civil liberties attacked, II. 225, 226; title of the Royal Governor, soon to be appointed, II. 260; no House of Assembly to be permitted in, II. 260, 291, 293, 359, 360; closing scenes of the Confederacy, II. 286, 287; a Provisional Government instituted under President Dudley for, II. 291-313; complaints against, by Randolph, II. 298-304, 306; arrival of Sir Edmund Andros, as General Governor of, II. 313; consolidated under one despotism, II. 314-345; duration of the government of Sir Edmund Andros, II. 314; principles and usurpations of Andros's government, II. 315-318, 321-354; the colonies of Maine, Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut called on to surrender to Andros, III. 331-343; land-titles vacated and taxes extorted, II. 347-350; the people turn to England for relief, II. 350-353; the jurisdiction of Andros increased in extent, II. 355, 356; the government and officers, with their duties, II. 355, 356; the press restrained, II. 356; the seal to be used, II. 356; the cause pleaded by Mather at Court, II. 353-360; petition sent to the King for a House of Assembly, II. 359, 360; the news of the entrance of the Prince of Orange into England, II. 366, 367; the Revolution of the Seventeenth Century, II. 370-386; Andros summoned to surrender, II. 373; temporary resumption of charter governments, II. 378, 386; proclamation of William and Mary as King and Queen of England, II. 379, 380, 382, 385, 386; names of officers of government in, II. 387-399; IV. 441-451; the colonies disabled as bodies politic, III. 1, 2; fading of the dreams of independence, III. 1-3; the charters dissolved, III. 5; questions of importance, III. 5, 6; concerned at the new institution of the principal courts in England, III. 9; germ of the separation from England, III. 13, 14; restrictions imposed on colonial trade, III. 15, 16, 18,

NEW

148, 330, 464; IV. 331, 335, 352, 353, 366, 367, 381, 386, 401, 421; changes in the management of colonial affairs, III. 17, 18; consequences and troubles after the Revolution, III. 19, 53; statistics of Indians, III. 23, 24, see *Population*; series of wars against New France, III. 29; war existing against France, III. 29-147; her population compared with that of New France, III. 30; condition after the despotism of Andros, III. 35; Indian term for, III. 35; taxes rising from the French war, III. 51, 53; principal towns in, III. 81; proposal to renew the expedition against Quebec, III. 82; annoyed with a maritime war, III. 85; Indian wars, III. 85-90; cases of, and executions for witchcraft, III. 90-124; Commissioners seek the aid of the Five Nations, III. 140; the Treaty of Ryswick, III. 146, 381; commercial conditions of, III. 147-149; colonial affairs in charge of a special board in England, III. 148; exemplification of the new law on wools, III. 148; attitude of William III. towards, III. 149; needs of the colonies, III. 152, 153; the charters in danger, III. 179, 180; effort to consolidate the colonies, III. 180, 189; Queen Anne's influence, III. 224; letters describing the government, III. 232, 233; a ten-years war with the French and Indians, III. 233-265; attitude of the Iroquois towards, III. 237; marine conquests, III. 245; the treaty of Utrecht, III. 265, 381; IV. 208; pamphlet entitled "The Deplorable State of New England," III. 283-289; early mail arrangements, III. 305-309; charges against, III. 327, 328; bills of credit, III. 332, 333, see *Bills of Credit*; danger to the charters of, III. 338-341, 453-456; IV. 181; position of Harvard College, III. 343; report of, to George I., III. 348-400; possesses valuable ship-timber and naval supplies, III. 363-375; industries of, III. 367; the culture of the potato, III. 428; a company formed for mining explorations and naval trade, III. 430; Lord Carteret made Secretary of State for the colonies of, III. 454; condition and politics of, III. 463-469; religious condition and revivals, IV. 76-109; the campaign against New France, IV. 147-163; the reduction of Louisburg, IV. 149-164; peace resulting from the capture of Louisburg, IV. 169; the

NEW

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, IV. 169, 178, 179, 195, 262, 284; Louisburg returned to New France, IV. 178-180; scheme of taxation in England offensive to, IV. 180, 181; relations of, with parent country, IV. 198; scheme of colonial union, IV. 200-205, 278; the Governors meet in conventions, IV. 207, 208, 220, 222, 227; comparative security of French and English cities, IV. 226, 227; war declared against France, IV. 227-266, 278-284, 326, 327; the massacre at Fort William Henry, IV. 229-231; the surrender of Canada, IV. 242-255; significance of the conquest of Canada, IV. 266, 267; evils from the rule of the Stuarts, IV. 287, 288; loyal sentiment in, and attitude towards England, IV. 287-307, 314-316, 380-392; scheme of colonial taxation, IV. 328-334, see *Stamp Act and Sugar Act*; the restrictions on trade detrimental to Great Britain, IV. 331, 332, 340; claims immunity from taxation while without representation, IV. 342-346, see *Taxation*; the Committees of Correspondence, IV. 347; origin of the State of Vermont, IV. 351; Circular Letter sent to, from Lord Halifax, IV. 374; unequally matched in the contest with England, IV. 383; attitude towards France and the Dutch in New York, IV. 383, 384; attitude towards the other colonies, IV. 383, 384; feelings aroused by the Second Revolution, IV. 384, 385; the English Ministry fails to comprehend her spirit, IV. 386, 420; forms a non-importation agreement, IV. 387, 388, 420; riots and mobs, IV. 390-394; the First Colonial Congress, IV. 398-403; a new imposition of duties, IV. 410, 411; opposition to the tax on tea, IV. 420, 427; Massachusetts occupies the foremost place in the opposition to England, IV. 426, 427; the reception and disposition of the tea in the different colonies, IV. 428-430; the second General Congress, IV. 433; the troops unite at Boston, IV. 436; the Third Revolution begun, IV. 436-439; the Continental Congress, IV. 439; arrival of General George Washington to take command of the American Army, IV. 439.

New Fairfield, IV. 121.

New France, I. 89, 186; erased from the map of America for a time, I. 89; seeks aid from New England, I. 364; Council of, I. 364; a series of wars with New England, III. 29; objects

NEW

in view in relation to the Indians, III. 29; restoration of Comte de Frontenac, III. 30; population of, III. 30; IV. 226, 251; relation of, to the Iroquois Indians, III. 31-38, 85, see *French*; condition of, at the time of the Revolution, III. 34, 35; attacked by New England, III. 42-52; problem of the conquest of, III. 63; renewal of the expeditions against, III. 81-85; war declared against England, III. 236-265; death of Frontenac and De Callières, III. 237, 238; expedition sent against, under Lord Hill, III. 258-263; ambition of the Tory Ministry in regard to the reduction of, III. 259; letter to Governor Shute, III. 393; avowed alliances with Indians, III. 393, see *French*; war renewed with England, IV. 147-265, 278-286; position and comparative security of French and English forts and cities, IV. 148, 226, 227; questions of boundary, IV. 182, 183; surrender of Canada to the English, IV. 242-254, 326, 433. See *Canada*, *France*, and *French*.

New Hampshire, one of the New England States, I. vii, 1; number of troops furnished in the Revolutionary War, I. vii; IV. 438; number of troops sent to the War of the Rebellion in the United States, I. viii, note; the White Mountains, I. 19; height of Mount Washington, I. 19; fertility and minerals of, I. 23; the moose and other animals, I. 26; almost without inhabitants, I. 27; home of the Pawtucket Indians, I. 29; names given to the tracts of land, I. 77; a portion included in the grants to Mason and Gorges, I. 77, 218; early settlements, I. 78, 88, 214-216, 218, 220; settlement of Cochecho (Dover), I. 78, 88, 89, 215, 220; settlement of Piscataqua (Portsmouth), I. 78, 88, 220; settlement of Exeter, I. 214; population of, I. 214, 215; III. 424; number of towns in, I. 214, 215, 220; the settlement of Hampton, I. 214, 215, 220; the four towns of, I. 214, 215; IV. 268; the question of annexation to Massachusetts, I. 217-220, 270; II. 195, 205-209, 218, 221-223, 233, 238, 269, 290, 291, 304; III. 70, 75, 185-187, 189, 193; IV. 60, 65, 66; Captain Neal's expedition, I. 218; Mason sends a trading company to, I. 218, 219; property granted to Mason's grandsons, I. 218, 219; III. 187; two Deputies to be sent to the Court at Boston, I. 219, 220, 273, 274;

NEW

early government of, I. 219, 220, 268-281; her four towns form a county of Massachusetts, I. 220; freemen and Deputies exempt from being church-members, I. 220; independent plantations in, I. 270; office of Governor and Deputy-Governor, I. 271-274; the Deputies, I. 273, 274, see *Deputies*; Assistants of, I. 273, 274, 277, see *Assistants* and *Counsellors*; duties of towns, I. 274, 275; town officers, I. 276, 277, 287, 288; manner of taking an oath, I. 277, 278; Courts of, I. 277; II. 268, 269, see *Courts*; religion, education, and social life, I. 285-301; destruction of towns in Philip's War, II. 174; large numbers of Indians taken prisoners by Major Waldron, II. 176, 177, 183, 184; the complaints of Gorges and Mason, II. 195; matters pertaining to the settlement of the claims of Mason, II. 196, 197, 204-224, 236, 243, 269-274; III. 187, 188, 190, 191, 428, 429; visited by Randolph, II. 202, 235; agents sent to England to further the claims of Massachusetts to New Hampshire, II. 205-209; the King refuses the colony permission to belong to Massachusetts, II. 218, 221, 222, 232, 233; decision in England regarding its ruler, II. 227, 231, 236, 240, 267; arrival of John Mason with the royal letter of decision, II. 236; agents sent to England to expose the injustice of Mason's claim, II. 243; the new government of, II. 267-277; created a royal province, II. 267; III. 188, 200, 209; John Cutts made president of, II. 267, 393; arrival of Mason to look after his claims, II. 269; death of President Cutts, II. 270; Richard Waldron elected President, II. 270, 393; the Privy Council advises a remodelling of the government, II. 270; Mason forms a plot with Cranfield, II. 270, 271; land claimed by Mason, and trouble made about the rents, II. 270, 271, 273, 274; Cranfield made Governor, and Waldron deposed, II. 271, 393; new code of laws promulgated, II. 271, 272; the despotism of Cranfield, II. 271-274; the alliance between Mason and Cranfield broken, II. 272; rage at the proceedings of Cranfield, and rebellion of Gove, II. 273; taxes assessed by Cranfield, II. 274-276; preparations for war, II. 275; Cranfield receives notice to depart from, II. 275-277; mob in the towns, II. 276; Walter Barefoote assumes the government,

NEW

II. 277, 304, 393; to come under the new Provisional Government, II. 290, 291; pacific arrangements made with Indians, II. 304; arrival of the royal Governor, Major Andros, II. 318; the Counsellors under Governor Andros, II. 333, 398, 399; the Revolution of the Seventeenth Century, II. 370-386; names of Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and Governors, II. 393; IV. 450; names of Deputy-Governors, II. 394; IV. 450; names of Assistants or Counsellors, II. 394; IV. 450, 451; her position and condition undefined, III. 2; the butchery of Major Waldron, III. 24-27; Indian cruelties, III. 25-27, 40, 41, 139, 140, 189, 190, 192, 196, 254; petitions to be placed under Massachusetts, III. 70, 75, 187, 189; IV. 60, 65, 66; Bellomont made Governor of, III. 151, 153; IV. 450; scheme of a general government for New England, III. 153, see *Governor*; interest of the King in her government, III. 180; her relations with Massachusetts, III. 185, 186; effect of the Revolution on the government of, III. 187; transfer of Mason's claims to Samuel Allen, III. 187, 188; Samuel Allen appointed Governor of, III. 188, 450; John Usher elected Lieutenant-Governor of, III. 188; IV. 450; condition and poverty of, III. 189, 190, 195, 248; feud between Lieutenant-Governor Usher and Governor Phipps, III. 191; Phipps demands assistance to search deserters, III. 192; William Partridge appointed Lieutenant-Governor, III. 194; IV. 450; Lord Bellomont takes the oath of office as Governor, III. 194, 450; claim of Usher, III. 195; claim of Allen to be Chief Magistrate of, III. 195; feud of Allen with Partridge, III. 195; Lord Bellomont confirms Partridge in his office, III. 195; matters pertaining to titles of land, III. 197; displeasure among the Lords of Trade, III. 197, 198; receives aid from Connecticut, III. 202; authority of Governor Phipps over the militia, III. 219; Indian treaty, III. 235, 236; joins in the expedition against Port Royal, III. 250-253; tolls on the Piscataqua, III. 276; petition to remove Governor Dudley from office, III. 282; her revenue, III. 305; reception of Dudley as Governor, III. 317, 318; Usher reappointed Lieutenant-Governor of, III. 318, 319; claims of Governor Allen, in

NEW

regard to the lands of Mason, III. 318-321, 323; Address to the King petitioning for the reappointment of Dudley, III. 324; letters describing, from Vaughan and Dudley, III. 324; matters relating to naval supplies and the plunder of timber, III. 365-370, 429, 430; IV. 67, 200, 256, 257, see *Woods*; the Chief Magistrate obtains a ratification of the Indian treaty, III. 413; opinion of the Privy Council to settle a salary on the Governor, III. 423; her productions and industries, III. 424, 428; exports and imports, III. 424; litigation with Governor Allen, III. 424, 425; employ George Vaughan to maintain the claims to land, III. 425; arrival of Lieutenant-Governor Vaughan, III. 425, 426; bills of credit offered, III. 426; IV. 258, 270; quarrel between Governors Shute and Vaughan, III. 426, 427; removal of Vaughan from office, III. 427; John Winthrop made Lieutenant-Governor of, III. 427; IV. 450; extension of its limits, III. 427, 428; new towns laid out, III. 429; money granted to Governor Shute, III. 429; desire of England to annex Rhode Island and Connecticut to, III. 431, 432; her unprotected condition, III. 432, 463, 464; trouble in the case of Jeremiah Fitch, III. 449, 450; plan of annexing Rhode Island and Connecticut to, III. 452; aid received from Connecticut in the Indian Wars, III. 465; appointment of Governor Burnet, IV. 1, 2, 450; Belcher made Governor of, IV. 40, 450; questions of boundary, IV. 41, 52, 66-72, 269, 271, 358-361; the law regarding Representatives, IV. 59; presence and absence of Governor Burnet, IV. 59-61; election of a Speaker disallowed by the Lieutenant-Governor, IV. 60; the fixed salary granted to the Governor, IV. 60, 61; affairs of, blended with those of Massachusetts during Governor Belcher's administration, IV. 61; Wentworth's death, IV. 61; David Dunbar succeeds Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth in office, IV. 61, 63, 450; Dunbar appointed Surveyor of the Woods, IV. 61, 67; claim of Dunbar concerning the rule, IV. 63, 64; efforts to obtain the removal of Dunbar, IV. 64, 65; emptiness of the Treasury, IV. 64, 65; effort renewed to obtain the election of Henry Sherburne, IV. 65, 66; Dunbar goes to England, IV. 65; agent sent to England, IV.

NEW

66, 67; affairs left in the hands of John Tomlinson, IV. 67; dislike of, and removal of Governor Belcher, IV. 72-74, 120, 136; recruiting for the Spanish war, IV. 138; the conquest of Louisburg, IV. 153, 156, 159-164, 259, 264; importance of defending Nova Scotia, IV. 199, 200; a scheme of colonial union and Indian alliance, IV. 200-205; danger from the French, IV. 213; encounter of troops with Dieskau, IV. 217-220; the last Governor of, in common with Massachusetts, IV. 256; Wentworth to be Surveyor of the Woods, IV. 256, 257; the government conferred on Mr. Benning Wentworth, IV. 256, 257, 450; part taken in the attack against Louisburg, IV. 257-260; Indian ravages, IV. 261, 265-267; the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, IV. 262; the rangers under Rogers and Stark, IV. 263, 264; influence of the confidence in Pitt, IV. 264; troops under Zaccheus Lovewell, IV. 264, 265; conquest of Canada, IV. 266, 267; matters pertaining to land-titles, IV. 267-269; dispute of Wentworth with the Deputies, IV. 269-271; salary of Governor Wentworth, IV. 270; war subsidy received from England, IV. 270, 271; the question of resuming specie payment, IV. 270, 271; improved condition of the colony, IV. 271; claims of Wentworth overlooked by Governor Shirley, IV. 273; forms of government under William III., IV. 288, 289; scheme of government proposed by Bernard, IV. 298, 299; removals from Massachusetts, IV. 334; limits of territory west of the Connecticut, IV. 358; land grants for townships, IV. 358, 359; the New Hampshire grants, IV. 358-361; original grant to the province, IV. 359; new towns laid out, IV. 359, 360; origin of Vermont, IV. 361; foundation of Dartmouth College, IV. 361, 362; Writs of Assistance granted by the Superior Court, IV. 362; opposition to the Stamp Act, IV. 395, 396, see *Stamp Act*; holds aloof from the Colonial Congress, IV. 399; affairs relating to the execution of the Stamp Act, IV. 427; accession of Governor John Wentworth, IV. 428, 450; disposal of the cargoes of tea, IV. 428, 429; readiness for action in war, IV. 435, 436; sends troops to Boston, IV. 438.

New Hampshire Grants, the, IV. 358-361.

NEW

New Hartford, settlement of, IV. 121.

New Haven, I. 192; the place called Quinnipiack, I. 226; founded by Eaton, Davenport, and others, I. 226-229; II. 100, 191; views of Rev. Mr. Davenport, I. 226-228; II. 18, 19, 100-103; purchase of the land from the Indians, I. 227; its government, I. 227-231, 269-272, 274, 276, 282-284, 287, 288, 399; II. 343, see *Courts*, *General Court* and *Laws*; its Magistrates and Deputies, I. 228, see *Assistants*, *Deputies*, and *Magistrates*; population of, I. 228, 231, 232, 271; the "Freeman's Charge," I. 228; ecclesiastical system of, I. 228, 285-289; II. 100; towns founded under the auspices of new-comers, I. 229, 230; Theophilus Eaton chosen Governor, with Stephen Goodyear for Deputy-Governor, I. 231; II. 391; the officers of government and their duties, I. 231; property of, I. 232; plantations of Connecticut interposed between the Dutch and, I. 234; the Confederation of the colonies, I. 256-268; suffers annoyance from the Dutch, I. 261; laws and social life of the colony, I. 269-301, 399; admission of members to the body of freemen, I. 271, 272; number of towns in, I. 275, 398; the "Blue Laws," I. 282, 399; free schools, I. 289, 399; houses, I. 297; news of a massacre planned, I. 303; projects a factory on the Delaware, I. 314; settlers from, maltreated by the Swedes, I. 314, 315; complaints of the Swedes made to the Confederacy, I. 315; the Dutch apply to, for aid, I. 315; request for aid from the Swedes, refused, I. 315; letter from the Dutch Governor complains of encroachments, I. 337; the controversy with the Dutch given in charge to the home governments, I. 337, 338, 364, 365; furnishes men for the Indian war, I. 348; a tax levied on her vessels under certain conditions, I. 355; messengers from New France arrive at, I. 364; renewed quarrel of New Netherland with Connecticut and New Haven, concerning encroachments on land, I. 364-373, 398; the effort to settle on the Delaware, I. 366; dissensions in the Confederacy caused by the quarrel with the Dutch, I. 366-373; Dutch prize brought in by the privateers, I. 384; character of Indian near, I. 394; desires Dr. Winthrop to join the settlement, I. 395; public ex-

NEW

penditures, I. 398; projects a College, I. 398; position of Theophilus Eaton, I. 408; the death of Governor Eaton, I. 408; proceedings of the Quakers at, II. 16; refuses to join in the Synod at Boston, II. 18, 19, 100; the search for the regicides harbored in the colony, II. 23-26, 42, 43; Deputy-Governor Leete becomes Chief Magistrate of, II. 24, 391; removal of the regicides from, II. 25; proclaims Charles II., II. 33; endeavor to obtain a charter similar to that of Massachusetts, II. 40; a charter given to Connecticut, covering her territory, II. 40-42; its political life threatened with termination, II. 41-44; Mr. Winthrop's conduct discussed, II. 41-45, 50, 190-192; the civil franchise, and church-membership, II. 42; her relations with Connecticut, II. 43-47, 95; desires delay, concerning the administration of the charter of Connecticut, II. 44, 45; contentions about the charter, II. 44-48; grief of Rev. Mr. Davenport at the change of government, II. 44, 45, 100, 101; committee appointed, to draw an answer for the General Assembly of Connecticut, II. 45; election of officers, II. 47, issues a Declaration, attempting to reunite the colony, II. 47; the treatise, "New Haven's Case Stated," II. 47, 48; result of the loss of the colony from the Confederacy, II. 55, 65, 80, 94-99, 193; possibility of, belonging to New York, II. 64, 65; decisions of the Royal Commissioners, II. 64, 66; yields to the claim of Connecticut, II. 64-67, 82; Magistrates of, become Assistants of Connecticut, II. 67; its jurisdiction complimented, II. 80; her government absorbed in that of Connecticut, II. 82, 94, 192; effort to reconstruct the Confederacy, II. 94-99; Davenport invited to settle in Boston, II. 101; Governor Leete serves in Connecticut, II. 115, 284; King Philip's War, II. 122-198; claims of Lord Say and Sele, II. 191; arrival of Governor Andros, to rule over New England, II. 313, 317; conference held at, regarding the submission to Governor Andros, II. 338, 339; courts established by Governor Andros, II. 343; the Revolution of the seventeenth century, II. 370-386; month in which elections were held, II. 391; names of the Governors and Deputy-Governors, II. 391, 392; names of Magistrates or Assistants, II. 391, 392; names of

NEW

the Commissioners of the Confederacy, II. 394-398; effect upon Connecticut of the deposition of Andros, III. 198-200; autumnal meetings of the General Court of Connecticut, III. 208; William Jones becomes Deputy-Governor of Connecticut, III. 208; IV. 445; movement to establish Yale College, III. 343, 344, 443, see *Yale College*; fisheries of, III. 439; offer of money for the erection of a College building, III. 442, 443; the cost and erection of Yale College, III. 442, 443; Elihu Yale a native of, III. 443; meeting of the General Assembly, III. 449; the Act pertaining to riots, III. 449, 450; the religious work of Whitefield, IV. 111, 112; characteristics of, IV. 121; gift from Bishop Berkeley to the College at, IV. 133; influx of French Neutrals, IV. 279, 280; Ingersoll obliged to resign his office as Stamp Distributor, IV. 396, 397.

"*New Haven's Case Stated*," II. 47, 48.

New Jersey, II. 64, 87, 90, 94; posts of settlement taken by the English, II. 64; receives the name of Albania, II. 64; commissioners from, seek an alliance with the Five Nations, III. 140; Governor Bellomont to be ruler over, III. 150, 151, 153; her charter endangered, III. 454; appointment of Governor William Burnet, IV. 1; commissioners appointed to settle questions of boundary, IV. 68-72; Belcher made Governor of, during sixteen years, IV. 75; payment of war expenses, IV. 167; scheme of colonial union and alliance with the Indians, IV. 200-205; Thomas Pownall made Lieutenant-Governor of, IV. 232; Francis Bernard succeeds Governor Belcher in office, IV. 255; call for troops to serve against Canada, IV. 280; commissioners appointed to settle the Rhode Island boundaries, IV. 286; administration of Governor Bernard, IV. 296; the Governor a natural son of Benjamin Franklin, IV. 399; the Colonial Congress, IV. 399-403; inquiry into the action against the Gaspey, IV. 423. See *Jerseys*, and *East and West Jersey*.

"*New Lights*," the, IV. 132.

New London, town of. I. 396; II. 148, 160; III. 440, 457, 459; IV. 128; proceedings of Andros, II. 343; fortifications erected, III. 202; meeting of Governors, III. 334; interest in fishing, III. 439; dispute about Mohegan lands, III. 456; action of

NEW

the government against a certain society, IV. 126; the harbor of, fortified anew, IV. 271; a Spanish vessel robbed, IV. 277, 278.

"*New London Society united for Trade and Commerce*," the, IV. 126.

New Netherland, I. 89, 213, 230; purchase of Manhattan Island, I. 89, 90; population of, I. 89, 90; II. 63; complaints of encroachments upon the territory of, I. 315, 336-338, 364-366; Governor Kieft succeeded by Governor Stuyvesant, I. 337; unpleasant rumors of the Dutch, I. 366, 367, 373; arrival of troops in Boston for the conquest of, I. 373, 396, 398; news of peace between England and Holland, I. 373, 374; no proof of the alleged conspiracy with the Indians, I. 373; officers commissioned to serve against, I. 388; preparations of Plymouth against, I. 392; Cromwell's plan of conquest of, I. 392, 396, 398; search for the regicides, II. 23, 24; instructions of the Royal Commissioners, II. 62; conquest of, by the English, II. 63, 64; receives the name of New York, II. 64; Colonel Nicolls proclaimed Deputy-Governor of New York, II. 64; Nicolls succeeded by Governor Lovelace, II. 98; recapture of, by the Dutch, II. 98, 99. See *New Amsterdam* and *New York*.

New Plymouth, I. 17. See *Plymouth*.

New Scotland, I. 78. See *Nova Scotia*.

New Shoreham, III. 430; IV. 129.

New Tenor, the term used in connection with bills of credit, IV. 190.

New Testament, the, translated into the Indian language, II. 27.

New York, I. ix; II. 129; III. 24, 29, 126, 203, 204, 248; IV. 20, 27, 217, 411; the population of, largely the descendants from New England, I. ix; number of the population, I. 89; II. 63; first collection of settlements, I. 89; former name of, I. 89; price paid to the Indians for Manhattan Island, I. 90; territory granted to, east of the Hudson River, ten miles wide, I. 366; III. 71; IV. 358, 359; ancient right of the King, II. 58; the territory given to the Duke of York by the King, II. 58, 59, 117, 118, 332; IV. 359, see *James II.*; instructions given to the Royal Commissioners relating to, II. 58, 59, 62; arrival of the Royal Commissioners, II. 63, 64; captured by

NEW

the English, II. 63, 64; the name given to New Netherland, II. 64; Nicolls proclaimed the Deputy-Governor of the Duke of York, II. 64; meeting of Commissioners to settle boundary questions, II. 66; matters relating to boundaries, II. 66; III. 71, 213, 214, 336, 450-453; IV. 68-72, 286, 358-361; Nicolls detained at, II. 67; Clarke confers with the Royal Commissioners, II. 69; departure and return of Nicolls, II. 71, 77; Maverick fixes his home in the Broad Way, II. 78; recaptured by the Dutch, II. 98, 99, 116; consequences to Massachusetts of the Dutch conquest, II. 108; conditions of peace between England and Holland, II. 116, 117; restitution of, to the English, II. 117; arrival of Sir Edmund Andros to serve as Governor, and Lieutenant of the Duke of York, II. 117, 180, 332; Andros to be Governor of, II. 117; Randolph arrives in, II. 231; attempt to engage the Mohawks as aids, II. 275; question of the annexation of Connecticut, II. 310-313, 339; grants of land in Cornwall unjustly appropriated by English parties in, II. 332; Dongan succeeds Andros as Governor of, II. 332; visit of Andros to, II. 348; Governor Dongan sends his deputies to Cornwall County, II. 354; included in New England, II. 355, 356; the Deputy-Governor of New England to reside at, II. 355; its seal to be destroyed, II. 356; conduct of the people in, regarding the accession of William III. to the British Throne, II. 383; III. 35, 136, 137, 201, 202, 296; plan for the capture of, by the French, III. 30; the State possessed largely by the Iroquois, III. 31; lack of proper support against the French, III. 34, 231, 255, 331; its condition at the time of the accession of William III., III. 35; Indians call the planters Corléar, III. 36, 38; alarm from Indians, III. 41; plan of the attack against Quebec, III. 42, 44, 45; confusion among the troops, III. 46; scheme of a General Governor for, III. 55, 56, 153; Dudley to be Counsellor of, III. 62; rumors concerning Episcopacy set before the King, III. 64; plan of annexing Plymouth, III. 70, 80, 81; concurrence of troops against the enemy, III. 79; desire of Canada for revenge, III. 84; persons hanged and burned under the pressure of delusion, III. 113, 114;

NEW

action of Jacob Leisler, and the treatment received by him from Dudley, III. 136, 137, 181, 201, 202, 296; Gouverneur found guilty of murder, III. 137; messengers seek for Indian aid, III. 140; embarkation for, of Lord Bellomont, III. 150, 151; landing of Lord Bellomont, III. 154, 155, 196, 208, 209; torn by factions, III. 159; death of Lord Bellomont, III. 160, 175, 176; story of Captain Kidd, III. 165-167; Dudley serves as Chief-Justice of, III. 181, 225; the frontier to be protected, III. 195; plan of the Privy Council for annexing Connecticut, III. 199; forces sent from Connecticut to aid Leisler, III. 201, 202; result of the permission given to the Governor, to command the forces of Connecticut and Rhode Island, III. 205-208, 218-221, 331, 333; IV. 292; the effort of Governor Fletcher to control the Connecticut militia, III. 205-208; IV. 292; alliance with the Indians, III. 231, 255; Colonel Robert Quarry appointed Judge of Admiralty, III. 232; Lord Cornbury appointed Governor of, III. 235; her neutrality in the Indian wars, III. 255, 331; arrival of Governor Lovelace, III. 255; plan of conquest of Nova Scotia urged by Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson, III. 256, 257; Governor Hunter, III. 260; early mail arrangements, III. 303-309; erects monuments to mark certain boundary lines, III. 336, 451; exports and imports of, III. 345; mining interests, III. 440; transfer of Governor Burnet from New York to Massachusetts and New Hampshire, IV. 1, 2; value of shipping interests, IV. 20; the revivals, IV. 85, 86, 90, 111; officers sought by Shirley, IV. 135, 137, 138; part taken in the capture of Louisburg, IV. 153, 166, 167; payment of war expenses, IV. 167; troops to be furnished for the new plan of conquest, IV. 171; Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey, IV. 200; scheme of colonial union suggested by Dr. Franklin, IV. 200-205; the conference of Governors, IV. 222, 228, 227; letter from England concerning Shirley's removal, IV. 224; Governor Hardy, IV. 224; comparative security of French and English cities, IV. 226, 227; plan of campaign against the French, IV. 227, 228; unsuccessful undertaking of Lord Loudoun, IV. 228, 229; Governor, Sir Danvers

NEW

Osborne, IV. 232; arrogance of Lord Loudoun, IV. 233; part of her troops raised in Connecticut, IV. 279; call for troops, IV. 280; relations with New England, IV. 291; protest of the Governor against the land grants of New Hampshire, IV. 359; jurisdiction claimed over land west of the Connecticut, IV. 360; trade with Connecticut, IV. 373; the fur-traders, IV. 383; the Dutch element, IV. 383, 384; the colonial Congress, IV. 398-403; organized resistance proposed against unjust taxation, IV. 404; action of the Congress reported in England, IV. 406; inquiry into the action against the Gaspee, IV. 422, 423; disposal of the cargoes of tea, IV. 428; her politics fluctuating, IV. 433. See *New Amsterdam* and *New Netherland*.

Newberry, Walter, one of the Counsellors under Governor Andros from Rhode Island, II. 334, 339.

Newbury, II. 14; III. 81, 318; disturbance of the Quakers at, II. 14; reception given to Pepperell, IV. 168.

Newburyport, death of Whitefield, IV. 101.

Newcastle, I. vii.

Newcastle, Duke of, Thomas, third Earl of Lincoln, I. 106.

Newcastle, the Duke of, Secretary of State, in England, III. 418; IV. 135; petition from Mr. Cooke, III. 418; report of Dummer to, III. 420; communications from Governor Burnet, concerning the fixed salary, IV. 17, 20, 26; assurances of Governor Belcher, IV. 40; solicitation of Tailer, IV. 41; correspondence mutually accusing Governors Belcher and Dunbar, IV. 62, 65, 67; correspondence with Governor Shirley in reference to affairs in New England and New France, IV. 135, 137, 138, 143, 170, 171, 180; the letter from James Bowdoin, IV. 136, 137; his intention with regard to Shirley, IV. 137, 138; letter from Mrs. Shirley, IV. 138, 139; retirement from office, IV. 236; resumes office, and fills the position in the front ranks of the Ministry, IV. 236; Vaughan's ambitions, IV. 260; the "Letter to two Great Men," IV. 294.

Newcastle, town of, III. 320, 324.

Newfoundland, I. 2, 77; III. 268; visited by the Cabots, I. 2; visited by early explorers, I. 3; colonies of England in, III. 14; rumor of an attack from the French, IV. 318,

NEW

319; its government, IV. 326, 327; rights of fishermen, IV. 326; matters of trade, IV. 333, 365.

Newhouse, Thomas, a Quaker, creates a disturbance in a church, II. 15.

Newichwannock River, questions of boundary, IV. 69.

Newington Green, II. 299, 344.

Newman, Francis, confers with Stuyvesant, I. 367.

Newport, the Island of Aquetnet purchased from the Indians, I. 211, 212; government of the colony, I. 211-213; name given to, by its founder, William Coddington, I. 212; population of, I. 212, 390; III. 330; IV. 364, 365; the General Court to meet at, I. 213; constitutes one community with Portsmouth, I. 343; patent of Roger Williams unites it with the Providence Plantations, I. 344; the ruling of the community, I. 344-347; Coddington sails for England, I. 344, 381; return of Coddington with a new instrument of government, I. 381; opposition to Coddington's scheme, I. 382, 383, 386, 387; Coddington's commission revoked by the machinations of Joan Clarke, I. 387, 388; returns to the early government of Williams, I. 389, 390; number of freemen in, I. 390; III. 330; trouble caused by the Quakers, II. 11; sends delegates to the debate on the questions in regard to the rites of baptism, II. 104, 105; visited by George Fox, II. 118; belongs to Rhode Island, II. 114; IV. 129; attempt of Dudley to conceal his whereabouts, II. 375, 376; conduct of the people on the removal of Andros, II. 383; visited by Governor Dudley, III. 325; Mr. Byfield hooted at in the streets, III. 326; schools at, III. 331; IV. 133; number uniting in the expedition against Canada, III. 332; delegates sent to the General Assembly, III. 430; Episcopal church organized, III. 435; Jahleel Brenton assists Yale College, III. 443; Whitefield's preaching, IV. 81, 82; a battery and fort erected, IV. 130; arrival and residence of Bishop Berkeley, IV. 132, 133; the origin of the Redwood Library, IV. 133; denominations of churches and religious statistics, IV. 134; joyful acknowledgment of the surrender of Louisburg, IV. 163, 167; private armed ships from, IV. 282; political position occupied by Governor Hopkins,

NIN

IV. 368; the riot at, IV. 368, 369; effigies of Johnson and others, hanged, IV. 396.

Newport County, in Rhode Island, III. 453; towns constituting, IV. 129.

Newport Harbor, I. 212; one of the King's officers receives rough treatment, IV. 368, 369; Fort George dismantled, IV. 435, 436.

Newspapers, the first, in British America, III. 283; the only sheet in North America in 1720, III. 316; the "Boston Post-Boy," IV. 164; Samuel Adams a frequent writer in, IV. 337; requirements of the Stamp Act, IV. 376.

Newton, Sir Isaac, influence on Governor Burnet, IV. 2.

Newton, Thomas, signer of the Memorial against Dudley, III. 283.

Newtown, former name of Cambridge, I. 119, 123, 248; plan of fortifying, I. 125; increase of settlers, I. 127; establishment of a church under Revs. Hooker and Stone, I. 134, 179, see *Church of Cambridge*; a place of meeting for the General Court, I. 172; people wish to settle in Connecticut, I. 178-183; a Synod and an excited open-air meeting, I. 200-205; powder and arms removed to, I. 208; receives the name of Cambridge, I. 248. See *Cambridge*.

Newtown Common, I. 202.

Niagara, Fort. See *Fort Niagara*.

Niagara River, the, IV. 208.

Nicholson, Captain, Lieutenant-Governor of New York, III. 256; disastrous expedition against Canada, III. 256-258, 260, 447; leads a force towards Lake Champlain, III. 263; letter to Lord Bolingbroke, III. 313, 314; introduces William Tailer in England, III. 316; expedition renewed against Canada III. 332; the surrender of Nova Scotia, III. 381; placed in charge of Nova Scotia, III. 382.

Nicolls, Colonel Richard, one of the Royal Commissioners, II. 58, 59, 71; possession taken of New York, II. 63, 64; proclaimed Deputy-Governor of New York, II. 64, 98; detained at New York, II. 67, 281; resides at New York, II. 77.

"*Nil desperandum, Christo duce*," legend for colors, furnished by Whitefield, IV. 155.

Niles, Samuel, first college graduate in Rhode Island, III. 331.

Ninigret, sachem of the Nyanatics, I. 349, 366; unites with Pessacus in the truce, I. 349, 350; message sent

NIP

- to, from Boston, I. 366, 367, 371; alarming conduct of, I. 373-375; assists the English in Philip's War, II. 160.
- Nipmucks*, the, I. 29; II. 168; assist the Indians in Philip's War, II. 182-186; surrender themselves to the English, II. 170, 173; their sachem a perfidious Indian, II. 182, 183; death of several of, II. 183; their probable policy, II. 186; relations with the whites, II. 187, 188.
- Nipnets*, the, I. 29, 181.
- Noddle's Island*, dwelling-place of Samuel Maverick, I. 89, 203; visited by Sir Henry Vane, I. 203; meetings held by a party of Baptists, II. 104; large numbers of troops camped here, III. 261.
- Non-conformists*, the, I. 47, 100, 101, 162; II. 299; origin of the party, I. 47, 48; proceedings against, in England, II. 91, 92, 210; III. 11, 12, 361, 369, 360; advance toward Separatists' ground, I. 92-94; attitude of Parliament towards, I. 92, 93; correspondence of Mayhew and Hollis, IV. 324-326. See *Dissenters* and *Puritans*.
- Nonsuch*, the, III. 135, 191, 192; deserters from, III. 192.
- Nookhik*, a species of food eaten by the Indians, I. 32.
- Norfolk*, England, a company from, found the town of Southhold, I. 230.
- Norfolk County*, Massachusetts, I. 256.
- Normanby*, Marquesses of, III. 312.
- Norridgewock*, dwelling-place of Sebastian Raskle, and a Jesuit station for Indians, III. 139, 238, 386, 387, 405; attacked by the English, III. 389, 391, 392, 395, 405, 406, 408-410.
- Norridgewock Indians*, the, III. 390; attacked and captured, III. 407-409; French intrigues, III. 410, 411; friendly compact made, III. 412.
- Norris*, Rev. Mr., settled at Salem, I. 357; trouble concerning his election sermons, I. 357, 360.
- North*, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, II. 211; verdict concerning the derelictions of Massachusetts and the Mason and Gorges claims, II. 211, 212.
- North*, Lord, becomes Prime Minister, IV. 420; brings a bill for the repeal of all duties on imported goods except tea, IV. 420; his misconception of affairs in the colonies, IV. 420, 421.
- North America*, I. v, 1-3, 10-16, 104, 105, 110; II. 86-90, 112, 118, 240,

NOR

- 241, 318, 319, 332, 355; III. 149, 283-289, 367, 428, 429; IV. 172, 173, 197, 227, 410; the British Empire in, preserved by the power of New England, I. v; overthrow of the Slave Power, I. viii; discovered by the Cabots, I. 2; II. 58, 259, 314, 316; founding of the colony of Virginia, I. 6, 7, 10, 11; the second permanent colony in, I. 18; the animal and vegetable kingdoms, I. 24-26; the aborigines, I. 27-46; classification of the Indians in eastern North America, I. 28, 29; France stricken from the map of, I. 89; the two oldest Colleges in, I. 247; the Confederacy of New England the strongest power in, I. 269, 314; population of the commercial capital, when captured by the British, II. 63, 64; Boston the principal town in, II. 85; remarks of Adam Smith on the dealings of England with her colonies in, III. 14, 15; newspapers, III. 283, 316; introduction of the potato, III. 428; contest for political independence, III. 468, 469; importance of the conquest of Louisbourg, IV. 169; law in relation to private banking, IV. 189, 190; oppressive colonial system, IV. 194; French claims to territory, IV. 199, 251-254; scheme of colonial union in, IV. 200-206, 278, 279, 293; origin of the religion, habits, etc., of New England, IV. 292; white population of, IV. 294; the United Colonies, IV. 404; growth of the United States, IV. 404; General Gage Commander-in-Chief of the King's forces, IV. 431; George Washington to be General-in-Chief of the armies of, IV. 439.
- North Battery*, the, IV. 164, 165.
- North Carolina*, I. 28; the Algonquin Indians, I. 28; the Colonial Congress, IV. 398, 399.
- North Church*, IV. 77; occasion of an earthquake, IV. 77; Cotton Mather settled over, IV. 77.
- North End*, the, revivals and evening lectures, IV. 88.
- North Haven*, the ministers conform to the Church of England, III. 444.
- North Kingston*, town in King's County, IV. 129; Episcopal congregation, IV. 134.
- North Square*, action of the mob, IV. 393.
- North Virginia*, I. 15.
- Northampton*, II. 83, 143, 162; unsuccessful assault upon, II. 157; Indian attack, III. 245, 246; ministry of Mr. Samuel Stoddard, IV. 77;

NOR

- Rev. Jonathan Edwards settled in, IV. 78, 79; the revival of religion, IV. 78-80, 85, 111; scheme of a College at, IV. 325.
- Northamptonshire*, I. 179.
- Northfield*, former name of, II. 138; Indian attacks, II. 138, 139; III. 406; the settlement abandoned, II. 139, 141; religious awakening, IV. 79.
- Northwest Passage*, the, I. 3.
- Norton*, Rev. John, his influence for liberty, I. vi, 323; his arrival in America, I. 240; settled at Ipswich, I. 318; one of a party to remonstrate with Winthrop, I. 318; desires a permanent system of supervision of the churches, I. 329-331; chosen to be election preacher, I. 357; IV. 76; opposition to the Quakers, II. 7, 11; sent as agent to England, from Massachusetts, II. 31, 32; return to Boston, II. 33; report concerning the agency, II. 33, 34, 60, 68, 73; his death, II. 34, 35, 101; complaint of England at the neglect of the order brought by, II. 60, 68, 73.
- Norwalk*, settlement of, I. 396.
- Norwich*, home of Captain John Mason, II. 148; troops sent from, II. 160; surrender of Indians, II. 167; revivals in, IV. 111.
- Notary*, a, I. 228.
- Notes*, application of the Stamp Act, IV. 376.
- Nottingham*, Earl of, Secretary of State in England, III. 8, 9; his religious influence and position, III. 11; to prepare a warrant for the King's signature to the new charter, III. 70, 71; report of Usher about New Hampshire, III. 189, 190; letter from Dudley to, III. 268.
- Nottingham*, town of, III. 429.
- Nottinghamshire*, I. 48, 59.
- Nourse*, Rebecca, tried and executed for witchcraft, III. 97, 99, 100; the excommunication from the church revoked, III. 100, 106.
- Nouvelle*. See *De Nouvelle*.
- Nova Scotia*, I. 1; patent obtained for, by Sir W. Alexander, I. 78; fur trade in, I. 315; surrenders to the French, II. 279; III. 75; Port Royal captured by a party under Sir William Phipps, III. 42, 381; petition to add it to Massachusetts, III. 70; provisions of the new charter, III. 71, 72-75; to belong to Massachusetts Bay, III. 71, 75, 381; fought for by the French, and English, III. 81, 82, 250-253, 255-257, 332, 355; IV. 172; plan

NOW

- for the conquest of Quebec, III. 133, 134; English policy towards Massachusetts, III. 186; letter from Governor Villebon, III. 237; captured by Nicholson, III. 257, 258, 381; the cession of Nova Scotia to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht, III. 257, 258, 381; IV. 208; the French Neutrals, III. 257, 258; IV. 186, 208; affair of William Rouse, Vetch, and others, III. 277-281; exasperation against Dudley, III. 294, 295; résumé of its political position under the different treaties, III. 381, 382; Indian outbreaks, III. 389, 406; threats of Massachusetts, III. 410, 411; friendly compact with Indians, III. 412; scheme of settlements by Coram, IV. 61, 62; commission to settle the boundary between New Hampshire and Massachusetts, IV. 68-72; the conquest of Louisbourg and Cape Breton, IV. 147-169; population largely French, IV. 148, 186, 208, 209; number of population, IV. 148, 186, 250, 251; plan of France to recover, IV. 172; Minas attacked, IV. 184; establishment of the town of Halifax, IV. 186; the boundaries of Acadia settled, IV. 195, see *Acadia*; importance of the place, IV. 199, 200; hostility of the French and Indians against the English, IV. 208, 210-212; the French Neutrals required to take the oath of allegiance to the British throne, IV. 209, 210; the people refuse the oath, IV. 210, 211; capture of the forts by the English, IV. 211; the King's subjects found in arms against him, IV. 211; the population exiled from, IV. 212-216; return of a few of the exiles, IV. 216; expeditions against the French, IV. 220; Winslow recalled from, IV. 223; final capture of Louisbourg by the English, IV. 241-243, 257, 258; Vaughan's plan to people the country, IV. 260; transportation of French Neutrals to Connecticut, IV. 279, 280; Commissioners from, to settle the Rhode Island boundaries, IV. 286; its government, IV. 326, 327.
- Nowell*, Increase, one of the original Assistants of Massachusetts, I. 115, 160; II. 388; unites with the church formed under Mr. Wilson, I. 115, 120; a ruling elder, I. 120; to assist in conducting the worship during Mr. Wilson's absence, I. 120; religious question and difficulty, I. 124, 125.

NOW

Nowell, Samuel, Assistant of Massachusetts, II. 236, 237, 389; appointed agent to go to England, II. 233; his instructions, II. 242, 243, 251, 252; of the popular party, II. 246; approaches the Privy Council, II. 249, 250; the agents return to Massachusetts, II. 255; of committee to protect the charter and other important papers, II. 293; unites with Mather in petitions to the Lords of the Committee, II. 359.

Noyes, Rev. James, acts for Presbytery, I. 324; settled at Newbury, I. 324.

Noyes, Rev. Nicholas, settled at Salem, III. 100; excommunicates Rebecca Nourse, III. 100; regrets his course and revokes the decree, III. 106.

Nurses, law regarding, IV. 127.

Nutfield, outbreak of the Indians at, II. 357; the people call their settlement Londonderry, III. 423, 429. See *Londonderry*.

Nuts, I. 23.

Nyantics, the, I. 29, 188; aid the English, I. 189, 190; II. 160; Pequot survivors join, I. 193, 375; join in the treaty of the Narragansetts, I. 349; rumor of an attack from, upon the English, I. 366; the chiefs summoned to come to Boston, I. 371; unconverted to Christianity, I. 379; II. 124; accused by Philip of calumniating him, II. 126; the chiefs questioned by Governor Saltonstall, III. 445.

Nye, Rev. Philip, I. 109; his remonstrance against the intolerance of Massachusetts, II. 105.

OAK, the, I. 23.

Oak Planks, furnished for the navy, III. 366.

Oakes, Thomas, to serve as agent for Massachusetts in England, III. 61, 62, 75, 79; opposition to his election as Counsellor, III. 234; opposition to his election as Speaker of the House, III. 273, 274.

Oakes, Rev. Urian, President of Harvard College, II. 89, 222; his writings, II. 89.

Oates, Titus, II. 227, 351; III. 114.

Oaths, the "Freeman's Oath," forms of, and rules of taking, I. 120, 157, 164, 241, 263, 403; the "Residents' Oath," I. 164, 241; of allegiance, forms of, and rules of taking, I. 232, 241, 255, 256, 403; III. 10; manner of taking an oath, I. 278; II. 324,

OLI

325; III. 10, 11, 70; the oaths of allegiance required by the King to be taken in Massachusetts, II. 219-223, 250; forms of, for officers of regiments, revised, II. 239; the royal governor may require the oath of allegiance from every person within his jurisdiction, II. 318; phrase of corporal oath altered, III. 70; the Quakers and Anabaptists refuse to take an oath, III. 217; oath of allegiance required of the French Neutrals, III. 258; IV. 208, 210, 214.

Oats, I. 292.

"*Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*," IV. 325.

Occasional Conformity Act, the, III. 224, 351.

Ogden, IV. 399.

Oglethorpe, General, his colony of Georgia, IV. 81, 384.

Ohio River, the, III. 29; IV. 205, 220; a line of French stations on, III. 29; IV. 197, 205, 208.

Oil, I. 295; IV. 365.

Old Bailey, the, trial of Captain Kidd, III. 167.

Old Church, the, excitement caused by an earthquake, IV. 77. See *First Church of Boston*.

Old South Church, the, the Third Church of Boston, formation of, II. 102; installs a minister, II. 102; the keys demanded by Governor Andros for Episcopal worship, II. 323; opened regularly for Episcopal service, II. 323; Mr. Willard the Pastor suspected of witchcraft, III. 103; Judge Sewall rises in his pew to declare his penitence in regard to witchcraft, III. 106, 107; Rev. Mr. Prince settled over, IV. 77; excitement caused by an earthquake, IV. 77; religious excitement during the revivals, IV. 88; a weekly lecture instituted, IV. 88; a town-meeting held, resulting in the destruction of the tea in the harbor, IV. 429, 430.

Old Testament, the, I. 277.

Old-comers, the, title applied to the early emigrants, I. 82.

Oldham, John, I. 84, 95, 127, 178; annoys the Plymouth Colony, I. 84, 85; murdered by Indians, I. 184.

Oldtown, Indian fort burned, III. 405.

Oliver, a ruling elder, I. 128.

Oliver, Andrew, Secretary and Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, IV. 389, 421, 441; becomes Dis-

OLI

- tributor of Stamps in Massachusetts, IV. 389; his effigy hung on Liberty Tree, IV. 390; abdicates his office, IV. 391, 395: appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, IV. 421, 441; discovery of letters containing unfriendly sentiments to the colonies, IV. 425, 426; petition for his removal from office, IV. 426.
- Oliver*, Captain James, II. 56; instructions given to, in regard to the Royal Commissioners, II. 56, 57.
- Oneidas*, the, one of the Iroquois tribes, III. 31; their term for New England, III. 36.
- Onondaga*, a council of whites and Indians held, III. 36.
- Onondagas*, the, one of the Iroquois tribes, III. 31.
- Onondio*, Indian name for the French, III. 36.
- Onslow*, nominated for Speaker of the Commons of England, III. 182, 183.
- Ontario*, Lake, III. 31, 33; IV. 199, 208; expeditions against the French, IV. 211, 216, 220, 221, 241, 242, 244-251.
- Opechancanough*, an Indian chief, I. 13.
- Orange*, Fort. See *Fort Orange*.
- Orange*, William, Prince of, his flag repulsed at Long Island, II. 115, 116. See *William III*.
- Orange*, Princess of, proclaimed Queen in England, III. 10. See *Mary*, *Queen of England*.
- Orange Street*, the Liberty Tree, IV. 390.
- Oranges*, I. 294.
- Order in Council*, the, in regard to boundary settlements, IV. 286.
- Order of the Council*, the, I. 152.
- Ores*, I. 33.
- Orinoco*, the, I. 53.
- Oriole*, the, I. 25.
- Ormond*, Duke of, his flight, III. 352.
- Orphans*, home for, IV. 81, 99.
- Osborn*, Sarah, accused and condemned for witchcraft, III. 95-97.
- Osborne*, Sir Danvers, Governor of New York, IV. 232.
- Ossipee River*, the fort attacked by Hathorne, II. 177, 178.
- Oswego*, IV. 208; expedition against Fort Niagara, IV. 220, 221; capitulation of the garrison to the French, IV. 228.
- Otis*, James, Speaker of the House of Representatives and Judge of Probate and Common Pleas, appointed a Commissioner to meet Indian tribes, IV. 184; promise of Shirley to, IV. 299; the promised position

OWE

- given to another by Governor Bernard, IV. 299; fills the office of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, IV. 300, 302; resentment against Governor Bernard, IV. 301, 304; appointed Judge of Probate and Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, IV. 302, 336.
- Otis*, James, Jr., a member of the House of Representatives in Massachusetts, III. 469; his resentment against Governor Bernard, IV. 301-304, 318-324, 336; argues for the recovery of public money, IV. 302-304; pleads for the people in the case of the Writs of Assistance, IV. 307-312, 318; resigns the place of Advocate-General, IV. 311; proposition to make gold a legal tender, IV. 316, 317; his unfriendliness with Hutchinson, IV. 316, 317; indignation of the House toward the Governor, IV. 318-322; his "Vindication of the Conduct of the House," etc., IV. 322-324; a letter of rebuke sent to the agent in England, IV. 339, 340; his work entitled "The Rights of the British Colonies asserted and proved," IV. 340-347; his reference to the work on "Colonial Administration" by Pownall, IV. 342; his statements in reference to immunity from taxation, IV. 342-346; his statements in regard to the British government, IV. 345, 346; principles of colonial liberty, IV. 385; his action in reference to the oppression of the Stamp Act, IV. 388, 389, 408; sent to the Colonial Congress, IV. 400; second on the Committee on the Petition to the House of Commons, IV. 402; petitions against the delay in the action of the Courts, IV. 408, 409; appointed to unite with others in sending a Circular Letter to the Colonies declaring their rights, IV. 424, 425.
- Otter*, the, I. 26.
- Otter Creek*, a new road cut, IV. 266.
- Overseers*, II. 345.
- Overseers of Harvard College*, the, II. 107.
- Overseers of the Poor*, the, II. 345.
- Owaneco*, effort to settle the Mohegan claims, III. 337.
- Owen*, Rev. John, Dean of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, II. 89, 101; Dean of Christ Church, his intention to emigrate, II. 89; invited to become the successor of Rev. Mr. Wilson at Boston, II. 101; detained in England, II. 101; remonstrance against the in-

OWL

- tolerance of Massachusetts, II. 105; writes recommending Leonard Hoar as President of Harvard College, II. 106.
- Owls*, I. 25.
- Oxford*, Earl of, interested in Captain Kidd's enterprise, III. 164; sent to the Tower, III. 352.
- Oxford*, England, Parliament convened at, II. 237.
- Oxford*, town of, in America, III. 141; the French Protestants injured by Indians, III. 141; a woman defends herself against the Indians, III. 407.
- Oxford*, University of, I. 149; II. 101; III. 12; graduates in New England, I. 149, 162, 225, 286; II. 343; IV. 255.
- "*Oxford Jests*," the, III. 92.
- Oyer and Terminer*, Court of, called by Sir W. Phipps, to try the witches, III. 99, 100, 104, 112.
- Oyster River*, the, II. 174; III. 27, 139, 192, 247.

PACIFIC OCEAN, the, I. 97; former name of, II. 41.

Paige, Colonel, the Sudbury men summoned to Boston, II. 364, 365.

Painter's Colors, duty on, IV. 410.

Palfrey, Peter, deputy for Salem, one of the earliest settlers at Cape Ann and Naumkeag, I. 96; urged to remain at Naumkeag, I. 96; represents Salem, I. 127.

Palmer, John, his agency in the affairs at Cornwall, II. 332, 333; conferences with various towns regarding the submission of Connecticut, II. 338, 339; complained of by Randolph, II. 354; captive at the Castle, II. 375; charges against, II. 382; opponent of Massachusetts, III. 62.

Palmer, Major Edward, trustee of John Liveen's will, III. 457, 458; questions raised by, III. 458.

Pamet Harbor, I. 62.

Pamlico Sound, I. 28.

Paper, duty on, IV. 410.

Paper Money. See *Bills of Credit*.

Papists, lenity towards, I. 93. See *Catholics*.

Paris, IV. 182, 195; visited by Governor Shirley, IV. 182, 183, 196, 197; stipulations in the treaty of 1763, between the French and English, IV. 326, 327.

Parisian, the, contrasts of population in New France, IV. 251.

Park, the, of London, IV. 187.

Parker, Rev. Thomas, acts for Pres-

PAR

bytery in the conflict with Congregationalism, I. 324.

Parliament of England, the I. iv; the Long Parliament, I. iv, 108, 322; rise of Independency in England, I. vi, 342; Act enforcing the observance of the rubric, I. 47; prorogued by James I., I. 76; quarrels of James I. with, I. 91; policy of, with Charles I., I. 92, 93; IV. 54; conflict with Charles I., I. 92, 43, 96, 98, 152-154, 262; formation of the Massachusetts Company, I. 96, 97; members of, intimately connected with the Massachusetts Company, I. 109, 110; the Committee of Religion, I. 109, 110; determination of Charles I. to rule without, I. 152-154; condition of England without, I. 153, 154, 262; the jealousy of the Council of New England, I. 158; institutes a commission to rule New England, I. 267, 268; rising in power, I. 279; appeals to England discountenanced in New England, I. 816, 825, 826, 341; order passed concerning, by the General Court of Massachusetts, I. 319, 320; relations of Massachusetts with, I. 319-321, 335, 336; abolishes Episcopacy, I. 323; decree concerning the liturgy of England, I. 323; a Commission for the government of foreign plantations established, I. 324, see *Lords Commissioners*, etc.; Presbytery established in England, I. 325; Massachusetts threatened with an appeal to, concerning Presbytery, I. 325, 326; pass an ordinance promoting the Gospel of Christ in New England, I. 335; address to, concerning the conversion of the Indians, I. 335; organization of the Society for Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England, I. 335, 375, see *Society for the Propagation*, etc.; surrender of Charles I. to, I. 339; permission given to Gorton and Holden with their colleagues to live in Shawomet, I. 340, 342; aid for New England bespoken by Winslow, I. 341, 342; the "Incorporation of the Providence Plantations," etc. I. 344; letter to Massachusetts concerning Roger Williams, I. 344; further grant to Plymouth, I. 348; the Navigation Act and Acts of Trade, I. 405; II. 28; III. 15, 59-61, see *Navigation Act*; Massachusetts asked to hold her courts in the name of, I. 407; Address to, from Massachusetts, seeking to maintain her chartered privileges, II. 2; friendly to Massachu-

PAR

setts, II. 3; III. 354; the regicides sit in, at the time of Cromwell, II. 22; business relating to the charter of Connecticut, II. 40-54; errand of Joan Clarke to England, II. 48; banishment of Lord Clarendon, II. 91; the Cabal Ministry, II. 91-93; revival of Episcopacy and oppression of dissenters, II. 91-93; reorganization of the Council for Foreign Plantations, II. 93; Act imposing customs to be levied in foreign dependencies of Great Britain, II. 93, 94; the colonies claim certain immunities, not being represented in, II. 224; advantage obtained by Charles II., II. 237, 261; none for three years in England, II. 261; a Convention recognizing William and Mary as King and Queen of England declares itself a Parliament, III. 10; effort to restore the charters to corporations unjustly deprived of, III. 12, 13; the Tory party rules in, under William III., III. 13, 77, 258-260, 312, 350, 362; prorogued by William III., III. 13; "Act for Increase of Shipping," etc., III. 15; Act restricting the destination of cargoes, III. 15, 16; Act relating to the trade in wool-manufactures in America, III. 16, 148; effort for the establishment of a Council of Commerce, III. 17; Act confirming the regulations of trade and increasing the oppression, III. 18; affairs in New England, III. 54; efforts of Massachusetts and her friends to obtain a charter, III. 54-71; Act concerning witchcraft, III. 117; the colonial system reinforced, III. 143; restrictions on trade, III. 143; Joseph Dudley obtains a seat in, III. 150, 181, 182, 225; the question of the attainder of Leisler, III. 150, 284, 296; refuses the request of the King to keep the Dutch guards, III. 166; the charters of New England in danger, III. 179, 180; question of the impeachment of the King's friends, III. 180; referred to by Dudley in his inaugural speech, III. 228; effort of Dudley to enforce the Acts of Trade and other rules, III. 228, 271, 277; Act "for erecting a General Post-office in all her Majesty's dominions," etc., III. 305-309, 335; death of Sir Henry Ashurst, III. 312; Act concerning the duration of office of Governor, III. 315; bill endangering the charters of New England, III. 340; Act concerning the government of, and the appointment of officers for, the American colonies, III. 340;

PAR

Acts relating to matters of religion, III. 350, 351; attitude towards Massachusetts, III. 354; expulsion of John Shute from, III. 356; matters pertaining to cutting ship-timber in New England, III. 368, 369, 372, 373; Act to preserve white-pine trees, III. 369; Act settling the rates of buying and selling silver, III. 384; Act forbidding a Romish priest to reside or preach in British dominions, quoted by Shute, III. 392; actions threatening to Massachusetts, III. 420; IV. 5, 6, 32; attempt to amend the charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut, III. 430, 431; effort to injure the charters of New England and other colonies, III. 453-456; IV. 5, 6, 124, 181; arguments in Dummer's book, III. 454-456; questions of English rule, III. 463; power of, dreaded in the colonies, IV. 5, 6; bill for securing the subjection of Ireland, IV. 15; advice of the Privy Council to the King, concerning the insubordination of Massachusetts, IV. 26; threats to Massachusetts not likely to be put in action, IV. 32; the matter of the fixed salary of the Governor brought up through Belcher, IV. 41-46, 48, 52, 54, see *Governor*; appeal from Massachusetts concerning the Land Bank scheme, IV. 57, 58; action in regard to the South Sea Bubble, IV. 57, 58; Act suppressing the Land Bank scheme, IV. 57, 58, 143; story of a bargain by which Governor Belcher was removed from office, IV. 74; statement of Pitt concerning the capture of Louisburg, IV. 169; proposed extension of the system of stamp duties, IV. 180, 181; grant of money, for the colony founding Halifax, IV. 186; Act in relation to private banking, IV. 189, 190; law regarding legal tender in private transactions, IV. 192; Act forbidding certain manufactures in Massachusetts, IV. 194; pecuniary need of Massachusetts, IV. 222, 223; Act in relation to quartering troops, IV. 233, 416; authority over the colonies acknowledged in courts of law, IV. 234, 235; opposition of Connecticut to the scheme of federal union, IV. 278, 279; passing of the Sugar Act, IV. 303, 304, see *Sugar Act*; opinion of James Otis concerning certain Acts, IV. 310; matters pertaining to the Writs of Assistance, IV. 311-313; the "Boston Port Bill," IV. 312, 430, 431; the rights of the peo-

PAR

ple in regard to taxation, IV. 321, 325-334, 356; arguments of Pownall, in relation to questions of colonial administration, IV. 327, 328; desire of England to obtain money from the colonies towards the payment of her debts of war, IV. 328; the scheme of colonial taxation, IV. 328-334; reimbursement to the colonies for the war, IV. 329, see *Louisburg*; Acts of Parliament against natural equity pronounced void, IV. 340, 342; Otis's statement of "The Rights of the British Colonies," IV. 340-347; representation, or no taxation, demanded by the colonies, IV. 345, 346, 348-350, 354-356, 359, 378, 379, 389, 403, 427, 428, 430; petition from Massachusetts in regard to the desired repeal of the Sugar Act, IV. 347-349, 386; arguments of Thacher in relation to the Sugar Act, IV. 349-355; Acts in regard to Courts of Admiralty, IV. 350-352; asserts the right to tax the colonies, IV. 356, 407, 409, 420, 427; preparations for the Stamp Act, IV. 356, 357; remonstrances against the Sugar Act in Rhode Island, IV. 364-367; rumors of Governor Hopkins's unpromising remarks, IV. 367, 368; references to, in Governor Hopkins's treatise, IV. 370, 371; Governor Fitch to address a Memorial to, in opposition to the stamp duties, IV. 374; the Stamp Act brought up for debate, IV. 375, 376; the Stamp Act carried, IV. 376; consequences of the legislation on the Stamp Act, IV. 377-403; action of Massachusetts and Virginia in relation to the unjust Acts, IV. 388, 389; Virginia demands immunity from taxation, IV. 389; effort of Governor Bernard to enforce the Stamp Act, IV. 397, 398; manifestoes of the Colonial Congress, IV. 400-403; organized resistance against unjust taxation, IV. 404; last ten years of colonial dependence, IV. 404-438; Pitt asked to form a ministry, IV. 405; changes in the British Ministry, IV. 405, 406, 409, 410; Pitt appears in the House of Commons, IV. 406; contest over the repeal of the Stamp Act, IV. 406, 407; passes a Declaratory Act, in reference to the colonies, IV. 407, 409; the Stamp Act repealed, IV. 407, 409; the ministry of Pitt, IV. 409; Act passed imposing duties on paper, glass, tea, etc., IV. 410, 413; Act quoted by Governor Bernard to justify himself,

PAR

IV. 411; protest against the new duties, IV. 412, 413; the goods taxed by, not to be imported by America, IV. 413; Resolves condemning the action of Massachusetts in regard to the convention of the towns, IV. 417; the duties repealed on all goods imported by the colonies, except on tea, IV. 420, 421; the protest of Governor Pownall, IV. 420, 421; the tenor of thought in America, IV. 420, 421; opposition to the tax on tea, IV. 421; Act relating to the support of colonial governments, IV. 421-424; approach of the crisis, IV. 427; reception of the news of the destruction of tea in New England, IV. 429, 430; Act to take away some of the privileges of the charter of Massachusetts, IV. 431; Act in relation to meetings in Massachusetts, IV. 431; Act in relation to the Counsellors of Massachusetts, IV. 431, 433, 444; Act relating to the trial of murderers from Massachusetts, IV. 431; relating to the government of Quebec, IV. 431; reappearance of Pitt to urge conciliatory measures, IV. 436; Address sent to the King, IV. 436; retaliatory action taken, IV. 436. See *House of Commons* and *House of Lords*.

Parliament of Scotland, the, II. 92;

re-establishment of episcopacy, II. 92.

Parliament's Admiral, the, I. 108; II. 93.

Parliamentary Commissioners, I. 324, 344; II. 30. See *Lords Commissioners*, etc.

Parris, an attorney, IV. 71; representations of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, IV. 71; aids Tomlinson in settling boundary claims, IV. 71, 72.

Parris, Elizabeth, affected by witchcraft, III. 94-97.

Parris, Rev. Samuel, settled at Salem Village, III. 94; the case of the Parris children and the witches, III. 94-97; his servant accused of being a witch, III. 95, 96; his sermon against witches, III. 97; his agency in the trial of George Jacobs, III. 98; driven from his place, III. 105, 106; his methods of procedure, IV. 71.

Parsons, Rev. Jonathan, a friend of Whitefield, IV. 101; settled at Newburyport, IV. 101; Whitefield buried beneath his pulpit, IV. 101.

Partridge, the, I. 25.

Partridge, Oliver, sent to the Congress, IV. 400.

PAR

- Partridge*, Richard, agent for Rhode Island, III. 438, 439, 452; his connection with the Land Bank scheme, IV. 73, 74.
- Partridge*, Samuel, Counsellor of Massachusetts, III. 234; IV. 442.
- Partridge*, William, Lieutenant-Governor and Treasurer of New Hampshire, III. 193, 194, 196, 197; IV. 450; signer of the Memorial against Dudley, III. 282; his withdrawal from office and his death, III. 318; accusations against, III. 322; objection to his appointment, III. 425.
- Pasha*, a, I. 9.
- Passamaquoddy Bay*, the, landing of Major Church, III. 249, 250.
- Passamaquoddy River*, the, Indians conclude a treaty with the whites, III. 132.
- Passion Week*, II. 323.
- Pastor*, the, I. 286.
- Patents*, new patents to be taken out for land-ownership, II. 325, 328, 329.
- Patrick*, Captain, proposes to assist Mason, I. 188, 191, 195.
- Patrick*, Rev. Mr., an eminent divine, III. II; favors certain religious changes, III. II; arrogance of the Protestant Church, III. 350.
- Patuxet*, Indian name for the land of Plymouth, I. 66.
- Paucatuck River*, the, I. 401; II. 113, 114; matters of boundary, I. 401; II. 50, 51, 70, 282; III. 329, 453; destruction of the settlements, II. 157.
- Paul*, II. 136.
- Pawtucket*, town of, IV. 130.
- Pawtucket Falls*, the, questions of boundary, IV. 72, 285, 286.
- Pawtucket Indians*, the, I. 29; their home, I. 29; also called the Penacook Indians, I. 29.
- Pawtucket River*, the, questions of boundary, III. 214.
- Pawtuxet*, grant of meadow ground to thirteen associates, I. 167; important consequences following, I. 167; dispute concerning, settled, I. 390, 391; number of heads of families, I. 390; engagement between English and Indians, II. 158.
- Pawtuxet River*, the, I. 304; settlement of Gorton on, I. 306.
- Paxton*, Charles, Surveyor of the Port of Boston and Revenue Commissioner, IV. 305, 425; discovery of letters, containing sentiments unfriendly to the colonies, IV. 425, 426.
- Pear*, the, I. 292.

PEN

- Pease*, I. 292, 299.
- Peerage for Ireland*, the, III. 150.
- Pejepscot*, former name of Brunswick, I. 222; visited by Andros, II. 352; pursuit of the Indians, III. 86; treaty made with the Indians, III. 146.
- Peltry*, I. 293; III. 330.
- Pemaquid*, I. 78, 220; II. 362, 380; a meeting and encounter with the Indians, II. 178, 179; a force sent to, by Andros, II. 180; a fort to be built and occupied, II. 180; duties demanded from vessels, II. 332, 333; the Indians quieted by Andros, and the fort to be repaired, II. 353, 354; attacked by Indians, III. 27; capture of the fort, III. 37, 38; a new fort to be constructed, III. 131, 132; a treaty concluded with the Indians, III. 132; the treaty broken, III. 139; Indian captures, III. 141, 146; fort attacked by the French, III. 142; importance of the post, III. 154; repeated orders from England that the fort be rebuilt and kept in repair, III. 154, 178, 186, 228, 229, 233, 237, 269, 272, 275, 276, 301, 328, 362-364, 372, 466; IV. 62, 63; Dudley meets the Indians, III. 229; the Indians propose a conference at, III. 413; a Massachusetts garrison placed in, under Dunbar, IV. 62, 63, 67.
- Pemcuit Fort*, its capture, III. 37, 38. See *Pemaquid*.
- Pemigewasset*, questions of boundary, IV. 70.
- Penacooks*, the, I. 29. See *Pawtucket Indians*.
- Penn*, William, II. 4; friendly to Increase Mather, II. 358; has charge of affairs for Rhode Island in England, III. 438.
- Pennsylvania*, excepted from the jurisdiction of Governor Andros, II. 355; Colonel Robert Quarry made Judge of Admiralty, III. 232; her charter endangered, III. 454; aid sent for the reduction of Louisburg, IV. 153; payment of war expenses, IV. 167; troops desired by Shirley, IV. 171; Governor Keith, IV. 180; scheme of colonial union, and alliance with the Indians, IV. 200-205; the conference of Governors, IV. 222, 223, 227; threats of Lord Loudoun, IV. 233; Franklin serves in England as agent for, IV. 295, 407; the South-Germans, IV. 384; Dr. Franklin examined in the House of Commons, IV. 407.
- Penobscot Bay*, the, I. 20; II. 109.
- Penobscot Indians*, the, II. 352; III.

PEN

- 390, 405; Castine settles among them, II. 352; refusal of grant to, III. 379; friendly compact made, III. 412, 413.
- Penobscot River*, the, I. 15; its course, I. 20; fertility of its banks, I. 22; hunting ground of the Abenakis and Tarratines near, I. 29; trading-house established on, I. 144, 145, 315; battles with the French and with the Indians, in the region of, II. 175; III. 29, 142, 143, 236, 249, 394, 406, 410; a vessel seized by Palmer, II. 332, 333; Andros ascends the river, II. 352; effort to repair a fort on, II. 353; search for the Indians, III. 132; the importance of Pemaquid, III. 154; English possessions near, III. 230.
- Pepperell*, William, father of Sir William Pepperell, IV. 153; his business and life in America, IV. 153, 154; his death, IV. 154.
- Pepperell*, Lieutenant-General, Sir William, President of the Council, one of the Committee of War, IV. 147, 151; report of the Committee, IV. 151, 152; to command the expedition against Louisburg, IV. 153, 155; his antecedents, education, and character, IV. 153-155; his promotions in a civil and military way, IV. 154; the expedition and attack on Louisburg, IV. 155-164, 179, 241; receives congratulations from Dr. Chauncy, IV. 165; his enthusiastic reception from many towns, IV. 167-170; arrives with Knowles in Boston, IV. 175; despatched to the Eastern Indians, IV. 197; expedition against Fort Niagara, IV. 220; capitulation of Oswego, IV. 228; number of troops under, IV. 230; commissioned to be Lieutenant-General of the forces of Massachusetts, IV. 232; instructions for action at Springfield, IV. 232, 233; effort made to appoint him Governor of New Hampshire, IV. 270, 271; joined by Wolcott's troops at Canseau, IV. 273.
- Pepys*, Secretary of the Admiralty, III. 56; complaint from Captain George, III. 56.
- Pequaket*, IV. 295.
- Pequannock*, former name of Stratford, I. 234.
- Pequods*, the, III. 337. See *Pequots*.
- Pequot* Fort, the, destroyed by Mason, I. 189, 190, 401; II. 147.
- Pequot Harbor*, I. 190, 191.
- Pequot River*, the, I. 29, 187; settlements on, I. 395, 398; land east of, given to Connecticut, II. 41.

PHI

- Pequot War*, the, I. 184-193; the attack and success of Captain Mason, I. 186-191; spoils of Massachusetts in, I. 401.
- Pequots*, the, I. 29, 130; their dwelling-place, I. 29; war with the colonists, I. 184-193; burning of their village, I. 190; survivors join the Mohawks and other tribes, I. 192, 193, 375; the nation becomes extinct, I. 193; preaching to, by missionaries, I. 379; II. 124; assist the English, II. 160, 188; chiefs questioned by Governor Saltonstall, III. 445; complaints of encroachments from Grotton, IV. 125.
- Percy*, Lord, reinforces the British troops, IV. 437, 438.
- Periods of New England History*, the, I. iii, iv, viii; character of the people inhabiting New England, I. iii; date of the revolutions at the limit of the periods, I. iii, see *Revolutions*; extent in years, of each, I. iii; history of the first period, I. viii.
- Perpooduck*, an Indian murderess, III. 239.
- Pessacus*, successor to Miantonomo, I. 312, 313; threatening letter written to Massachusetts, I. 313; concludes a treaty with whites and Indians, I. 349; his presence required in Boston, I. 350, 351, 366, 367.
- Peter*, I. 206; IV. 100.
- Peters*, Rev. Hugh, I. 174, 394; persecuted by Laud, I. 174; his arrival in America, I. 174; settled at Salem, I. 174, 394; interest taken in ship-building, I. 294; his alleged influence in Massachusetts, III. 60.
- Peters*, Thomas, commences a plantation, I. 394, 395.
- Petit Juries*, the, I. 277.
- Petre*, Father, II. 358.
- Pettyquamscott*, general rendezvous for the English, II. 146.
- Philadelphia*, IV. 90, 363; the revivals, IV. 90; joyful acknowledgment of the surrender of Louisburg, IV. 166, 167; scheme of colonial union, IV. 200; disposal of the cargoes of tea, IV. 428; meeting of the Second General Congress, IV. 433; appointment of George Washington to be General-in-Chief of the American armies, IV. 439.
- Philip*, King of the Pokanokets, II. 126; his Indian name Metacomb or Metacombet, II. 126; distrusted by the colonists, II. 126, 127, 129, 130; his home at Mount Hope, II. 123; letter from the Magistrates of Plym-

PHI

- outh, II. 130; his men commit cruelties, II. 131, 132; to be resisted by the Narragansetts, II. 132; his action after leaving Mount Hope, II. 133, 134, 136, 136; the Indians continue their depredations and cruelties, II. 136-140, 156-158; the attitude of the Narragansetts, II. 144, 145; rumor of his approach, II. 163; never seen in battle, II. 170; return off, to Mount Hope, II. 171; pursued by Bridgewater men, II. 171; shot, his hands and head cut off, II. 172, 174, 175; his associates offer to treat with Major Waldron, II. 176; his principal chiefs beheaded, II. 183; his son sold into slavery, II. 183, 184; his policy and character, II. 184-188; rumor of his attempt to enlist the Mohawks, II. 188.
- Philip's War*, I. 167; II. 122-193, 243, 284; III. 24-28, 132, 249, 304, 386; IV. 266.
- Philistines*, the, IV. 90.
- Phillips*, Colonel, Governor of Nova Scotia, a treaty concluded with the Indians, III. 147; his appointment and rule in the country, III. 382; IV. 62.
- Phillips*, Rev. Mr., settles at Watertown, I. 115, 124; offer of a house for, I. 115; a religious difficulty, I. 124, 125, 127.
- Phillips*, John, accusations against, III. 278; his trial, III. 279-281.
- Phipps*, Lady, wife of Sir William Phipps, III. 103; rumors of her being concerned with witchcraft, III. 103.
- Phipps*, Constantine, agent for Massachusetts in England, III. 150, 312; the opposition to Dudley, III. 150, 181, 182, 314; grant made in his favor, III. 263; attaches himself to the Tory Ministry, III. 312.
- Phipps*, Spencer, Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, IV. 184, 441; chief ruler during Governor Shirley's absence, IV. 184; his administration, IV. 184-194, 226-232; reform of the currency, IV. 186-192; adopted by his uncle Sir William, IV. 226; offices held by, IV. 226; his abilities, IV. 226; his death, IV. 232; his place filled by Thomas Hutchinson, IV. 301.
- Phipps*, Sir William, Governor of Massachusetts, II. 380; news brought by him to Boston, VI. 380, 382; petitions offered to William III, II. 381, 332; made a freeman, III. 42; successful expedition against Port Royal, III. 42, 381; plan of conquest of Canada, III. 43, 44; his

PIE

- fleet off Cape Diamond, III. 46, 47; demands the surrender of the garrison at Quebec, III. 48, 49; the English repulsed, III. 50, 51, 203; the disastrous results of the expedition, III. 52; IV. 187; his generosity and characteristics, III. 52, 136, 138, 466; goes to England, III. 52, 54, 66; a petition sent to the King, III. 55; to give a relation of the attack upon New France, III. 67; his efforts in behalf of Massachusetts, III. 67-69; becomes the Governor of Massachusetts, III. 78, 82-84, 88, 152; IV. 441; the renewal of the expedition against New France, III. 81, 82; arrival in Boston, III. 82, 83; his commission, III. 83, 137, 192, 205-208, 218; summons a Court of Oyer and Terminer to try the witches, III. 89, 90, 104, 105; acts without authority, III. 90, 104, 112; his tour of inspection into the Eastern Country, III. 101; his letter to the Lords of Trade concerning his action, III. 104, 105; his administration in Massachusetts, III. 125-138, 224; change made in the Lower House, III. 130; seeks to capture the hostile Indians, III. 131, 132; charges against him for various indiscretions, III. 134-138, 161; trouble with Captain Short, III. 135; connected with the affair of Leisler, III. 136; his quarrel with Governor Fletcher, III. 137; agent sent to England to vindicate him, III. 138; ordered to go to England, III. 138; carries an Address to England from the House of Representatives, III. 138, 140; his illness and death, III. 138; delay in filling his place, III. 149, 150; his quarrel with Usher, III. 191, 192; attempt to control the military forces of Connecticut and Rhode Island, III. 205, 218 221; sets aside the election of Cooke, III. 233; his relationship to Peter Sargent, III. 234; matter of his salary, III. 267; proceedings with reference to Harvard College, III. 292; the ship-timber reserved in the provincial charter, III. 365; adopts Spencer Phipps, IV. 189, 226.
- Physicians* must obtain a license from the General Court, III. 211, 212.
- Pickering*, Colonel, the attempt of General Gage to destroy military stores foiled, IV. 436.
- Pierce*, Captain, killed by Indians and his party slaughtered, II. 152 160.

PIE

- Pierce*, John, a patent taken for the Plymouth Colony in his name, I. 73, 79, 142; fraudulent action toward the Plymouth Colony, I. 79; his patent surrendered, I. 248.
- Pierson*, Rev. Abraham, preaches to the Indians, I. 379.
- Pierson*, Rev. Abraham, first President of Yale College, III. 344, 345; his death, III. 345.
- Pike*, Deputy for Massachusetts, II. 81; to reconstruct the government of Maine, II. 81; belongs to the popular party, II. 245, 246.
- Pikemen*, I. 291.
- Pikes*, I. 291.
- Pilgrims*, the, I. 57; use of the term, I. 57; persons on board the Mayflower, I. 58-61; land at Provincetown, I. 60. See *Plymouth*.
- Pine*, the, I. 28, 293.
- Pinnaces*, I. 294.
- Pipe*, the, I. 33; III. 398.
- Pipe-staves* exported from Massachusetts, II. 84.
- Piracy*, privateering, I. 388; the Corsairs of Barbary, II. 262; rumors of freebooters, III. 152, 153; the piracies in America to be investigated, III. 161-168; "the Adventure," III. 162; story of Captain Kidd, III. 164-167; buccaneers, III. 221, 222; refuge for French privateers at Louisburg, IV. 149; the buccaneers in the Bahama, IV. 363.
- Piscataqua*, former name of Portsmouth, I. 88; settlement of Thompson, I. 89, 218. See *Portsmouth*.
- Piscataqua Fort*, the, its situation and expense of keeping, III. 275, 276; to be repaired, III. 317; difficulty in building, III. 328.
- Piscataqua River*, the, I. 29, 76, 145, 214; settlements on, I. 78, 89, 207, 215-220, 402; the towns on, place themselves under the care of Massachusetts, I. 402; the Royal Commissioners proceed to the towns by, II. 77, 78; departure of the Commissioners, II. 78; masts procured in the towns on, II. 84; boundary questions, II. 109, 202; III. 71, 427-429; IV. 68-70; Indian butcheries in the settlements on, II. 174, 175, 180, 181; III. 25-27; IV. 265; relations of the tribes near, to the English, II. 187, 304; vessels on, seized, II. 275; Major Converse's expedition, III. 132; vessels subject to examination by officers, III. 185; lands on, claimed by John Mason, III. 186, 187.
- Piscataqua Rebellion*, the, III. 194.

PLY

- Piscataquack*, I. 216.
- Piscataway*, III. 368.
- Pitch*, I. 293; II. 84; III. 330, 366, 398.
- Pitkin*, William, Lieutenant-Governor of Connecticut, IV. 278, 445.
- Pitt*, William, Earl of Chatham, and Secretary of State in England, his remark on the conquest of Cape Breton, IV. 169; his fall from power, IV. 236; an important letter to Abercrombie, IV. 236; becomes a Secretary of State, IV. 236, 237; his effort in behalf of America, IV. 236, 237; letter from Pownall, IV. 237, 238; his influence over England and New England, IV. 237, 251, 254, 264, 280; his search for a good leader in America, IV. 238; his admiration for Wolfe, IV. 243; his confidence in Amherst, IV. 245; his correspondence with De Bougainville, IV. 249; his name dear to humanity, IV. 253; the call for troops, IV. 283, 297; the "Letter to two Great Men," IV. 294; informed of the contraband trade in Massachusetts, IV. 306; attempt to undermine his popularity, IV. 328; letter from Governor Hopkins, in relation to the illicit trade of Rhode Island, IV. 362, 363; his brilliant administration, IV. 383; efforts of George III. to draw him into the government, IV. 405; his advice in regard to the Stamp Act, IV. 406, 407; distinction made between legislation and taxation, IV. 407; made Earl of Chatham, IV. 409; consents to form a Ministry, IV. 409; his seclusion from affairs of state, IV. 409, 410; his appeal to the King, in vain, IV. 436.
- Pittsburg*, former name of, IV. 208.
- Placentia*, III. 263.
- Plains of Abraham*, the, the conquest of Quebec, IV. 246-250, 254.
- Plantation Courts*, the, I. 231.
- Plateaus*, I. 19.
- Plough Patent*, the, I. 223, 224.
- Plum*, I. 24, 292.
- Plymouth*, England, I. 6, 17; III. 164; Ferdinando Gorges, Governor of, I. 6; the emigrants for America depart from, I. 53, 64; formation of the Council for New England, I. 73.
- Plymouth*, Massachusetts, first permanent colony in New England, I. 47; life of the founders when at Scrooby, and their connection with the Scrooby congregation, I. 48, 49, 58, 59, 91, 245; the people form a congregation at Scrooby and Leyden, under Rev. Mr. Robinson, L.

PLY

48, 50, 59, 72, 73, 82, 83, 85, 91, 141, 142, 245; the founders move to Leyden, I. 49, 50, 59, 72, 73, 91, 101; project of a new removal, I. 50-54; noble objects of the Puritans in forming a colony, I. 51; the lesson learned at Leyden, I. 52, 65, 66; messengers sent to England to negotiate for assistance, I. 54, 55; patents obtained for the colony, I. 55, 73, 79, 142, 143, 243, 244; IV. 284; terms agreed upon with the Merchant Adventurers, I. 55-57, 73, 79, 82-87, 141-143, 237-240, 244, 245; departure and voyage of the colony to America, I. 57-60; the Speedwell and the Mayflower, I. 57, 58; names of the persons on board the Mayflower, I. 58-60; land at what is since called Provincetown, I. 61; character of the persons on board the Mayflower, I. 61, 73; elect John Carver Governor, I. 61, 69; II. 387; the colony sends out exploring parties, I. 62-64; the discovery of Indian corn, a portion taken by the colonists, I. 62, 71; the final landing at a place to which they give the name of Plymouth, I. 64; II. 379; hardships of the first winter at, I. 64-66; terrible suffering from illness and death, I. 65; visited by Samoset and Massasoit, I. 66-68; the Governor gives audience to the Indians, I. 67, 68; Squanto acts as interpreter, I. 67, 70, 71; a treaty made with Massasoit, I. 68, 243; II. 125; their New Year's Day, I. 68, 69; the Mayflower returns to England, I. 69; death of Governor Carver, I. 69; William Bradford elected Governor of, I. 69, 82; II. 387; numbers dead, I. 69, 70; mode of agriculture and harvests, I. 70, 72, 75, 81; Isaac Allerton appointed Assistant to Governor Bradford, I. 70; expeditions and hunting, I. 70-72; scarcity and quality of their food, I. 70, 72, 75, 79, 80, 83, 298, 299; population of, I. 70, 72, 83, 141, 147, 271, 393; II. 82, 86; III. 81; first Thanksgiving-Day, I. 72; character of the community, I. 72, 73; fresh arrival of colonists, I. 72, 73, 141, 142; arrival and return of the Fortune, I. 73, 74; freight sent to England, I. 73, 74, 83; a patent taken out for them by John Pierce, I. 73, 79, 142; trouble with the Indians, I. 75, 76; their sufferings, I. 75, 76, 79-81; progress of the colony, I. 75-90; the General Court sends Miles Standish to Wessagussett, I. 76; assists the

PLY

colony at Wessagussett, I. 78; fraudulent conduct of John Pierce, I. 79; climate, I. 80; new division of labor and products, I. 81, 82; a new element in the social system of, I. 82; prosperity and reinforcement of settlers of, I. 82; use of the term *forefathers* and *old-comers*, I. 82; division of land among the householders, I. 82; description of the settlement with statistics, I. 83; Winslow goes to England on business for the colony, I. 83; return of Winslow, bringing the first cattle in the colony, I. 83; breach in the company of the Adventurers, with results, I. 83-87; Rev. Mr. Robinson prevented from joining his flock, I. 84, 85, 142, 239; receives news of the death of Rev. Mr. Robinson, I. 85; Miles Standish and Allerton repair to England to arrange business matters for the colony, I. 85, 86; the colonists to be free-holders, I. 86; rights of trading conferred on Thomas Prince, I. 86, 87; payments to be made to the Adventurers, with divisions of houses and lands, I. 86, 87, 141-143, 238, 244, 245; Allerton continues to act as agent in England for the colony, I. 87, 142, 143; a patent of land granted to Allerton, I. 87; a trading-house established on their land on the Kennebec River, I. 87, 145, 239, 393; sends Standish to quell the disturbance at Merry Mount, I. 88; jealousy existing between the colony and that of New Amsterdam, I. 90; lapse of time since the flight of the company to Holland, I. 91; its success known in England, I. 94; theory of the church, I. 101; the Church invited to attend the Massachusetts Church organization, I. 102; negotiations with the Indians, I. 130; Mr. Smith minister of the colony, I. 142; disappointments concerning the church and its ministry, I. 142, 239, 240, see *Church of Plymouth*; a new patent granted, making property and lands in, to William Bradford and his associates, I. 142, 143, 244; the debt of the colony, I. 143, 244, 245; efforts made to obtain a royal charter, I. 143; II. 110, 192, 193, 277, 278, 305; III. 2, 77, 80, 81; IV. 284; trouble with Massachusetts, caused by the affair of Hocking, I. 145; Winslow continues to act in England as agent for the colony, I. 145, 237-240, 393; a fortified house erected on the Connecticut River, I. 146, 147, 178; records

PLY

of the early legislation of, I. 146, 147, 241; first case of capital punishment, I. 147; *Court Orders*, I. 147; the Legislature of, I. 147, 242, 243, 278, see *Legislature*; her Courts, I. 147, 241-243, 276-279, see *Courts* and *General Court*; the General Court of, I. 147, 241-243; II. 86; taxes and tax lists, I. 147, 241, 242; II. 333; III. 80, 127; term of service of Governor Bradford, I. 147; II. 387; election of Edward Winslow as Governor, I. 147; II. 387; election of Thomas Prince as Governor, I. 147; II. 337; application from Connecticut for aid in the Pequot War, I. 186; partial adjustment of the affairs with the Adventurers, I. 237-240, 244, 245; good returns for their industry, I. 238, 239; trading with the Indians, I. 239; prices of live-stock, I. 239; visited by an earthquake, I. 239; project of removal from, I. 239; committee appointed to codify the laws, I. 241; order of government laws and ordinances, with list of town officers and rights of Deputies, I. 241-243, 271-274, 276-279, 393; II. 85, 83, 89, 305; III. 126, see *Deputies* and *Laws*; freemen's and residents' oaths, I. 241; her Courts to be held in the King's name, I. 241; rights of the freemen, I. 241, 242, 244, 271-274, 278; regulations of the elections, I. 241, 242, 271-274, 277, see *Elections*; the Governor and Assistants, I. 241, 242, 272-274, 276-279, see *Assistants* and *Governor*; questions and decisions relating to boundaries, I. 243, 244, 345, 390; II. 212, 279, 280; IV. 284-286; number of towns in, I. 244, 275, 393; II. 82, 181; III. 81; Bradford makes over his patent to the freemen of Plymouth, I. 244; quotation from the writings of Governor Bradford upon the death of William Brewster, I. 245, 246; Commissioners from, unite in forming the Confederation of the Colonies, I. 262-268, see *Confederation* and *Commissioners of the Confederation*; lapse of time between the landing at Plymouth, and the formation of the Confederation, I. 269; a distinct community from Massachusetts, I. 270; details of the government, I. 271-279; church-membership not obligatory to office or citizenship, I. 272, 288; office of Assistant coincident with that of a Magistrate, I. 273, see *Magistrates*; payment of officers of government,

PLY

I. 273; rights and duties of towns, I. 274, 275; judicial authority, I. 276-279; her code of statutes the most ancient in the colonies, I. 278; laws of marriage and inheritance of widows, I. 278; religion, education, and social life, I. 285-301; matters pertaining to worship and the church, I. 285-289, 303, 394; III. 81; military force, I. 290-292; industry and manufactures, I. 292-294; trading and travel, I. 294-296; houses and clothing, etc., I. 296-298; food and amusements, I. 298-300; titles and language, I. 300, 301; disturbances caused by Gorton, I. 305; return of William Vassall to the country, I. 324, 325; Stuyvesant's proposal concerning the questions pending between the Dutch and English colonists, I. 337, 338; claims a portion of the land granted to Rhode Island, I. 345; Rhode Island not willing to come under her jurisdiction, I. 347; furnishes men for the war with the Narragansetts, I. 348; her vessels to be taxed on entering Boston harbor, I. 355; message sent to Massachusetts concerning the agitations at Springfield, I. 355; New France seeks aid from, I. 334; relations with the Abenakis, I. 334; furnishes one of the arbitrators in the dispute with New Netherland, I. 365; sides with the western colonies in the trouble with the Dutch, I. 367; dissensions between the colonies, I. 358-373; influenced by the state of things abroad, I. 368; raise a committee to examine the Articles of Confederation, I. 369; relations with Massachusetts, I. 372, 373, 383; efforts to convert the Indians, I. 379; one of her vessels seized, I. 389; dispute with Pawtuxet settled, I. 390; a day of thanksgiving observed, I. 392; relation of the town to the colony of, I. 392, 393; obtains enlargement of her property, I. 398; rights of citizenship, I. 398; churches of, I. 393, 394; revised collections of the laws, I. 398; II. 85, 86, 305; the Puritans asked to settle in Ireland or Jamaica, I. 404, 405; position held by Bradford, I. 408; death of Winslow, I. 408; death of Miles Standish, I. 408; death of Governor Bradford, I. 408; proceedings with the Quakers, II. 16, 37; takes no action in the Synod of 1657, II. 19; proclaims Charles II, II. 37; protests against the action of Connecticut in the matter of New Haven,

PLY

II. 46; her political position, II. 55; demands of the Royal Commissioners, II. 67, 68; meeting of Governor Prince with the Royal Commissioners, II. 68; obedience to the royal demands, II. 68; described by the Royal Commissioners, II. 84; social system of, as shown by the laws, II. 85, 86, 89; no counties in, II. 86; views concerning the renewal of the Confederacy, II. 95-98; meeting of the Confederacy to be held at, II. 97; proportionate number of troops to be raised by, II. 97, 98; death of Governor Prince, II. 109; term of office of Governor Prince, II. 109, 387; a public school to be established in, II. 109, 110; Winslow elected Governor of, II. 109, 387; their land bought from the Indians, II. 122; relations with the Indians, II. 122-126; number of "praying Indians" in, II. 124; Alexander, brother of Philip, summoned to, II. 126; Philip's War, II. 126-193; conference held by Philip, II. 127, 128; treaty made with the Narragansetts, II. 132; Commissioners exhibit "Narrative" of the Indian war before the Confederacy, II. 139, 140; decision of the colony to furnish troops against King Philip, II. 140; the storming of the Narragansett fort, II. 144-150; troops at Wickford on the way to the rendezvous, II. 146; troops from, at Pettyquamscott, II. 148; massacres near, II. 157, 158; the town sacked and burned, II. 159; forces march to the relief of, II. 160; surrender of the Indians, II. 167; Indians sent to Clarke's Island, II. 169; the head of Philip exposed at, II. 172; number of towns destroyed by Indians, II. 181; funds contributed to the war, II. 182; beheading of Indian chiefs, II. 183; her debt in the war, II. 188; the misery resulting from Philip's War, II. 188, 189, 277; report of Randolph concerning his visit to, II. 203; relations with Randolph, II. 277; election of Thomas Hinckley as Deputy-Governor, II. 277, 387; election of James Cudworth as Deputy-Governor, II. 277, 387; Randolph sends a petition to the King, in regard to a government for, II. 290, 291; no Assembly allowed in New England, II. 291; its history during the period of Dudley's Presidency, II. 304; King James proclaimed, II. 304, 305; divided into three counties, II. 305; sheriffs appointed, II. 305; an Address sent to the King, II. 305; receives a letter

PLY

from the King, II. 305; public occurrences recorded after the death of Charles II., II. 305; a letter sent to James II., II. 305; included in Governor Andros's commission, II. 317; Counsellors from, summoned to sit in Andros's Council, II. 320; action of Governor Andros in regard to the government, II. 333; yields to the new régime, II. 333; taxes extorted by Governor Andros, II. 333, 334; names of her Counsellors summoned to sit in Andros's Council, II. 333, 338, 339; Thomas Hinckley, the ex-Governor, sits in Andros's Council, II. 333, 339; Deputy-Governor Bradford appointed to sit in Andros's Council, II. 333, 339; indignation at the treatment of Rev. Mr. Wiswall, II. 349, 350; Addresses from, presented to the King, II. 358; the Revolution in New England, II. 370-386; accession of William III. to the throne, II. 379; petition presented for their ancient privileges, II. 381; her conduct on the removal of Governor Andros, II. 383; Governor Hinckley recalled to office, II. 383, 387; III. 79; names of Assistants, with term of service, II. 387; names of her Governors, with term of service, II. 387; names of her Deputy-Governors, with term of service, II. 387; no Deputy-Governor until 1680, II. 387; the month for holding elections, II. 387; names of the Commissioners of the Confederacy, II. 394-398; prospects disclosed by the Revolution, III. 1-18; at the royal mercy, III. 2; number of Indians in, III. 23; conference with Indians, III. 37; Mather is authorized to petition that they be united to Boston, III. 70, 80; the colony to form a part of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, III. 71, 75, 79, 81; III. 464; IV. 284, 285; number of Counsellors and Representatives to be sent to the Massachusetts Legislature, III. 71, 72; provisions of the new charter, III. 71-75; the Governor to be Commander-in-Chief of the Militia, III. 72; its condition after the resumption of its ancient government, III. 79, 80; an Address to be sent to the King, III. 79; taxation for paying troops, III. 80; Mr. Wiswall acts as agent for, in England, III. 80; the plan of annexation to New York or Massachusetts, III. 80, 81; the expense of procuring a charter, III. 80, 81; inhabitants of, at the time of annexation, III. 81;

PLY

- number of churches and ministers in, I. 81; extent of, in a westerly direction, III. 110; election of John Bradford struck from the list of Counsellors by Governor Dudley, III. 234; service of John Gorham in Philip's War, III. 249; Josiah Winslow, the descendant of Governors Edward and Josiah Winslow, killed by Indians, III. 407; expenditures of the colony on wars, etc., IV. 343.
- Plymouth*, town of, I. 392, 393; II. 159; III. 81.
- Plymouth Colony*, or *Company*, formation of, I. 6, 7; efforts made to colonize America, I. 7, 8, 16.
- Plymouth Harbor*, I. 64; II. 349; entrance of the Mayflower, I. 64; II. 379.
- Plymouth Indians*, the, II. 125.
- Pocahontas*, daughter of Powhatan, saves the life of Captain Smith, I. 12, 13.
- Pocasset*, II. 131, 133, 186; Weetamoo, the squaw sachem of, drowned, II. 171.
- Point Judith*, I. 191.
- Point Levi*, III. 47.
- Pokanoket Country*, the, II. 127, 187; III. 304.
- Pokanokets*, the, I. 29, 130, 165; II. 127, 173; their dwelling-place, I. 29; also called the Wampanoags, I. 29; II. 124; treaty made with the whites by Massasoit, I. 68; II. 125; Massasoit the chief of, I. 76; II. 125; visited by Roger Williams, I. 165; refuse to listen to the missionaries, II. 124; contesting claims to the territory, II. 279, 280. See *Wampanoags*.
- Polls*, value of, in Connecticut, IV. 373.
- Polygamy*, I. 34.
- Pomeroy*, Rev. Benjamin, waits upon Whitefield, IV. 112; arraigned before the Assembly, IV. 115, 116.
- Pomeroy*, Seth, chosen by Massachusetts to command troops, IV. 435.
- Pomham*, objects to Miantonomo's sale of land, I. 306; a warrant issued to the settlers of Shawomet to answer his complaint, I. 309; the Shawomet offenders to keep clear of his land, I. 312; treaty made with, I. 349; made prisoner, II. 170.
- Pope*, the, I. 169; alliance made with William III., III. 3.
- Popham*, Sir John, Chief Justice of England, I. 5.
- Popish Emissaries*, suspicions entertained concerning the Quakers, II. 4, 5.
- Popish Plot*, the, II. 227; III. 113.
- Popish Power*, dread of, I. 125, 249.

POR

- Population*, characteristics and nationality of, in New England, I. iii, iv, ix; number of inhabitants on the earth, I. v; statistics of the army, I. vii, viii, and note; of the United States, the nationality of, I. viii, ix; number of people outside but descendants of the people of New England, I. ix; number of "praying," or Christian, Indians in New England, I. 378, 379; II. 124; III. 23, 24, 357; IV. 282; statistics of Indians and of negroes, I. 378, 379; II. 124, 147, 151; III. 23, 24, 32, 304, 330, 357, 398, 430, 439; IV. 128, 282, 333, 372, 373; number of persons executed for professing the Quaker doctrines, II. 16; number of people killed in Philip's War, II. 181, 182; number of people executed for witchcraft, III. 116; of Boston, III. 81, 169; IV. 182; of Canada, see *New France*; of Charlestown, I. 100; of Connecticut, I. 181, 184, 186, 223, 231, 232, 236, 271, 396; II. 82; III. 210, 345, 439; IV. 198, 281, 372, 373; of Exeter, I. 214; of Grand Pre, IV. 213; of Kingston, R. I., III. 330; of Lancaster, Mass., II. 152; of Maine, I. 403; of Massachusetts, I. 97, 100, 113, 114, 118, 120, 123, 137, 143, 149, 154, 271; II. 82; III. 81, 303, 304, 357, 398; IV. 182, 197, 198, 333, 333; of New England, I. viii, ix, 100, 132, 271; II. 82; III. 30, 304, 357; IV. 226, 291, 333; of New France and Canada, III. 30; IV. 148, 186, 226, 250, 251; of New Hampshire, I. 214, 215; III. 424; of New Haven, I. 228, 231, 232, 271, 314; of New York, I. ix, 89, 90; II. 63; of Newport, I. 212, 390; III. 330; IV. 365; of Nova Scotia, IV. 148, 186, 250, 251; of Pawtuxet, I. 390; of Plymouth, I. 58, 70, 72, 83, 141, 142, 147, 271, 393; II. 82; of Portsmouth, R. I., I. 390; of Providence, I. 167, 390; III. 330; IV. 364, 365; of Quebec IV. 250, 251; of Rhode Island, I. 212, 390; II. 82; III. 329, 390, 43; IV. 128, 282, 283, 364, 365; of Salem, I. 97, 100; of Virginia Colony, I. 15; of Warwick, I. 390.
- Pork*, I. 299; exported from Massachusetts, II. 84.
- Porpoise*, Cape. See *Cape Porpoise*.
- Porridge*, I. 299.
- Port Royal*, former name of Annapolis, I. 315; IV. 148; expedition fitted out against, III. 42; surrenders, III. 42, 381; Phipps's proceedings at, de-

POR

nounced by Frontenac, III. 49; reinforcements for the French, III. 142; attack on the fort at Pemaquid, III. 142; effort to fortify, III. 143; the terms of the treaty compel the restitution of forts to their former owners, III. 153, 154; expedition of Major Church, III. 249, 250; offensive operations resumed, III. 250; expedition under Colonel March, III. 250, 252-257; surrenders to Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson, III. 256-258, 381; Vetch left in command, III. 258; plan of the French to retake, III. 265; accusations against Dudley, III. 288, 289, 296; service of Tailor at, III. 316; troops sent from Connecticut against, III. 334; terms of cession of Nova Scotia to Great Britain, III. 381.

Porter, John, his complaint to the Commissioners, II. 74.

Portland, Indian attacks near by, III. 27.

Portsmouth, England, I. 77.

Portsmouth, New Hampshire, I. 88; II. 267; III. 324, 427; former names of, I. 88, 218, 403; application made to the General Court, II. 77; fortifications repaired, II. 108, see *Piscataqua Fort*; a treaty concluded with Indians, II. 178; representations of Randolph, II. 202; commissions in, vacated, II. 232; arrival of Randolph, II. 268; Court of Justice at, II. 268, 269; Randolph's operations at, II. 269; Stileman dismissed from the charge of the fort, II. 273; the fort to be repaired, II. 275; vessel seized by Palmer, II. 332, 333; arrival of Governor Andros, II. 352; its security against the Indians, III. 24, 86; murders by the Indians, III. 140; story of the quarrel between Phipps and Usher, III. 191, 192; inspection of the fort by Phipps, III. 192; arrival of Lord Bellomont, III. 195; need of fortification in the French wars, III. 245; Indian treaty, III. 265, 388, 389; cost and erection of a fortification at, III. 301; IV. 261; amount of postage tax on letters, III. 307; the revivals, IV. 83, 88, 89; illness of Whitefield, IV. 98; schools, IV. 133; joyful reception of the news of the surrender of Louisburg, IV. 166, 167; reception given to Pepperell, IV. 168; advance of Wolfe, IV. 245; Governor Wentworth, IV. 256; landing of George Meserve, IV. 395; disposal of the cargoes of tea, IV. 428, 429; the fort at, dismantled, IV. 435.

POW

Portsmouth, town in Rhode Island, I. 212, 343; II. 114; IV. 129; organization and government of, I. 212, 213, 318, 344, 346; Coddington displaced from office, I. 212, 305; confusion in the affairs of government, I. 382, 383, 389; number of freemen in, I. 390; visited by two of the Royal Commissioners, II. 60; taxed to pay a debt to John Clarke, II. 111, 112; sends delegates to the General Assembly of Rhode Island, III. 430.

Portsmouth Harbor, proposal to erect a fort in, III. 195.

Portugal, III. 167; English troops wanted, III. 256; trade in ship-timber, III. 368; exports and imports, III. 424; the trade with New England in fish, IV. 331, 332.

Portuguese, I. 3; Captain Kidd a terror to, III. 165.

Postmaster, the, II. 291; III. 307; Randolph receives the commission for, II. 291; worth of the office in Boston, IV. 135.

Postmaster-General of the King, the, III. 210.

Post-office, the, for foreign correspondence, I. 249; Act to establish a Post-office in all parts of Her Majesty's dominion, III. 305-308, 335; prices of postage and other regulations, III. 306-308; first institution of the kind in England, III. 308; the revenue from, III. 308-310.

Potato, the, I. 31, 294; date of its culture in North America, III. 428.

Potomac, the, I. vii.

Poultry, I. 34, 292, 298.

Povey, Thomas, Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, III. 226; IV. 441; made Captain of the Castle, III. 271; his last General Court, III. 274; succeeded by William Tailor, III. 316; IV. 441.

Pow-wow, the, I. 37, 131.

Powhatan, an Indian chief, I. 11, 12; his daughter rescues John Smith, I. 12, 13.

Pownall, Secretary of the Board of Trade, IV. 231.

Pownall, Thomas, Governor of Massachusetts, excuse offered by the Court of Massachusetts for lack of liberality, I. vi; appointed Governor of Massachusetts, IV. 231, 441; his administration in Massachusetts, IV. 231-255; his relations with Shirley, IV. 232; Lieutenant-Governor of New Jersey, IV. 232; Secretary to Sir Danvers Osborne, IV. 232; commissions' Pepperell to be Lieutenant-General of the forces of

POW

- Massachusetts, IV. 232; a letter to Webb, IV. 232, 233; revision by the House of grants of money, IV. 235; interest with the Board of Trade, IV. 254, 255; to be Governor of South Carolina, IV. 254, 255; his characteristics, IV. 255; relations with Thomas Hutchinson, IV. 301; his opinions of a liberal cast, IV. 305; arguments in Parliament in relation to questions of colonial administration, IV. 327; his "Colonial Administration," IV. 342, 412; letter from Governor Bernard in relation to Rhode Island, IV. 363; his judicious advice, IV. 412; a member of Parliament, IV. 420; protests against the tea-tax, IV. 420, 421.
- Pownall*, town of, trouble growing out of the New Hampshire Grants, IV. 360.
- Praying Indians*, the, II. 124, 125, 167, 169. See *Indians*.
- Preble*, Jedediah, appointed a General, IV. 435.
- Prentice*, Captain, assumes command against the Indians, II. 131.
- Presbytery*, I. 111, 324; the law of the land in Scotland, I. 322; champions of, I. 323; the Westminster Assembly, I. 323; controversy with Congregationalism, I. 323-333; Memorials asking for a Presbyterian reform, seized, I. 327, 328; conflict reveals a weak point in the Independent platform, I. 328, 329; the Classes, Synods, and General Assembly of, I. 331; sympathy with the object of the conversion of the Indians, I. 335; influence upon Rev. Peter Hobart, I. 358; plotting of the party, I. 360; driven from Scotland, II. 92; the party loses power in England, II. 261; changes in the ecclesiastical constitution of Connecticut, III. 341-343; Irish settlers belong to the party, III. 428, 429; work accomplished during the revivals, IV. 87, 94.
- President*, the, I. 7.
- President of Brown University*, the, IV. 363, 364.
- President of Harvard College*, the, III. 174, 293, 294.
- President of Maine*, the, II. 265, 266.
- President of Massachusetts*, the, II. 291-294, 296, 298-303; III. 20.
- President of the "Council for the Safety of the People,"* etc., the, II. 377; Addresses sent to William and Mary, III. 56.
- President-General*, the, officer in the scheme of colonial union, IV. 202-204.

PRI

- Presidents of New Hampshire*, the, II. 267, 268, 393.
- Presidents of the Confederacy*, the, II. 394-398; custom pertaining to the election of, II. 394.
- Presidents of the Providence Plantations*, the, II. 392.
- Press*, the, established at Cambridge, I. 289; the censorship of, established, II. 35; no liberty allowed in, II. 356; freedom of, established in Massachusetts, III. 375.
- Preston*, John, Captain of the Company concerned in the Boston Massacre, IV. 419.
- Pretender*, the, III. 367, 372.
- Prevost*, Major, III. 47.
- Prideaux*, General, the campaign against Quebec, IV. 244-250; his death, IV. 244.
- Priest*, Diggory, I. 50; joins the company on board the Mayflower, I. 59.
- Prince*, Mary, a Quaker, disturbance caused by her, II. 8.
- Prince*, Thomas, Governor of Plymouth, arrangements made with the Plymouth Colony, I. 86, 87; elected Governor, I. 147; II. 387; one of the arbitrators in the case of Stuyvesant, I. 365; to organize a government on the Kennebec, I. 393; yields to the wishes of the Royal Commissioners, II. 68, 110; the views of Plymouth concerning the Confederation sent to the General Court of Massachusetts, II. 95; his death, II. 109.
- Prince*, Rev. Thomas, settled over the Old South Church in Boston, IV. 77; religious excitement, IV. 77; extracts from his chronicles of the revivals, IV. 86, 98.
- Prince of Orange*, the. See *William III*.
- Prince of Wales*, the, birth of, II. 357.
- Princess Sophia*, IV. 38.
- Pring*, Martin, his voyage to New England, I. 4, 6.
- Printing-press* established, I. 289. See *Press*.
- Prisoners* argue their own cases, I. 277.
- Prisons*, I. 239; III. 440.
- Private Bank*, the, project of, III. 311; ill success of, IV. 187; the business placed under restrictions, IV. 189; opposed by Hutchinson, IV. 191.
- Privateering*. See *Piracy*.
- Privy Council*, the, I. 132, 133; complaints brought by Mason and others about Massachusetts, I. 132, 133, 150, 163; detains vessels about

PRI

to sail for America, I. 152; creation of a Commission to manage colonial affairs, I. 152, 155, 156, 195, see *Lords Commissioners for Foreign Plantations*, defence of the chartered rights of Massachusetts, I. 237, 339; change of position in regard to the affairs of New England, I. 339, 340; the Royal Commissioners to proceed to New England, II. 55, 56; business of the colonies intrusted to, II. 93, 194, 195; foreign affairs to be again managed by a committee of, called the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, II. 195, see *Lords of the Committee*, etc.; its hostility to New England, II. 195-197; adopts the recommendation of the Lords of the Committee, II. 197; agents from Massachusetts present a memorial, II. 210; matters pertaining to the legal condition of Massachusetts and the claims of Mason and Gorges, II. 210-221, 223-228, 237, 239, 249-253; Randolph's statements before, II. 257; government of New Hampshire, II. 267-270; a *mandamus* given to Mason, II. 269; Governor Cranfield receives a notice to depart from New Hampshire, II. 276; business of Holden and Greene, II. 279-282; decision of the commission appointed to inquire into the claims to the Narragansett country, II. 282; provision made for Episcopacy in Boston, II. 291; form of proclamation of the King, II. 305; receives complaints against, and Addresses from Rhode Island and Connecticut, II. 306, 309; its proclamation arrives in Connecticut, II. 308; empowered to approve or repeal laws made in New England, II. 355, 356; question as to its control of colonial questions, III. 5, 6; the management of colonial affairs pronounced unsatisfactory, III. 17; Andros to be arraigned before, III. 53; business of New England postponed, III. 54, 55; a Committee for Trade and Plantations appointed, III. 55; scheme of a General Governor for New England, III. 55, 56; papers presented from New England, III. 56; orders sent to Massachusetts, III. 57; Andros and others set at liberty, III. 62; efforts of Massachusetts to regain her charter, III. 66-71, 77, 78; steps taken with regard to witchcraft in New England, III. 118; disallows the bills to establish a naval office and incorporate the College, III. 125; objects to an im-

PRI

portant Act concerning taxes of the Massachusetts Court, III. 127; commissioners to investigate the charges against Governor Phipps, III. 136; Governor Phipps ordered to repair to England, III. 138; colonial affairs removed to a special board, III. 148; colonial matters transferred to a Board of Trade, III. 152, see *Lords of Trade*; its action concerning the Courts of Justice in Massachusetts, III. 156-158; plan of annexation of Connecticut and New York, III. 199; rights of appeal from the colonies, III. 204, 205; matters pertaining to the military rights of Rhode Island and Connecticut, III. 205-208, 219-221; the question of boundaries relating to Rhode Island and Connecticut, III. 214, 431, 452, 453; IV. 129, 130, 140, 285, 286; prohibition to impress seamen, III. 262; the matter of a fixed salary for the Governor of Massachusetts, III. 267; IV. 31, 32, 41-48, 52-54, 143-145, see *Governor*; alleged criminal proceedings in Nova Scotia, III. 277-281; matters pertaining to Governor Allen's claims to lands in New Hampshire, II. 319-321; matters pertaining to the land claims of the Mohegan Indians, III. 337, 338, 340; the charters of New England in danger, III. 339-341, 453, 454; contracts regarding naval supplies, III. 365, 366; complaints against the House of Representatives, III. 415-418; representation to the King, III. 419; advice to the King regarding the salary of the Governor of Massachusetts, III. 423; complaints of Armstrong, III. 430; appeal in the case of John Liveen's will, III. 457, 458; enactments of Massachusetts reported to, III. 465; advice to the King concerning the insubordination of Massachusetts, IV. 26; Burnet's practice of taking fees, IV. 37; the question of public supplies and payments in Massachusetts, IV. 47-52; redemption of the bills of credit in Massachusetts, IV. 52-58; the jurisdiction of Pemaquid, IV. 63, see *Pemaquid*; commission appointed to settle the boundary between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, IV. 68-72; order to proclaim George II. in Connecticut, I. 122; contest concerning a law in America relating to inheritance, IV. 122-124; dispute arising from the New Hampshire Grants, IV. 360, 361; petition for the removal of the Governor and

PRO

- Lieutenant-Governor from Massachusetts, IV. 426.
- Probate*, matters relating to wills, II. 324; III. 129; appointment of the Judge of, IV. 301, 302, 336; provisions of the Stamp Act, IV. 376.
- Probate Courts*, III. 72, 129.
- Processes*, I. 277, 278.
- Proctor*, Elizabeth, charged with witchcraft, III. 97.
- Property*, taxable property of Massachusetts in 1865, I. iv, v; value of the registered products of labor in Massachusetts, for the year ending June, 1855, I. v; of Plymouth, I. 144, 147; in New Haven, I. 232; taxed for the Treasury, I. 274; the widows share, I. 278; of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, I. 376; II. 98, 302, 303; valuation of, in Connecticut, I. 396; III. 210; 386, 345; debt incurred in Philip's War, II. 182; taxable property in Massachusetts, III. 310, 399; of Rhode Island, IV. 128, 129, 365.
- Protector*, the, of England. See *Cromwell*.
- Protestant Reformation*, the, III. 115.
- Protestantism*, revered in New England, II. 287, 380; prospects for, after the Revolution, III. 3-5, 10-13; position occupied by William III., III. 3-5, 350; arrogance of the Church in England, III. 350, 351; prospects disclosed by the accession of George I., III. 350, 351; IV. 290; regulations in Yale College, IV. 275.
- Protestants*, the, III. 10; IV. 260; privileges of Trinitarians, III. 10, 11; liberty of conscience secured to, III. 73; plot to set aside the Protestant succession, III. 351, 352.
- Providence and Providence Plantations*, foundations laid by Roger Williams, I. 166, 178; the early government, I. 166-168; burned by Indians in Philip's War, I. 167; II. 159, 188; new arrivals, I. 211; desire English protection, I. 213, 214; Roger Williams to be despatched to England for a patent, I. 214, 344; the settlements on Narragansett Bay not admitted to the Confederacy, I. 263; trouble caused by Gorton, Greene and others, I. 304-306; trouble caused by the Shawomet offenders, I. 306, 312; the Shawomet offenders banished from, I. 312; attempts to unite with other plantations, I. 343-347; return of Roger Williams with the patent, I. 344; the union called the Providence

PRO

- Plantations, I. 344; names of officers chosen for the new government, I. 346; II. 392; John Coggeshall made President, I. 346; II. 392; Williams to be Assistant, I. 346; II. 392; Coddington goes to England, I. 346, 381; Coddington elected President, I. 346; II. 392; the Narragansetts make a truce with, I. 348; Coddington returns with a patent for the government, I. 351; remanded to its original isolation, I. 382; Easton chosen President, I. 386, 387; II. 392; Gorton succeeds Easton, I. 387; II. 392; the four towns reunited, I. 387, 389; Smith and Dexter elected Presidents, I. 387; II. 392; Clarke obtains a revocation of the instrument of Coddington, I. 387, 388; confusion of matters, I. 388, 389; restoration of Williams's Patent, I. 389, 390; Pawtuxet becomes an appendage of, I. 390; Williams elected President, I. 390; II. 392; riots and dissensions, I. 390, 391; population of, I. 390; III. 330; IV. 364, 365; Benedict Arnold made President, I. 391; II. 392; part of her lands given to Connecticut, II. 41; a charter obtained by Clarke for the Providence Plantations and Rhode Island, II. 50-52; rumor concerning their troubling the Atherton Company, II. 51, 52; contents of the charter, II. 52; situation of, II. 83; taxed to pay a debt to John Clarke, II. 111, 112; George Fox visits, II. 113; extent of the King's Province, II. 114, see *King's Province*; left to form a part of Rhode Island, II. 114; Dudley discharges the people of the King's Province from the government of, II. 307, 308; names of the Governors, Deputy-Governors, Presidents, and Assistants, II. 392, 393; Governor Phipps asserts his rights over, III. 219; boundary questions, III. 328, 329; IV. 285, 286; establishment of Providence County, III. 331, 453; IV. 129; number uniting with the troops against Canada, III. 332; delegates to the General Assembly, III. 430; Episcopal church organized, III. 435; the town of, situated in Providence County, IV. 129; privileges extended for schools, IV. 133; commission meets to settle the boundaries of Rhode Island, IV. 236; Brown University, IV. 363, 364; rumors of the seizure of a vessel, IV. 368; a party from, boards the Gaspee, IV. 422, 423.

PRO

- Providence*, town of, III. 430; IV. 129.
Providence County, III. 331, 453; IV. 129; towns constituting, IV. 129.
Providence Plantations, the, see *Providence*.
Provincetown, the Mayflower drops anchor off, I. 60.
Provincial Assembly, the, IV. 256.
Provisional Congress, the, Committees of Safety and Supplies chosen, IV. 434; John Hancock chosen President of, IV. 434; appoints officers to take command of the militia, IV. 434, 435; a new meeting of, in Massachusetts, IV. 436, 437; arms deposited at Concord by, IV. 436, 437.
Provisional Government, formed at the time of the Revolution of the Seventeenth Century, II. 377.
Provisional Government in Massachusetts, the, II. 288-313.
Provisions, III. 330, 345..
Provost-Marshal, the, of Gorgeana, I. 221.
Prudden, Rev. Peter, one of a company of settlers at Quinnipiack, I. 226-229; leads a party to a place near the Housatonic, I. 229.
Psalms, sung at church in New England, I. 288.
Public Bank, the, instituted, III. 311, 312; ill success of the expedient, IV. 187, 188.
Public Schools, I. 289. See *Schools*.
Pulteney, William, Earl of Bath, IV. 294; the "Letter to two Great Men," IV. 294.
Pumpkin, the, I. 31, 292.
Punkapog, community of Indians at, I. 378.
Purchas, Thomas, his settlement, I. 222, 223; Indian depredations at his house, II. 173.
Puritanism, I. 47; II. 284, 285; III. 228; origin of the party, I. 47, 48; the growth of, in England, I. 91-94; the laws concerning extravagance in dress, not the fruit of, I. 283; exists mostly in New England, II. 3, 193; changes made in their old customs, II. 324, 325; practice of punishing witchcraft, III. 115; its condition in the time of Queen Anne, III. 303; faith and habit of the soldier, IV. 162; opposition to Episcopalianism, IV. 183.
Puritans, the, number of, in the early period of the history of New England, I. iv; their work in the cause of liberty, I. vi; origin of the party, I. 47, 48; the Separatists and Brownists, I. 48; oppressed by

QUA

- Bancroft, I. 48, 49; resolve to go to the Low Countries, I. 49, 50; their dwelling at Leyden, I. 49-59; their project for emigration, I. 51-60, see *Plymouth*; the term "Pilgrim" given to, I. 57; connection between the Separatists and the congregation of Scrooby, I. 58, 59; a nation of, in New England, I. 110; religious and social customs, I. 285-301; II. 324, 325; overtures of Cromwell to, I. 404, 405; persecuted in England, II. 210; Andros's tastes foreign to, II. 319; possible danger to, III. 74; in Massachusetts and Connecticut, IV. 383; their prejudices against many people, IV. 383, 384. See *Dissenters*, *Non-conformists*, and *Puritanism*.
Putnam, Ann, found to be a witch, III. 95-97; declares her penitence, III. 107.
Putnam, Israel, Lieutenant-Colonel of a Connecticut regiment, his youth, III. 469; a soldier in the English ranks, IV. 217; his narrow escape from Indians, IV. 241; his position as Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, IV. 281; expedition against Havana, IV. 372.
Putnam, Thomas, the troubles from witchcraft, III. 94-97.
Pym, a patentee of Connecticut, I. 108.
Pynchon, Major John, Counsellor of Massachusetts, son of the Assistant Pynchon, II. 137; his service in Philip's War, II. 137; elected Counsellor of Massachusetts, III. 234; IV. 442; his death, III. 234.
Pynchon, William, Assistant of Massachusetts, I. 118, 160; II. 388; settles at Roxbury, I. 118; favors the emigration to Connecticut, I. 178-180; establishes himself at Springfield, I. 183; decision rendered concerning the location of Springfield, I. 235.
QUABOAG, former name of Brookfield, II. 132, 133.
Quadequina, brother of Massasoit, visits the Plymouth Colony, I. 68.
Quail, the, I. 25.
Quakers, the, II. 1, 236; IV. 438; complaints from, to the King, II. 1-4, 30; treatment received by, in different parts of the world, II. 3, 4, 7-17, 30, 31, 34, 35; origin of, and founder of the sect, II. 4; their characteristics and standing, II. 4-7, 15, 16, 33; determination to dwell in Massachusetts against the ex-

QUA

pressed desire of the colony, II. 5-7; influence of Endicott, Bellingham, and Norton, II. 7; laws concerning, II. 9-12, 14, 15, 217, 239; IV. 36, 125; banishment, scourging, and execution of, II. 10-16, 31, 35; performances of, in church and in the streets, II. 15, 16, 33; number of, persecuted in Massachusetts, II. 16; attitude of the King towards, II. 30, 31, 34; disturb the politics of the Plymouth Colony, II. 37; tenderness of Cudworth for, II. 109; numerous in Rhode Island, II. 112, 437; IV. 131; publications relating to arguments used by Fox and by Roger Williams, II. 113; their influence against Massachusetts, II. 217; Address to the King from, II. 307; connected with the government of Rhode Island, III. 216-218, 333; described by Lord Bellomont, III. 222; a female preacher slain by the French and Indians, III. 240; described by Dudley, III. 326, 327; children killed by Indians, III. 407; their religious position in Rhode Island, III. 437; imitated by the Rogerenes, III. 440; exempt from taxation for support of Congregational worship, IV. 125; prejudices against, held by the Puritans, IV. 433.

Quarry, Colonel Robert, Judge of Admiralty in New York and Pennsylvania, III. 232; his letter to the Lords of Trade, III. 232, 233.

Quarterly Courts, I. 117, 256.

Quebec, date of final capture by the English, I. v; early conquest of, by the English, I. 89; French territory in America, recovered by France, I. 363; Catholic missions, I. 363, 364; influence of the priests in religious and secular matters, III. 30, 237, 238, 245, 387, 405, 411; IV. 185, see *French*; arrival of Count Frontenac as Governor of New France, III. 86; Abenaki Indians attracted by the missionaries, III. 87; English led into captivity from Casco Bay, III. 40, 41; conditions of her defensive powers, III. 43; expedition against, by the English, III. 44-52; arrival of Frontenac, III. 47; the surrender demanded by Philip, III. 48; the English repulsed, III. 50, 51; proposed renewal of the attack, III. 52, 51, 82; problem of her conquest, III. 63; consequences of a second expedition against, III. 88, 89; fort of Cape Diamond at, III. 132; a new project for the conquest of, III. 133, 134; the French Governor plans an attack upon the fort at Pemaquid,

QUI

III. 142; renewed plan of attack by the English, III. 203, 237; death of Count Frontenac, III. 237, succession of De Callières and De Vaudreuil as Governors of, III. 237, 238; captives carried to, from Deerfield, III. 241; purpose of English expeditions against, III. 244, 245; a vessel destined for, captured by the English, III. 245; French and Indians attack Haverhill, III. 254; plans of attack upon, III. 256-264, 330; France obliged to concentrate her forces here, III. 265; disastrous consequences of the recent unsuccessful expeditions, III. 310; IV. 187; Connecticut's part in the expeditions against, III. 334; IV. 273; Father Rasle's influence over the Indians, III. 387, 410, 411, see *Rasle*; anger of the French with the English, III. 390; renewed plan of conquest by the English, IV. 171, 172; French forts command the routes to, IV. 206; influence of the Bishop over the French Neutrals, IV. 209, 210; nearness of the French Neutrals, IV. 211, see *French Neutrals*; approach of Baron Dieskau, IV. 211, 216; Wolfe's correspondence concerning the exiles from Acadia, IV. 216; plan of the campaign against, IV. 222, 227; comparative security of French and English cities, IV. 226, 227; its fate foreshadowed, IV. 243; the campaign against, IV. 244-250, 283; its strength of position, IV. 245, 247; fight on the Plains of Abraham, IV. 246-250, 254; death of Wolfe, IV. 249; death of General Montcalm, IV. 249; inscription commemorative of Montcalm placed in one of the churches, IV. 249; the English victorious, IV. 249-251, 281, 294; General Murray left in charge, IV. 250; French population of, IV. 251; consequences of the victory, and moral results of, IV. 251-254; its government, IV. 326, 327, 431; British regiments under marching orders, IV. 432.

"*Quedah Merchant*," the ship captured by Captain Kidd, III. 167.

Queen Anne's War, III. 228-265, 303, 304.

Queen Street, afterward Court Street, in Boston, II. 12.

Quince, the, I. 292.

Quincy, Edmund, sent to England to prosecute the claim of Massachusetts, IV. 71; his death, IV. 71.

Quincy, Josiah, Jr., conducts the defence in the trial of the perpetrators of the Boston Massacre, IV. 419.

QUI

- Quincy*, town of, I. 79.
Quinebaqui River, the, former name of the Kennebec, III. 37.
Quinnipiack, settlement at, I. 226-229; organization and civil government, I. 226-229; the "Freeman's Charge," I. 228. See *New Haven*.
Quinsigamond, former name of Worcester, II. 146; houses burned by Indians, II. 146. See *Worcester*.
Quit-rents, II. 260, 318; to be granted for the benefit of the King, II. 260; bargain of Mason in New Hampshire, II. 271; extortion of Governor Andros, and the invalidity of land-titles, II. 325, 328, 329, 332, 347, 348, 356.
Quo Warranto, writs of. See *Writs*.
Quoits, I. 36.

RACCOON, the, I. 26.

- Rain*, average annual fall in Massachusetts, I. 21.
Rainsford, Chief Justice of the Court of the King's Bench, II. 211; verdict concerning the derelictions of Massachusetts and the claims of Mason and Gorges, II. 211, 212.
Raleigh, Sir Walter, I. 3, 4, 53; obtains a patent from the Queen, I. 4.
Randolph, Edward, II. 193; III. 136; commissioned by Charles II. with special powers, II. 193; sails for Boston, II. 198; unfolds his errand, II. 198-202; complains of the neglect of the Navigation Laws, II. 201; III. 148; his representations and complaints of New England, II. 201-203, 210, 211, 214, 234, 235, 243-300, 302, 303, 306; visits New Hampshire, II. 202, 203; his visit to Governor Winslow at Plymouth, II. 203; bids farewell to Governor Leverett, II. 203, 204; sails for England, II. 204; his hostility to New England, II. 217, 233-235, 243, 251-253, 277, 290, 309; III. 56, 59-62, 64, 148; presents a Memorial asking for civil and religious changes, II. 225, 226; embarks for Boston, II. 226, 231; appointed Collector, Surveyor, and Searcher of New England, II. 232; seizure of vessels, II. 234; departs for England, II. 235-238; returns to Boston, II. 240; appointed deputy to Mr. Blathwayt, II. 240, 241; attempts to change old and settled institutions, II. 244; to assist in serving the writ of *quo warranto* against Massachusetts, II. 251, 253-255; ordered to repair to England, II. 252, 253; his return to Boston, II. 255; delivers his mes-

RAS

- sage to the General Court, II. 255; reports in England to the Privy Council and Secretary of State, II. 257; brings the Commission to Portsmouth for the government of New Hampshire, and exercises his functions as Collector, II. 264, 268, 269; to inquire into the claims of the Narragansett Country, II. 281, 282; his relations with Connecticut, II. 281-284; II. 290; goes again to England, II. 290; arrives in Boston with a new government, II. 291, 292; to be Postmaster, II. 291; III. 306; offices held by, II. 292; relations with President Dudley, II. 296-298; III. 227; relations with Rev. Mr. Ratcliffe, II. 297, 301; III. 169; urges the coming of the General Governor, II. 298-300; serves the *quo warranto* against Rhode Island, II. 306, 307; his charges against Rhode Island and Connecticut, II. 306-309; the government for the King's Province settled, II. 308; presents Articles of High Misdemeanor against Connecticut to the Privy Council, II. 309; his relations with Connecticut, II. 309-313, 336; serves the writ at Hartford, II. 311, 312; the leaders work together in the government, II. 320, 321; demands the use of the Old South Church for Episcopal service, II. 323; unites with Governor Andros and others in usurpations and extortions, II. 324, 327, 354, 376, 382; III. 2, 8; accused of forging a letter hurtful to Increase Mather, II. 351, 352; accompanies Governor Andros to Pemaquid, II. 353; the Revolution in Boston, II. 370; placed in gaol, II. 370, 371, 375; III. 53, 56; blamed by Captain George, II. 374; III. 56, 59; charges against, II. 376, 382; to be sent to England for trial, III. 53; his effort to calumniate Massachusetts, III. 56, 59-61; arrival in England, III. 61; released from durance, III. 62; renews his accusations in regard to the Navigation Act, III. 64; his report concerning Rhode Island, III. 217; commissioned to be Surveyor of the Woods, III. 365; defeated in his ambition, III. 367.
Randolph, Mrs. Edward, III. 56.
Randolph, Peyton, chosen President of the Second General Congress, IV. 433.
Ranters, the, I. 340.
Rasle, Sebastian, a Jesuit priest, established at Norridgewock, III. 139, 238, 386, 387; considered responsi-

RAS

- ble for Indian outbreaks, III. 388-390, 405, 408, 410-412; letters from Vaudreuil, III. 390-392; expeditions sent against, III. 391, 392, 406-410; his capture and death, III. 408-410.
- Raspberry*, the, I. 24.
- Ratcliffe*, Rev. Mr., an Episcopal clergyman, II. 297; his efforts to organize a society in Boston, II. 301, 302; III. 169; returns to England, III. 61.
- Rates*, Act passed establishing, II. 321, 322.
- Rats*, extirpation of, in Rhode Island, III. 434.
- Rattlesnake*, the, I. 26.
- Rawson*, Edward, Secretary of Massachusetts, II. 38, 289; letter to New Haven, II. 38; on committee to draw up an Address to the King, II. 205.
- Raynal*, Abbé, his account of the French Neutrals, IV. 209.
- Rayner*, Rev. Mr., succeeds Mr. Smith at Plymouth, I. 240.
- "*Reasons why the British Colonies in America should not be charged with Internal Taxes*," the, IV. 374.
- Récollet Friars*, the, III. 29.
- Recorder of London*, the, III. 9.
- Recorder's Court*, the, I. 222.
- Red Cross*, the. See *Cross*
- Red-breasted Thrush*, the, I. 25.
- Redwood Library*, the, origin of, IV. 133.
- Reeves*, John, II. 4.
- Reformation*, the, I. 47.
- Reforming Synod*, the, III. 341, 342.
- Regicides*, the, take refuge in America, II. 21, 22; a search for, instituted by order of Charles II., II. 23-26, 284; action of the people and final escape of, II. 24-26, 38, 43, 138, 284.
- Regiments*, I. 177, 178, 290-292.
- Registrar*, the, of Gorgeana, I. 221.
- Registrar*, the, of Massachusetts, II. 292.
- Registrar of Deeds*, the, II. 271.
- Registrar of the Admiralty in Boston*, the, IV. 393.
- Registration* established in Massachusetts, I. 249.
- Rehoboth*, I. 401; sufferings from Indian warfare, II. 159, 167.
- Religion*, contest for liberty of thought in, I. vi, 104, 105; of the Indians, I. 41-44; religious impulses at the foundation of New England, I. 47-60, 100, 112; the Committee of Reilgion, I. 109, 110; a religious aristocracy, I. 121-123; rights and

REV

- duties of freemen, I. 121, 122, 124, 125, 220, 226, 229, 272, 276, 287, 288, see *Freemen*; aims of Archbishop Laud, I. 160; dissensions in New England, I. 196-211; the reliance of the Puritans on the Scriptures, I. 227, 232, 281, 282; matters pertaining to church organizations, I. 271, 272, 283, 284, 287-289; the rites and ordinances of, I. 285, 289; II. 17-20, 34, 100-105; III. 171; the contest between Presbytery and Independency, I. 323-333, 339; missionary efforts to convert the Indians, I. 333-335; II. 124, 125; III. 24, 238, see *Indians*; effects of a religious partisanship, I. 382; rivalry between Popery and Episcopacy, II. 91; the Declaration of Indulgence, II. 344, 356; affairs in England after the Revolution, III. 2-5, 10-12; matters in England, at the time of the accession of George I., III. 349-351; matters pertaining to, in Rhode Island and Connecticut, III. 435-437, 440, 441; IV. 121, 133, 134; the revivals in New England, IV. 76-120; influence of the French ecclesiastics upon the Indians, IV. 198, see *French*; dictation of England in, IV. 290; religious agitation in Massachusetts, IV. 324-326. See *Church*, *Clergy*, *Dissenters*, and the names of the sects.
- "*Religious Constitution of Colleges*," the, a treatise by President Clapp of Yale College, IV. 276, 277.
- "*Remarks on the Letter to Two Great Men*," the, IV. 294.
- "*Remonstrance and Humble Petition*" to the General Court, the, I. 325, 326, 329.
- Representation*. See *House of Representatives* and *Taxation*.
- Reptiles*, the, of New England, I. 26.
- Residents' Oath*, the, I. 164. See *Oath*.
- Restoration*, the, I. 223; II. 1, 17, 28, 30, 48, 59, 78, 92, 190, 241; III. 2.
- Revolution, the First*, in New England, I. iii; date of the event, I. iii; the rising in England against James II., II. 367-369, 379, 381; the events in New England, II. 370-386; events following upon, III. 1-54, 199, 242, 203, 209, 210, 214, 291, 306, 381, 463; IV. 346, 381, 384, 385.
- Revolution, the Second*, in New England, I. iii; date of the event, I. iii; number of continental troops furnished by New England, I. vii; loyal sentiments in the colonies, IV. 288-294, 314-316, 415; remarks of

REV

John Adams bearing upon, IV. 325, 326; some of the causes, leading to the Revolutionary War, IV. 328-334, 347, 350-357, 364, 376-389, 404-411, 427-432, 434-438; the first shot fired, IV. 438.

Revolution, the Third, in New England, I. iii; date of, in New England, I. iii; part taken by New England in, I. vii, viii; feelings and passions awakened, IV. 884.

Rhode Island, one of the New England States, I. 2; III. 209; number of troops sent to the war of 1861, I. viii, note; visited by the northmen, I. 2; minerals of, I. 23; dwelling-place of certain Indians, I. 29; founding of Providence by Roger Williams, I. 163; earliest form of government in, I. 166-168; scarcity of early records, I. 167; grant of land followed by important consequences, I. 167; election of William Coddington as ruler of the colony, I. 211; arrival of the Antinomians, I. 211-213; founding of Newport, I. 212; form of government established, I. 212, 213, see *Assistants, Council, and General Court of Rhode Island*; the aid of Sir Henry Vane sought, I. 213; Roger Williams despatched to seek the royal protection, I. 213, 214, 344; election of Coddington as Governor of, I. 213; II. 112, 305, 392; settlements not admitted to the New England Confederation, I. 263; oath taken by the freemen of, I. 263; disturbances caused by Gorton, Greene, and the Shawomet people, I. 304-314, 339-346; IV. 119; surrender of the Narragansett Indians to the King, I. 312, 313; II. 279; Gorton goes to England, seeking permission to hold certain lands, I. 339, 340; return of Gorton, I. 342-344, 346, 347; distinct communities in, I. 343; Roger Williams attempts to unite in one government Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport, I. 343-347; the community called the "Providence Plantations," I. 344; to make laws conformable to the laws of England, I. 344, see *Laws*; Sir Henry Vane interests himself in behalf of, I. 344, 337; claims of Plymouth and Massachusetts in regard to territory, I. 345; governments for the different settlements, I. 345, 346; names of officers chosen in the settlements, I. 346; Coddington sails for England, I. 346, 347, 381; Coddington applies for the admission of the four colo-

RHO

nies into the Confederacy, I. 346, 347, 383; change of officers, I. 347; II. 392; Williams made Deputy-President, I. 347; II. 392; Nicholas Easton appointed President, I. 347, 386, 387; II. 392; Williams to be sent to England on business for the colony, I. 347, 386, 387; the return of Coddington with a commission for the government, I. 381, 382; a new order of government, I. 381, 382; hostility of Massachusetts to the Baptists, I. 382-386; people excited to oppose Coddington, I. 385; Clarke and Williams solicit a repeal of Coddington's commission, I. 386, 387; commission of Coddington revoked, I. 387-389; Coddington withdraws from the government, I. 388, 389; enters upon privateering, I. 388, 389; return of Williams, I. 389; two Boards of Magistrates chosen, I. 389; efforts of Roger Williams to restore harmony, I. 389, 390; returns to the old form of government, with Williams as President, I. 389, 390; II. 392; administration of Williams, I. 390-392; population of, I. 390; II. 82; III. 329, 330, 430; IV. 128, 282, 283, 334, 365; marauders from, annoy Connecticut, I. 396; questions of boundary, I. 401; II. 49-51, 110, 113, 114; III. 214, 328, 329, 333, 336, 431, 439, 450-453; IV. 68-72, 123-130, 139, 140, 284-286; John Dyer made Secretary of, II. 9; the Quakers at, II. 9, 11, 16, 111, 112; III. 217, 226; IV. 134; part of her land given to Connecticut, II. 41; proclaims Charles II. King, II. 48; Clarke obtains a royal charter for, II. 48-54; III. 2, 19; IV. 285; Clarke's patent conflicts with that of Connecticut, II. 49-54; claims the lands of the Atherton Company, II. 50, 53; grants conveyed in its charter, II. 52, 53; fresh cause for quarrel with Connecticut, growing out of the charters, II. 53, 54; effect of her charter upon the Confederacy, II. 55; return of Clarke, II. 64; visited and described by the Royal Commissioners, II. 69-71, 83-85; a province erected called the King's province, II. 70; number of towns in, II. 82, 114; IV. 129; the *impertinent file*, II. 111; discord caused by a debt to John Clarke, II. 111, 112; offices held by Governor Easton, II. 112; visited by George Fox, II. 112, 113; limits defined in the charter, II. 113, 114; continuation of the quarrel with Connecti-

RHO

cut, II. 114, 278-282; fight with the Narragansetts during Philip's War, II. 144-151; Indian depredations and butcheries committed in Philip's War, II. 157, 159, 172, 189; surrender of a Narragansett sachem, II. 183; its share in Philip's War, II. 188; position of Clarke in the colony, and his death, II. 189, 190; her claims set aside, II. 282; death of Roger Williams, II. 285, 286; position occupied and benefits rendered by Coddington, II. 286; death of Coddington, II. 286, 305; Randolph's effort to have a *quo warranto* writ served against, II. 290; history during Dudley's government, II. 304; son of Coddington elected Governor, II. 305, 392; complaints against, by Randolph, II. 306; a writ of *quo warranto* served against, II. 306, 307; the Assembly convened, II. 306, 307; Address from the Quakers to the King, II. 307; Dudley discharges the people of the King's Province from the government of, II. 307, 308; several Addresses sent to the King asking for a continuation of their privileges, II. 307, 334; course taken against by Privy Council, II. 309; Counsellors from, summoned to meet Governor Andros, II. 320; her charter surrendered to Governor Andros, II. 334, 335; III. 2, 215; Andros deposed from office, II. 370; the Revolution of the seventeenth century, II. 370-386; petition to the new King for their ancient privileges, II. 381; conduct on the removal of Andros, II. 383, 384; names of Governors and Deputy-Governors, II. 392; IV. 446, 447; names of Assistants, II. 393; IV. 447-449; her charter resumed, III. 2; difference in her condition politically from Massachusetts, III. 19; Andros's escape to, III. 57, 215; her motives for complying with the English court, III. 57; case of Jahleel Brenton, III. 135, 136; effort of the King to place the militia of Connecticut and Rhode Island under the Governors of Massachusetts and New York, III. 153, 207, 218, 219, 325, 333, 438; rumors of pirates, III. 164; attitude of the King towards, III. 198, 199; her charter to be inspected, III. 199, 200; manner of government, III. 200; disputed questions concerning the militia, III. 205-208; her pretensions, III. 214; matters relating to her governors and government, III.

RHO

214-223; election of Governors Clarke, Coggeshall, Almy, and Bull, III. 216; election of John Easton as Governor, III. 216; IV. 446; administration of Governor Easton, III. 216; election of Caleb Carr and Walter Clarke as Governor, III. 216, 217; the Legislature is divided into two branches, III. 217; taxes, III. 217; election of Governor Samuel Cranston, III. 217; IV. 446; salary of the Governor and payment of other officers, III. 217; her laws, III. 217, 434-438; IV. 132; internal condition, III. 217-219, 329, 330, 465; her mail regulations, III. 218; Admiralty powers assumed by the Governor and Deputy-Governor, III. 218; relations with Massachusetts and New York, III. 218; schools, III. 218; IV. 133; Phipps's effort to assume the command of the militia of, III. 218-221; implicated in privateering in the French War, III. 221, 222, 326; incurs the displeasure of the Lords of Trade, III. 221, 222, 330, 331; letters from Lord Bellomont describing affairs in, III. 222, 223; efforts to send agents to England, III. 228; Jahleel Brenton employed as agent for, in England, III. 223; passes an Act to support the Governor in the performance of the Navigation Laws, III. 223; military aid desired and sent, to unite in the war against New France, III. 248, 250-253, 255, 256, 269; relations with Governor Dudley, III. 325-333; action of the Privy Council against, III. 327, 328; the Queen prejudiced against, III. 328; the census to be taken, III. 329, 330; IV. 128; exports and imports, III. 330; IV. 129, 365, 366; shipping, III. 330, 365-367; neglect of the Navigation Laws, III. 330, 331, 339; first Rhode-Islander educated at college, III. 331; matters pertaining to the General Court, the Council, and the Governor, III. 331; the Colony House, III. 331; contributions to the war, III. 331, 332; divided into counties, III. 331; IV. 129; volunteers unite under Colonel Church, III. 332; expedition against Nova Scotia, III. 332; matters relating to the bills of credit, III. 332, 333, 433; IV. 55, 56, 130-132, 146, 147, 283, 284; expenses of the war with France, III. 332, 333; supposed number of fighting-men, III. 333; designs of Dudley upon her charter, III. 338-341; charges against, III. 339, 431; scar-

RHO

city of grain, III. 345; Shute to command the militia of, III. 361; towns sending delegates to the General Assembly, III. 430; service of Governor Cranston, III. 430; effort to obtain a royal revision of her laws, III. 430, 431; England's plan of annexation for, III. 431, 432, 452; neutrality in the Indian war, III. 432, 433; letter to Governor Vaudreuil, III. 433; the financial error, III. 433, 434; scruples about taking an oath, III. 434; bounty offered for destruction of wolves, III. 434; Episcopacy in, III. 435; the Sabbatarians, III. 435, 436; William Penn has charge of affairs for, in England, III. 438; law of the franchise, III. 438; her charter in danger, III. 438, 439; the Seventh-Day Baptists, III. 440; gift of Jahleel Brenton to Yale College, III. 443; order from England to send commissioners, to decide the boundary difficulty, III. 451, 452; sends Lieutenant-Governor Jenckes to act in England as agent for, III. 452; Partridge acts in England as agent for, III. 452; King's Province included in, III. 453; the King's Province to be called King's County, III. 453; example unfavorable to good order, III. 456; her policy, and course of conduct, III. 464; her notes refused in Massachusetts, IV. 55, 56; commission appointed to settle the boundary between New Hampshire and Massachusetts, IV. 68-72; career of Davenport, IV. 90, 119, 120; Synod of Saybrooke, IV. 110; the revivals in, IV. 119; the memory of Gorton, IV. 119; internal administration, IV. 127; Acts passed to improve the schools and regulate the militia, IV. 128; Governor Talcott's administration, IV. 128; commerce and trade, IV. 128, 129, 284, 332, 362, 363, 365-367, 370, 371; stage-coaches to be run, IV. 128, 129; term of service of Governor Cranston, IV. 130, 446; death of Governor Cranston, IV. 130; election of Governor Joseph Jenckes, IV. 130, 446; a fort erected at Newport, IV. 130; Address sent to George II. from, IV. 130; contest between the Governor and the Assembly, IV. 130-132; death of Governor Jenckes, IV. 132; elections of John and William Wanton to the Chief Magistracy, IV. 132, 446; arrival and residence of Bishop George Berkeley, IV. 132, 133, 275; "Historical Discourse on the Civil and Religious Affairs," etc., of, IV. 133,

RHO

134; expedition to Carthagena, IV. 134; religious statistics, IV. 134; term of office of Governor Wanton, IV. 134, 446; Collector of Customs, IV. 136; aid sent for the reduction of Louisburg, IV. 153; troops meet at Canseau, IV. 156; omitted from the Congress, but sends delegates, IV. 200-205; capture of Fort Frontenac, IV. 241, 242; circumstances in the latter part of George II.'s reign, IV. 281, 282; service in the French wars, IV. 282, 283; representation of the government by Shirley, IV. 282, 283; troops raised for the expedition against Louisburg, IV. 283; distribution of the reimbursement of the expedition against Louisburg, IV. 284; claim presented to Lord Clarendon's Commissioners, IV. 284, 285; the question settled by commissioners, IV. 286; forms of government under William III., IV. 288, 289, 381; propositions in relation to, by Governor Bernard, IV. 298, 299; the Writs of Assistance, IV. 362; Stephen Hopkins serves as Governor, IV. 362, 446; letter from Governor Hopkins to Pitt in relation to the illicit trade, IV. 362, 363; the privateers, IV. 362, 363; the Revenue Laws violated, IV. 362, 363; increase of wealth, IV. 363; establishment of Brown University, IV. 363, 364; her agent in England to act in conjunction with the agents of the other colonies, IV. 364; action in regard to the Sugar Act, IV. 364-367; value of English manufactures imported yearly, IV. 365; the West Indian and African trade, IV. 365, 366; effect of the proposed restriction on trade, IV. 366, 367; her debt from the late war, IV. 366, 367; rumors of the unpromising attitude of Governor Hopkins, IV. 367, 368; feeling in relation to taxation and representation, IV. 368-371; appoints a committee to consult respecting the repeal of the Sugar Act, and other matters, IV. 368, 369; opposition to the Stamp Act, IV. 368-371, 396; a petition sent to George III. in relation to the pending questions, IV. 369, 370; the "Rights of the Colonies," by Governor Hopkins, IV. 369-371; a Circular Letter addressed to all the colonies in regard to the Stamp Act, IV. 374, 398; Augustus Johnson appointed Stamp Distributor, IV. 396; delegates sent to the Colonial Congress, IV. 398-403; the repeal of the Stamp Act, IV. 407, 409; offer-

RIC

- sive conduct shown to the Gaspee, IV. 422, 423; failure of the Stamp Act, IV. 427; disposal of the cargoes of tea, IV. 428; her artillery, IV. 435; troops from, sent to Boston, IV. 438.
- Rice*, III. 330.
- Richards*, John, Magistrate of Massachusetts, II. 237, 389; to act as agent in England for Massachusetts, II. 237, 241-244, 249-252; escorted to the Council Chamber, II. 370; one of the Associates of the Superior Court, III. 128; his death, III. 128.
- Richardson*, Captain, I. 320; threatens the captain of a Dartmouth vessel, I. 320; acknowledges his error, I. 321.
- Richelieu*, Cardinal, the Hundred Associates, III. 30.
- Richmond*, Fort. See *Fort Richmond*.
- Rigby*, Alexander, purchases patent from John Dy, I. 223, 224; property of, I. 402.
- Riggs*, John, delivers papers to the Privy Council, III. 56; sent to New England with special instructions, III. 57.
- Riots*, law of, III. 449, 450; in Boston, IV. 390-394.
- Rivers* of New England, I. 20, 24.
- Roads*, I. 295.
- Roanoke*, the, attempt at colonization, I. 4.
- Robie*, Magistrate of New Hampshire, II. 276; assaulted, II. 276.
- Robin*, the, I. 25.
- Robinson*, Secretary, IV. 282; letter from Governor Shirley, IV. 282, 283.
- Robinson*, Rev. John, an Independent, and a preacher among the Puritans, I. 48, 84; emigrates to Leyden with his band, I. 48-50; his ministry in Nottinghamshire, I. 48, 59, 142; his parish at Leyden, I. 50, 57, 59, 239; his plan of emigration obstructed, I. 84; his death, I. 85.
- Robinson*, William, a Quaker, II. 11; hanged on Boston Common, II. 12, 13.
- Rochelle*, I. 16.
- Rochester*, England, I. 115.
- Rochester*, New Hampshire, III. 429; Indian ravages, IV. 261.
- Rochester*, Rhode Island, the town formerly called Kingston, in the King's Province, II. 308.
- Rock-Maple*, the, I. 32.
- Rockingham*, Marquess of, placed at the head of the Ministry, IV. 405, 407; his Ministry embarrassed and decomposed, IV. 409.

ROX

- Rockingham County*, IV. 69.
- Rogerenes*, the, III. 440, 441.
- Rogers*, Rev. Mr., succeeded by Rev. Mr. Smith, I. 142.
- Rogers*, Rev. Ezekiel, one of a party to remonstrate with Winthrop, I. 318; settled at Rowley, I. 318.
- Rogers*, Rev. John, President of Harvard College, II. 344; his death, II. 344.
- Rogers*, John, the Rogerenes, III. 440, 441.
- Rogers*, Rev. Nathaniel, one of a party to remonstrate with Winthrop, I. 318; settled at Ipswich, I. 318.
- Rogers*, Major Robert, takes command of troops, IV. 263; his rangers prove their invincibility, IV. 263, 264; the attack on St. Francis, IV. 265.
- Rolf*, Rev. Mr., killed by French and Indians, III. 254.
- Roman Catholics*, the, friendly to Increase Mather, II. 358. See *Catholics*.
- Roman Empire*, the, witchcraft punished, III. 116.
- Romanism*, converts among the Indians, III. 238. See *Catholicism*.
- Romans*, the, IV. 263.
- Rome*, Church of, I. 124, 125. See *Catholicism and Church*.
- Romney*, Earl of, interested in Captain Kidd, III. 164.
- Rose*, the, a frigate, II. 300, 352, 353; III. 56; treatment of her crew and her outfit, during the Revolution, II. 373, 375.
- Rossiter*, Assistant of Massachusetts, I. 113; arrival at Nantasket, I. 113, 115.
- Roswell*, Sir Henry, pleads for the charter of the Council for New England, I. 159; the civil and religious foundations of Massachusetts, II. 259.
- Rotterdam*, I. 174, 179.
- Rouse*, William, commander of a vessel, III. 277; accusations against, III. 278, 288; his trial, III. 279-281; conduct of Dudley considered, III. 290.
- Rouville*. See *De Rouville*.
- Rowe*, Owen, I. 109.
- Rowlandson*, Rev. Joseph, preaches to families at Nashua, II. 152; the attack on Lancaster, II. 153-156.
- Rowlandson*, Mrs. Joseph, II. 154; her account of her sufferings from the Indians, II. 154-156.
- Rowley*, town of, I. 293, 294; pastorate of Rev. Mr. Rogers, I. 318.
- Roxbury*, I. 118, 178, 334; II. 148, 376; III. 225; IV. 225; Assistant

ROY

- Pynchon settles with a party, I. 118, 119; a church organized, I. 127; the emigration to Connecticut, I. 178-183; powder and arms removed to, I. 208; Dudley placed under guard, II. 376, 383.
- Royal Battery*, the, IV. 149, 159, 160.
- Royal Commissioners*, the, sent to America by Charles II., II. 55-81; preparations for their reception, II. 56-58; names of the Commissioners, II. 58, 59; present their business to the Magistrates of Massachusetts, II. 60-62; capture of New Amsterdam, II. 61-64; visit Connecticut, Plymouth, and New Haven, II. 64-68, 110; decision in regard to New Haven, II. 65-67; visit the settlements on Narragansett Bay and Rhode Island, II. 69-71; establish the King's Province, II. 69, 70, 114; conflict with Massachusetts, II. 71-77, 104; visit the Eastern settlements, II. 77, 78; return to England, II. 78, 79, 91, 92; account of New England given by, II. 83-85; their visit to America has its effects on the colonists, II. 189; some of the settlements made by, declared invalid, II. 281.
- Royal Navy*, the, I. 77. See *Navy*.
- Royal Society*, the, in England, formation of, II. 40; Robert Boyle elected President of, II. 40, 191; elect John Winthrop a member, II. 40, 191.
- Rubic*, the, I. 47; III. 170; demands made by Parliament, I. 47.
- Ruggles*, Timothy, elected President of the Colonial Congress, IV. 399, 402; reproved by the House of Representatives, IV. 400.
- Ruling Elder*, the, I. 286.
- Rum*, I. 299; III. 330, 345, 399, 424; distilleries in Rhode Island, IV. 366, 367; trade in, IV. 867; exported from Rhode Island, IV. 373.
- Rumford*, former name of Concord, III. 429.
- Rupert*, Prince, cousin of Charles II., II. 93.
- Russell*, Rev. Mr., becomes minister of Hadley, II. 25, 26; harbors the regicides, II. 28.
- Russell*, Eleazar, sheriff of Rockingham County, IV. 69.
- Russell*, James, owner of land in Charlestown, forced to take a new patent, II. 323, 329.
- Russell*, William, Duke of Bedford, II. 261; execution of, II. 261, 331.
- Rutherford*, Rev. Mr., champion of the Presbyterians, I. 323.

SAI

- Rutland*, destruction of, III. 445.
- Rye*, I. 292, 298.
- Rye*, town of, Indian attack, III. 86.
- Ryswick*, the Treaty of, III. 146, 153, 154, 194, 237, 381.
- SABA-BEAN*, the, I. 31.
- Sabbatarians*, the, III. 435, 436.
- Sabbath*, the, laws concerning, I. 281; II. 239; III. 129, 440, 441, 448; description of, in Boston, by Whitefield, IV. 84. See *Sunday*.
- Sable*, the, I. 26.
- Sachems*, I. 38, 39.
- Saco*, town of, I. 78; one of the two early settlements in Maine, I. 221-224; becomes a town of Massachusetts, I. 403; Indian attacks and cruelties, II. 173; III. 24, 27, 141, 145, 239, 406.
- Saco River*, the, I. 17, 29; III. 132.
- Sacononoco*, an Indian chief, I. 806; the Shawomet people forbidden to trespass on his land, I. 312; a treaty made with, I. 349.
- Saffery*, a survey made by, in Massachusetts, III. 212, 213, 336.
- Saffin*, John, Counsellor of Massachusetts, III. 234; IV. 442.
- Sagamores*, I. 38, 39.
- Sailors*, I. 94; III. 424. See *Seamen*.
- Saint*, use of the word, I. 289.
- St. Botolph's Church*, I. 135.
- St. Castine*, Baron de, III. 392.
- St. Croix River*, the, II. 59, 332, 355; III. 154.
- St. Francis*, an Indian village, IV. 263; attacked by Roger's Rangers, IV. 265.
- St. Francis River*, the, III. 254; IV. 266.
- St. François*, village of, III. 238, 241.
- St. François Indians*, the, III. 405.
- St. George River*, the, III. 406, 407, 412; IV. 146.
- St. Germain*, the treaty of, I. 144.
- St. John*, Henry, Lord Bolingbroke, III. 258-260. See *Bolingbroke*.
- St. John*, village of, III. 143; IV. 213.
- St. John Indians*, the, III. 412.
- St. John River*, the, I. 315, 336; III. 42.
- St. John's*, Harbor of, I. 3.
- St. Lawrence*, Gulf of, IV. 148, 200; a line of French stations reaching to the Gulf of Mexico, IV. 197; the islands in, ceded to Great Britain, IV. 326; the rights of fishermen, IV. 326.
- St. Lawrence River*, the, I. 1, 28,

SAI

368; III. 44-46, 133, 134, 238, 259-265, 334; IV. 171, 172, 185, 241, 244, 250, 266; a line of French stations on, III. 29; IV. 197; extent of the coast line of Massachusetts, III. 71; fort commanding the entrance to, IV. 149; the islands in, ceded to Great Britain, IV. 326.
St. Sepulchre's Church, I. 174.
St. Stephen's Church, I. 185, 225.
Salem, I. 77, 395; II. 333; III. 282; formerly called Naumkeag, I. 77, 97; Endicott conducts a party of settlers to, I. 97; origin of the settlement at, I. 97, 98; exploring parties plant other settlements, I. 97, 98; Revs. Skelton and Higginson establish themselves at, I. 99; letter from Higginson describing the early settlement, I. 99, 100; Mr. Fuller serves as a physician, I. 101; arrival of the Arbella, I. 113; death of Rev. Mr. Higginson and a large number of settlers, I. 114; Winthrop leaves to search for another site for settlement, I. 114; forming of church covenants and installation of pastors, I. 115, 128, 134, see *Church of Salem*; becomes a town in Massachusetts, I. 118; represented by Palfrey and Conant, I. 127; Roger Williams invited to the Church as Teacher, I. 162; connection of Roger Williams with the settlement, I. 163, 165, 166; II. 112; Roger Williams banished from, I. 165, 166; II. 112; one of the places of meeting for the General Court, I. 172; ship-building, I. 294; the home of Governor Endicott, I. 320; churches in, fearful of the leanings of the Synod, I. 329; disturbance of the Quakers at, II. 15; Shattuck banished from, II. 30, 31; fortifications repaired, II. 108; vessels from, surprised by Indians, II. 179; Naval Officer commissioned, II. 241; one of the principal towns in Massachusetts Bay, III. 81; disturbances caused by witchcraft, III. 94-124; number executed for witchcraft, III. 102; the transactions of witchcraft considered, III. 104-124; Rev. Mr. Parris driven from his parish, III. 105, 106; rates of postage, III. 307, 308; Burnet removes the Court from Boston to, IV. 19-22, 30; petition sent to the Governor, IV. 152; joyful acknowledgment of the surrender of Louisburg, IV. 166-168; asks protection for her fishing-vessels, IV. 818-820; kind offers to Boston merchants, IV. 432; British regiments in, IV. 432; the

SAN

General Court transferred to, from Boston, IV. 432; attempt of General Gage to destroy military stores, IV. 436. See *Naumkeag*.
Salem Village, III. 94, 96. See *Danvers*.
Salisbury, Connecticut, settlement of, IV. 121.
Salisbury, England, III. 10; the bishopric given to Gilbert Burnet, III. 10; IV. 1.
Salisbury, Massachusetts, I. 220, 223; II. 276; questions of boundary, IV. 70.
Salmon Falls, Indian cruelties committed at, II. 174; III. 40; former name of, IV. 69.
Salmon Falls River, the, IV. 70.
Salt, I. 23, 293; III. 424; IV. 373.
Saltonstall, Rev. Gurdon, Governor of Connecticut, III. 333; his election to office, III. 333, 334, 459, 460; his happy administration, III. 347, 348; IV. 460-462; money contributed towards Yale College, III. 443; his justice to the Indians, III. 444, 445; his energy in suppressing a popular tumult, III. 449, 450; his term of service, III. 456, 460; his death, III. 456; IV. 120; his ancestry, III. 457; his education and advancement to office, III. 457-459; his resignation, III. 460, 462.
Saltonstall, Mary Gurdon, III. 457.
Saltonstall, Nathaniel, Assistant of Massachusetts, III. 105, 457; IV. 441; resigns his position, III. 105, 113; his ancestry and education, III. 457.
Saltonstall, Sir Richard, Assistant of Massachusetts, his plantation at Watertown, I. 115; appears for the colony before a Committee of the Privy Council, I. 132, 133; elected Assistant of Massachusetts, I. 133, 202; II. 388; III. 457; to substitute for Bradstreet, as Federal Commissioner, I. 318; his opinion in the affair of Vassall, I. 326; receives instructions from Massachusetts, II. 2; Randolph uses his influence against, II. 238; belongs to the popular party, II. 245, 246; refuses to assume the office of Counsellor under Dudley, II. 292, 297.
Saltonstall, Richard, Jr., Assistant of Massachusetts, II. 389; III. 457; marries Mary Gurdon, III. 457.
Samoset visits the Pilgrims, I. 66-68.
Samp, I. 298.
Sancroft, Archbishop, a successor to, appointed, II. 301; III. 10; letters from Randolph on ecclesiastical affairs, II. 301-304.

SAN

- Sandford*, Peleg, Admiralty Judge in Rhode Island, III. 218.
Sandwich, I. 60, 379; sends Deputies to the General Court, I. 243.
Sandys, Sir Edwin, I. 64.
Sanford, John, Governor of Rhode Island, represents Portsmouth, I. 346; statements made to the King, II. 281; one of the Counsellors from Rhode Island under Governor Andros, II. 334, 399; communications to Lord Bellomont, III. 223.
Sargent, Peter, his election as Counsellor set aside, III. 234.
Sarsaparilla, the, I. 24.
Sassacus, a Pequot chief, I. 184; killed by the Mohawks, I. 193.
Sassafras, the, I. 24.
Satan, his alleged complicity in witchcraft, III. 92, 93, 100, 101, 106, 110, 118; devices of, against the work of God, IV. 92.
Saugus, I. 118, 130; former name of Lynn, I. 118.
Saul, comparisons drawn from, I. 206.
Sausaman, a faithful Indian and friend to the colonists, II. 127; disappearance of, and death, II. 128, 129.
Savage, an Antinomian, II. 190.
Savage, Captain, leads a force against the Indians, II. 131; ordered to send a force to Boston, II. 377.
Savoy, the Waldenses, III. 116.
Saw-mills, II. 84, 266.
Sawyer, Sir Robert, Attorney-General of England, III. 9; his advice to the new Parliament, III. 54.
Sawyer, the, I. 293.
Saxe, Marshal, IV. 216.
Say and Sele, Lord, I. 108, 109; his refusal to pay ship money, I. 109; irritated at an occurrence on the Kennebec River, I. 145; his desire to introduce an aristocratical form of government, I. 176; patent of Connecticut given to, I. 181; II. 39, 49; patent of Cochecho sold to, I. 215; town of Saybrook named in honor of, I. 235; letters sent to, commending the suit of Massachusetts, II. 32, 33; favorable to Winthrop's cause, II. 40; his claim in New England, and lack of interest in New Haven, II. 191.
Saybrooke, foundation of, I. 181, 182, 235; conveyed to the jurisdiction of Connecticut, I. 236; purchase of the fort at, I. 352; the matter of taxes on vessels, I. 352-355; the fort put in a state of defence, I. 366; the fort rebuilt after a fire, I. 396; Andros's pretext for visiting, II. 118, 119, 121; the armament of the fort

SCR

- provided for, II. 385; works of defence erected, III. 202; a Synod of ministers held, III. 841, 440; IV. 110; the Saybrook Platform, III. 341-343; designated seat of Yale College, III. 345, 442; offer for the erection of a college building, III. 443; Association convened to prevent the growing disorders arising from the revivals, IV. 113, 114, 117.
Saybrook Platform, the, III. 341-343; IV. 113.
Scarborough, former name of, I. 403; III. 24; Indian attacks and cruelties, II. 173, 177; III. 239, 406.
Scarlet Fever, the, IV. 111.
Scates, a bricklayer, the gaoler of Randolph, II. 371, 375.
Schenectady, I. v; IV. 217; the massacre at, I. v; III. 39-41, 202; French term for, III. 38.
Schism Act, the, III. 351.
Schools, established for the whites and for the Indians, I. 289, 290, 361, 399; II. 85, 87-89, 109, 110, 124, 125, 303, 325; III. 209, 218, 331; IV. 123, 133, 268, 373, 441, 442.
Scire facias, to be issued against Massachusetts, II. 259.
Scituate, town of, I. 325; II. 37, 158, 277; IV. 129; committee to codify the laws and revise the government, and the result, I. 241-243; sacked and burned, II. 159.
Scoop-net, the, I. 32.
Scotch, the, I. ix; IV. 162, 254; emigrants to America, I. ix; the army surrenders Charles to the Parliament of England, I. 339.
Scotland, I. 160; II. 22, 27; III. 48, 57; IV. 260; coronation of Charles I., I. 153, 154; effort of Laud to prelitize the Church, I. 160; religious faith and controversy, I. 322, 323; movement against King Charles, I. 322, 339; Presbyterians driven from, II. 92; the "Claim of Right," III. 5; executions for witchcraft, III. 117; Act of Union between England and Scotland, III. 298, 421; taxation in, IV. 378, 379.
Scots, the, I. vii.
Scott, an adventurer, II. 52.
Scott, John, rumors concerning, reported to Charles II., II. 51, 62.
Scottish Presbyterian Commissioners, the, I. 109.
Scottow, Joshua, II. 76.
Scrinia Reserata, quotation from, I. vii.
Scriptures, the, I. 102, 378; church covenant drawn from, in Salem, I. 102; quoted by Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, I. 197; the government of New

SCR

Haven based upon, I. 227, 228, 277, 282; the laws based upon, I. 279, 281; interpreted by the Teacher, I. 286; reading of, in public, I. 288; Knott's translation of, II. 27; arguments concerning witchcraft, III. 90; changes in the manner of reading, III. 170. See *Bible*.

Scrooby, I. 48.

Scrooby Congregation, the, composed of dissenters, I. 48, 54; ministers of, I. 48, 50; emigrates to Leyden, I. 48-50, 91; emigration of, to America, I. 53-60; connection of, with the people of the Plymouth Colony, I. 58.

Seal, a, to be transmitted to New Hampshire, II. 268; brought by Governor Andros to New England, II. 318; use of a private seal by Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, in a present to the Indians, III. 404, 417; use of the colony seal in Rhode Island by Lieutenant-Governor Jenckes, IV. 131. See *Great Seal*.

Seal-skins, I. 298.

Sealer of Weights and Measures, the, I. 276.

Seamen, prohibition of the Privy Council in regard to impressment of, III. 262; impressed for service, IV. 174-178.

Secker, Dr., Archbishop of Canterbury, IV. 325; assumes the defence in the controversy between Mayhew and Apthorp, IV. 325.

Second Church, Boston, the, Rev. Increase Mather settled over, II. 351.

Second Colony, the, I. 6.

Second General Congress of the Colonies, the, proceedings of, IV. 433; report made to the Provincial Congress, IV. 434.

Secretaries of State in England, the, I. 172; II. 200, 223; III. 164, 228; power over the colonies, III. 8; new organization of, III. 8, 9; receive letters from Dudley, III. 271, 322; letter of Bridger concerning the reservation of trees, III. 371; Wentworth's letter on the danger from France, IV. 263; report of Lord Clarendon's commissioners, IV. 285; demands money from New England for, IV. 329, 380. See *English Ministry*.

Secretary, the, I. 7; of Aquetnet, I. 211; of Maine, I. 221; of Rhode Island, II. 9; of Massachusetts, II. 292, 320, 321; III. 71; of Connecticut, II. 311; of the Admiralty, III. 56.

SHE

Sedgwick, John, made Governor of Jamaica, I. 404.

Sedgwick, Robert, commands troops for the conquest of New Netherland, I. 373, 398.

Seekonk, I. 385; II. 146; destroyed by Indians, II. 159.

Seekonk River, the, I. 166.

Seeley, Captain, II. 148.

Selectmen, I. 276; II. 325-327, 349; III. 21; their duties, II. 345, 346.

Self-Denying Ordinance, the, I. 325.

Senecas, the, one of the Iroquois tribes, III. 31; attacked by De Nonville and De Barre, III. 33, 34, 38.

Separatists, the, I. 48, 50, 54, 58, 59, 91, 95, 103, 163, 230.

Sergeant-Major, the, I. 291.

Sergeant-Major-General, I. 255, 256, 292.

Sergeants, I. 202, 208, 291.

Servants, I. 113; laws pertaining to, I. 266, 280-282; clothing of, I. 298; number of, in Rhode Island, III. 330. See *Population*.

Sewall, Rev. Joseph, IV. 82; presides at a meeting to consider the revivals, IV. 95-98.

Sewall, Judge Samuel, III. 106, 128, 286, 287; part taken by, in the proceedings relating to witchcraft, III. 106, 107, 112, 178; acknowledges his error, III. 106, 107; effort in behalf of Yale College, III. 344; his death, IV. 300.

Sewall, Stephen, Chief Justice of Massachusetts, IV. 299; his death, IV. 299; his doubts concerning the Writs of Assistance, IV. 306.

Shaftesbury, Earl of, Lord Chancellor of England, II. 93, 216, 351; obtains a reprieve for Massachusetts, II. 227.

Sharpe, Assistant of Massachusetts, I. 115; II. 389.

Shattuck, Samuel, a Quaker, brings a letter from the King, II. 30, 31.

Shawmut, former name of Boston, I. 89; good water to be obtained, I. 117; removal of Charlestown people to, I. 117; first General Court held, I. 117, 118. See *Boston*.

Shawomet, Gorton buys land at, I. 306; disturbances caused by settlers at, and the action of Massachusetts, I. 306-312; the affairs of, brought to England by Gorton, I. 340-343; reassembling of settlers, I. 343; named Warwick, I. 343. See *Warwick*.

Sheep, I. 292; II. 83.

Sheffield, Lord, land granted to, I. 95.

Shepard, Rev. Thomas, his influence

SHE

- for liberty, I. vi, 323; his arrival in America, I. 182; his church at Newtown, I. 182, 205; a Synod held in his church, I. 204-209.
- Sherburne*, Henry, effort made to appoint him Lieutenant-Governor of New Hampshire, IV. 62, 63, 65.
- Sheriffs* appointed in Plymouth, II. 305.
- Sherlock*, Bishop of London, IV. 183.
- Sherlock*, Sheriff, II. 349; seizes the tenant of Deer Island, II. 349; put in gaol, II. 370, 371; charges against, II. 382; an opponent of Massachusetts, III. 62.
- Sherman*, Mrs., the story of the stray sow, I. 257, 258.
- Sherman*, Roger, III. 469.
- Ship-building*, I. 294; III. 357, 367, 399, 424, 439; IV. 365.
- Ship-money*, I. 109, 136, 159, 160.
- Shipping*, III. 330; IV. 128; in Rhode Island, III. 330; statistics in Massachusetts, IV. 332, 333. See *Taxation*.
- Shirley*, one of the London partners, I. 238.
- Shirley*, William, Governor of Massachusetts, his arrival in Boston, IV. 135; his relations with Belcher, IV. 135-139; his ambition, IV. 135, 136, 138-140, 170, 171, 204, 205, 222; letters sent to the Duke of Newcastle on affairs of state, etc., IV. 137, 138, 143, 170, 171; appointed Governor of Massachusetts, IV. 139, 140, 441; his inaugural speech, IV. 140; complains of the condition of the currency, IV. 140, 141-144, 146; receives grants of salary from the House, IV. 142, 146, 181, 182; the dispute respecting a fixed salary, IV. 143-145; meeting with Indian chiefs, IV. 146; aid sent to Annapolis, IV. 147, 174; plan and success of the expedition against Louisburg, IV. 149-166, 257, 258; directions given to Pepperell, IV. 156-158; letters to the English Ministry, IV. 153, 159; his visit to Louisburg, IV. 170, 171; reports the suffering at Louisburg, IV. 170, 174; action concerning the impressing of seamen, IV. 175-178, 181; Louisburg returned to France, IV. 178-180; plan for taxing the colonies, IV. 181; the boundary line between New France and New England to be defined, IV. 182, 183, 195; visits England and Paris, IV. 182, 183, 195; negotiations with Eastern Indians, IV. 184; matters pertaining to the bills of credit of the *new tenor*, IV. 190; returns to Boston, IV. 195, 196; his marriage, IV. 196; seeks to negoti-

SHU

- ate with the Indians, IV. 197; estimate of the population, IV. 197, 198; opinion of his military talents, IV. 197, 220; his report of the claims of the French, IV. 199; takes steps to defend the eastern country, IV. 206; a council of governors held, IV. 207, 208; his position in the army, IV. 210, 221, 222; meets with disaster, IV. 211; plan for treatment of the French Neutrals, IV. 212, 213; command of troops given to William Johnson, IV. 217; plan to capture Fort Niagara, IV. 220, 221; made Commander-in-Chief of the forces in North America, IV. 221, 222; summons the colonial Governors to a council at New York, IV. 222, 223, 273; returns to his camp at Albany, IV. 223; superseded in command by Colonel Webb and Lord Loudoun, IV. 223, 224, 227; ordered to go to England, IV. 224; letter from Lord Halifax concerning, IV. 224; made Governor of the Bahama Islands, IV. 225; his death, IV. 225; his regiment left under Colonel Mercer, IV. 228; Pownall's relations with, IV. 232; military necessities create certain action in regard to money, IV. 235; relations with Governor Wentworth, IV. 257-259, 273; his operations against New France, IV. 260; his representation of the government of Rhode Island, IV. 282, 283; advice to Rhode Island concerning specie payment, IV. 284; the question of Rhode Island boundaries, IV. 286; promise made to James Otis, IV. 299; confidence in Thomas Hutchinson, IV. 301; the Excise Bill, IV. 301; matters pertaining to the Writs of Assistance, IV. 305, 306; his opposition to Counsellor Adams, IV. 336.
- Shirley*, Mrs. William, in London, IV. 136, 138.
- Shoes*, IV. 333.
- Short*, Captain, commander of the *Nonsuch*, III. 135; unpleasant occurrence with Governor Phipps, III. 133, 191, 192.
- Shrewsbury*, the Earl of, Secretary of State in England, III. 8, 9; to nominate the Governor and other officers for the colonies, III. 55, 56; letter to, from Bradstreet, III. 57, 58; succeeded by Lord Sydney, III. 67; interested in Captain Kidd, III. 164.
- Shrimpton*, Samuel, affair of Deer Island, II. 348, 349.
- Shrubs of New England*, the, I. 24.
- Shute*, John, Lord Barrington, expelled from Parliament, III. 356.

SHU

Shute, Colonel Samuel, appointed Governor of Massachusetts, III. 356; IV. 441; his arrival in Boston, III. 357; his family, I. 1. 359; his commission and instructions, III. 361; his speech before the General Court, III. 362, 363; his feeling regarding the paper money, III. 364; discussions with the General Court and the people, III. 364, 372-378, 382-386, 389-398, 401, 415-417, 454, 467; matters pertaining to the grants of salary from the Court, III. 372, 373, 383, 384, 416, 418, 423; IV. 2, 145; speech to the Court, alluding to the Pretender's defeat, III. 372, 373; effort to control the press, III. 375; the French warned to desist from fishing in Nova Scotia waters, III. 382; his military power, III. 386, 393, 395-397; invites the Indians to a conference, III. 387, 388; new measures against the Indians, III. 391, 392; letter from the Governor of New France, III. 393; matters in relation to Major Moody and Colonel Walton, III. 393-397; his departure for England, III. 398, 429, 456; his Memorial to King George, complaining of the House of Representatives, III. 415-418; agents proceed to England to defend the House of Representatives, III. 417; petition from Cooke, to postpone action on the complaints, III. 418; the House condemned, III. 418, 419; his commission vacated, III. 423; his return to New England, III. 424, 428; his arrival in New Hampshire, III. 426; quarrel with Governor Vaughan, III. 426, 427; favored in England, III. 427; money granted from New Hampshire, III. 429; professes satisfaction with Armstrong, III. 430; demands troops from Roade Island, III. 432, 433; his opinion of the Court's policy against the Eastern tribes, III. 445, 447; his military command taken from, III. 468; precedent of, quoted by the House, IV. 31; manner of making public payments, IV. 35; relations with Belcher and Wentworth, IV. 40, 61; absence from New Hampshire, IV. 59; revision of grants by the House, IV. 235; opposition of Adams, IV. 336.

Sidney, Lord, succeeds Lord Shrewsbury as Secretary of State, III. 67.

Sidney, Algernon, his execution, II. 261; his counsels, II. 331.

Sienite, I. 23.

Silk, IV. 127.

Silver, rates of buying and selling, III. 384; rise in valuation of, IV. 56.

SMI

"Simplicities' Defence against Seven-Headed Policy," the, I. 341.

Simsbury, savage inroads, III. 258, 445; mining enterprise started, II. 439, 440.

Six Nations, the, conferences with the English, III. 403, 404; IV. 139, 200; alliance with the French, IV. 228.

Skelton, Rev. Mr., a Separatist, his arrival in America, I. 99, 100, 101, 142; establishes himself at Salem, I. 99, 102; his death, I. 163; introduces a scheme of religion into Massachusetts, I. 285-289.

Slave Power, the, overthrown, I. iii, viii; III. 468.

Slavery, law regarding children, I. 282; Indians sold into, II. 183, 184; in the western colonies, IV. 200; in Massachusetts, IV. 333.

Slaves, trade in, IV. 366.

Sloughter, Colonel, Governor of New York, III. 137.

Small-pox, the, I. 131; II. 221; IV. 264; rages in Boston, III. 383; IV. 23, 37, 194; benefits of inoculation, IV. 194.

Smith, the, I. 293.

Smith, Rev. Mr., his arrival in America, I. 99, 142; goes to Nantasket, I. 99, 142; succeeds Rev. Mr. Rogers at Plymouth, I. 142, 163; offers explanation in the case of Hocking, I. 145; resigns his position of the ministry, I. 239, 240.

Smith, Adam, his remarks on the dealings of England with her colonies in America, III. 14, 15.

Smith, John, President of Providence, I. 347, 387.

Smith, Captain John, I. 8, 67; his youth and early adventures, I. 8, 9; his visit to America, I. 8-15; founds the Commonwealth of Virginia, I. 10, 11; his adventure with Powhatan, I. 11, 12; rescued by Pocahontas, I. 13; his publications, I. 15; gives New England its name, I. 16; returns to England, I. 16; his map of New England, I. 16, 64; attempts to revisit New England, I. 16, 17; statistics of, quoted, I. 83.

Smith, Rev. Josiah, his sermon praising Whitefield, IV. 81.

Smith, Major Richard, Counsellor from Rhode Island, partnership formed with Roger Williams, I. 345; arrival of troops at his house, II. 146; return of the troops to his plantation, II. 159; a war-debt to be paid to, II. 287; one of the Counsellors from Rhode Island under Governor Andros, II. 335, 399; Dudley's attempt

SMI

- at concealment at his house, II. 375, 376; lodged in gaol, II. 376.
- Smithfield*, IV. 129.
- Smuggling*, IV. 303, 304, 313, 368.
- Snow-shoes*, I. 30.
- "*Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge among the Indians in North America*," IV. 325.
- "*Society for the Promoting and Propagating of the Gospel*," etc., its origin and formation, I. 334, 335; its work directed for the benefit of the Indians, I. 334, 335, 376; II. 27, 302; its growth, and action in America, I. 375-378; II. 96, 98; money sent for the benefit of the Indians, I. 376; II. 302, 303; its President, II. 40; report of Randolph concerning, II. 302, 303; plans for Episcopal establishment in New England, IV. 183, 184, 324; new activity in New England, IV. 324, 325.
- Solemn League and Covenant*, the, I. 109.
- Somers*, Lord Chancellor of England, the, II. 381; III. 160, 164; his advice to the agents from Massachusetts, III. 62, 63; impeachment of, meditated, III. 166; his attitude toward Massachusetts, III. 186.
- Somers*, town of, IV. 121, 274, 275.
- Sophia*, Princess, reception given to Jonathan Belcher at the court of, IV. 38.
- South Battery*, the, IV. 164.
- South Carolina*, III. 347; IV. 81; Pownall made Governor of, IV. 254, 255; the Colonial Congress, IV. 400.
- South Church*, the, religious excitement, IV. 77, 80. See *Old South Church*.
- South Deerfield*, memorial stone erected to the memory of Lothrop's troops, II. 142.
- South Hadley*, religious revival at, IV. 79.
- South Kingston*, situation of, II. 147; IV. 129.
- South River*, former name of the Delaware River, II. 64.
- South Sea*, the former name of the Pacific Ocean, II. 41; questions of boundary, IV. 68-70.
- South Sea Company*, the, III. 310, 311; IV. 2, 57, 58.
- South-Germans*, the, of Pennsylvania, IV. 334.
- Southampton*, Connecticut, I. 396.
- Southampton*, England, the departure of emigrants, I. 57-60, 113, 135.
- Southampton*, Long Island, foundation of, I. 236.
- Southern States*, number of men

SQU

- furnished in the Revolutionary War, I. vii.
- Southertown*, town of, I. 401, 402; former name of Stonington, I. 402; attempt to oust Massachusetts from, II. 44.
- Southampton*, Earl of, his efforts for the settlement of New England, I. 4, 5.
- Southhold*, town of, founded, I. 230; submits to Connecticut, II. 44, 46; contest between the Dutch and English, II. 115, 116; career of the Rev. James Davenport, IV. 89-94, 113-116.
- Sow*, the, account of, with the important results following, I. 257, 258.
- Spain*, I. 404; II. 201, 380; III. 815; Cromwell's conquest, I. 404; trade and commerce with New England, II. 84; III. 374; IV. 129, 306, 331, 332, 335; alliance made with William III., III. 3; war with England, III. 374; IV. 58, 134, 188, 272, 317, 372; peace with England, IV. 41; cause of the displeasure shown to Governor Wolcott, IV. 277, 278.
- Spanish*, the, I. 3, 16, 53; emigrants in America, I. ix.
- Spanish Dollars*, III. 330; IV. 191, 192.
- Spanish Islands*, the, commerce of Massachusetts with, IV. 305, 306, 335.
- Spanish Main*, the, III. 14, 95, 330; IV. 272.
- Spanish Silver*, coinage from, I. 407.
- Sparrow*, the, I. 25.
- Spars*, for purposes of ship-building, III. 367, 380.
- Speedwell*, the, the vessel sent to convey the Pilgrims from Leyden to England, I. 57, 58.
- Spencer*, Joseph, leads troops from Connecticut to Boston, IV. 433.
- Spinning*, I. 293; III. 399.
- Springfield*, foundation and situation of, I. 183, 235; II. 83; former name of, I. 235; people refuse to pay a toll levied by Connecticut, I. 352-355; attacked by the Indians, II. 138, 143, 144, 158, 168, 357; effect of the law on woollen exports, III. 148; revival of religion, IV. 79; Pepperell to protect the frontier, IV. 232.
- Spurwink*, I. 403; attacked by the Indians, III. 239.
- Squakheag*, former name of Northfield, II. 138; horrible acts of the Indians, II. 139.
- Squanto*, an Indian, and a friend to the whites, I. 67, 68, 70; II. 180; acts as interpreter for the Pilgrims, I. 67, 70-72.

STA

- Stage-coaches*, IV. 128, 129.
- Stamford*, settlement of, I. 230, 231; obliged to submit to Connecticut, II. 44-47.
- Stamp Act*, the, III. 335; IV. 180; preparations to impose the duties on the colonies, IV. 180, 181, 334, 356, 357; amount of revenue to be obtained by the Stamp Act, IV. 357; the passage of, objected to in Rhode Island, IV. 364-371; excitement and opposition to, in Connecticut, IV. 373-376, 396, 397; the Ministry desire particulars from the colonies to assist in framing the Act, IV. 374; debate upon, IV. 375, 376; receives the royal assent, IV. 375, 376, 404, 405; provisions of, IV. 376; immediate consequences of its becoming a law, IV. 377-403; office of Distributor of Stamps, filled and abdicated by Oliver in Massachusetts, IV. 389-391; rebellion in Boston against, IV. 390-394; office of Distributor of Stamps in New Hampshire, IV. 395; the stamped paper to be placed in the Castle, IV. 395; opposition to, in New Hampshire, IV. 395, 396; George Meserve resigns his office as Distributor, IV. 395, 396; opposition in Rhode Island, IV. 396; Ingersoll obliged to resign his office as Stamp Distributor, IV. 396, 397; effort of Governor Bernard to make the people comply with the King's request, IV. 398; manifestoes of the colonial Congress, IV. 400-403; events following the protest, IV. 404; the Act repealed, IV. 406, 407, 409; failure of execution, IV. 408; patronized warmly by Charles Townshend, IV. 410; the situation in Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire, IV. 427.
- Standing Council*, the, I. 176; II. 265.
- Standish*, Captain Miles, passenger in the Mayflower, I. 59; starts on an exploring expedition, I. 62-64; the landing at Plymouth, I. 64; chosen commander of a military organization, I. 66; aid rendered to Carver, I. 69; assists Massasoit, I. 71; visits the harbor of Boston, I. 71, 72; his expeditions for the colony, I. 76, 88, 130, 145; despatched to England to negotiate with the Adventurers, I. 85; his death, I. 408.
- Stanhope*, General, III. 256, 315, 361, 370; controls affairs in England, III. 352, 353; neglects to aid Bishop Berkeley, IV. 138.

STO

- Star-Chamber*, the, I. 136, 155.
- Stark*, Brigadier-General John, IV. 217, 263, 264; leads troops from New Hampshire to Boston, IV. 438.
- Stark*, William, IV. 263; commands troops from New Hampshire, IV. 263.
- State House*, the, British troops take possession of, IV. 417. See *Town House*.
- State Street*, Boston, former name of, II. 319.
- States-General*, the, relation of the Dutch colonies to, III. 65, 66.
- Stephen*, St., II. 14.
- Stevens*, Captain Phinehas, action at Charlestown, New Hampshire, IV. 262.
- Stevenson*, Marmaduke, a Quaker, II. 11, 12; hanged on Boston Common, II. 13.
- Stileman*, Elias, to be superseded by Chamberlain, II. 270; dismissed from office, II. 273.
- Stinson's Point*, Indian cruelties, II. 175.
- Stirling*, Earl of, grants a patent to the Mayhews, I. 334; sells Long Island to Lord Clarendon, II. 58; associated with Gorges and Mason, II. 195.
- Stockbridge*, Indian depredations, IV. 206.
- Stoddard*, Simeon, elected Counselor, III. 270; IV. 442.
- Stoddard*, Rev. Solomon, his ministry, IV. 77, 78.
- Stone*, Rev. Samuel, arrives in America, I. 134; chosen as Teacher at Newtown, I. 134, 179; a disturber of the peace, I. 165; favors the emigration to Connecticut, I. 178-180, 182, 183; seeks Divine aid concerning a question of war, I. 187; act of, concerning baptism considered irregular, II. 18, 19.
- Stonington*, I. 402; II. 151, 152, 160; III. 445; former name of, I. 402; fishing interests, III. 439; religious work of James Davenport, IV. 90.
- Stony Stratford*, I. 225.
- Stoughton*, Captain Israel, Assistant of Massachusetts, I. 192, 202; II. 389; his service in the Pequot War, I. 192, 195; II. 207.
- Stoughton*, William, Magistrate and Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, II. 205; III. 316; on committee to draw up an Address to the King, II. 205; his early history and his characteristics, II. 207, 208, 248, 257; III. 99, 105, 112, 176-178; action regarding the business in

STO

trusted to, II. 210-228, 231, 236, 237; favored by Randolph, II. 238, 290, 300; belongs to the moderate party, II. 247, 248: of commission to investigate the claims of the Narragansett Country, II. 281, 282; appointed Deputy-President of the new government of Massachusetts, II. 292; connected with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, II. 302; acts as Judge of the Supreme Court, II. 321, 327, 365; resigns his position, II. 379; his hold on the people, III. 22: elected Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, III. 78; IV. 441; one of the Commission Court instituted to try the witches, III. 99; part taken by, in the affairs of witchcraft, III. 99-105, 112, 113, 122, 124, 177, 178; the first Chief Justice of the Superior Court, III. 105, 128; retained in the office of Counsellor, III. 130; to take depositions from Governor Phipps, III. 138; gives command of troops to Captain Church, III. 142, 143; his care for the affairs of Massachusetts, III. 149, 155, 177, 178, 466; his relations with Lord Belknap, III. 155, 161; sends Address to the King, III. 157; the piracies to be investigated, III. 161-167; proceedings connected with Harvard College, III. 173, 292; administration again devolves on, III. 176, 466; a token of popular approbation extended to, III. 176; his death, III. 176, 180; offices held by, III. 177.

Stoughton, town of, formerly Punkapog, I. 378; settlement of "praying Indians" at, II. 184.

Straits of Gibraltar, the, II. 84, 201.

Stranger's Courts, I. 277.

Strafford, Lord, his trial, I. 109; III. 9.

Stratford, I. 234; II. 148; former names of, I. 234; revivals in, IV. 111, 115.

Stratham, III. 427, 428.

Strawberry Bank, I. 218; former name of Portsmouth, I. 218, 403; settlers place themselves under the care of Massachusetts, I. 219, 220. See *Portsmouth*.

Street, Rev. Mr., condemns the proceedings of Connecticut, II. 44, 45; presents grievances with the title of "New Haven's Case Stated," II. 47, 48.

Stuarts, the, I. iii; III. 350, 463; IV. 384; date of the accession of the family to the British throne, I. iii;

SUP

final relations of the colonies to the kings of the line, II. 82; Catholic monarchs, III. 303; the throne passes to other hands, III. 303, 351; second insurrection in behalf of, defeated, IV. 183; restoration of the dynasty, IV. 287.

Stuyvesant, Peter, Governor of New Netherland, I. 337; his instructions, I. 338, 365, 366; holds a conference with Boston delegates, I. 367; New Netherland captured, II. 63, 64.

Subcase, III. 257.

"Submission and Agreement of the Delegates of the Eastern Indians," etc., the, III. 412, 413.

Sudbury, Eliot preaches to the Indians at, I. 334; attacked by Indians, II. 156, 158, 159, 161; rumors concerning the intentions of Governor Andros, II. 363-365.

Suffield, III. 213; IV. 274, 275; religious awakening, IV. 79, 111.

Suffolk County, I. 256; II. 248, 324, 327, 328; IV. 23, 24, 301.

Suffolk County, England, I. 106; III. 457.

Suffrage, I. 271, 272. See *Elections*.

Sugar, I. 295; II. 84; the trade in, III. 330, 345, 873, 399, 424; IV. 294, 335, 340.

Sugar Act, the, IV. 303, 304, 336; reception of the news of the passing of the Act, IV. 336, 356; a committee to prepare "Instructions" for the House of Massachusetts, IV. 336; the "Instructions," IV. 337-339; the colonial agents in England to work against the Act, IV. 339-347; the treatise of Otis on the "Rights of the Colonies" to be used against, IV. 340-347; opposition in Massachusetts, IV. 348, 349; pamphlet against, by Oxenbridge Thacher, IV. 349-355; a tax for the relief of the Royal Exchequer, IV. 356; action of Rhode Island in regard to the proposed legislation, IV. 364-371; details of the molasses trade, IV. 366; referred to in Governor Hopkins's treatise, IV. 370, 371; excitement and opposition to, in Connecticut, IV. 373-376.

Sunday, number of services, I. 288, 289; rules regarding vessels on the Connecticut River, III. 346. See *Sabbath*.

Sunderland, Earl of, II. 280, 281, 336, 337; III. 8, 258.

Sunderland, town of, IV. 79.

Superior Court, the, II. 343, 365; III. 158; IV. 275; its constitution and officers, III. 128; Stoughton

SUP

the first Chief Justice of, in Massachusetts, III. 123; the trial of Fitch and others in Connecticut, III. 450; Writs of Assistance granted in New Hampshire, IV. 362; the expression in relation to support from the Crown, IV. 426.

Superior, Lake, IV. 199.

Supreme Being, the, no word for, in the Indian language, I. 43.

Supreme Court, the, IV. 79; vacancy in, promised to James Otis, IV. 299; Thomas Hutchinson made Chief Justice, IV. 299; the neglect of the Sugar Act, IV. 304; suit brought by Otis to recover public money, IV. 304; matter of the Writs of Assistance, IV. 308, 311; its rights and authority, IV. 308, 313; action of the House with regard to the Judges of, IV. 317, 318; speech of Hutchinson, IV. 394; delay in its action, IV. 408, 409.

Surinam, III. 399.

Surveyor of Highways, the, I. 276.

Surveyor of Woods, the, III. 365-375; IV. 61, 67, 71, 256, 257, 260. See *Woods*.

Surveyor-General, the, II. 241, 244; III. 149, 235, 375; IV. 367, 368.

Surveyor-General of the Customs, the, III. 18; IV. 307.

Susquehanna River, the, I. 13.

Sussex County, England, III. 117; IV. 135; executions for witchcraft, III. 117.

Swamscot River, the, I. 214.

Swansey, II. 130; attacked by Indians, II. 130, 131; IV. 261.

Swayne, Jeremiah, commands troops against the Indians, III. 28.

Sweden, witchcraft in, III. 116, 117; war against other Baltic powers, III. 367; invasion of, III. 373.

Swedes, emigrants in America from Sweden, I. ix; mentioned in the preamble of the Articles of Confederation, I. 260; settle on Delaware Bay, I. 260, 314, 315.

Switzerland, emigrants from, IV. 260.

Symonds, Samuel, Magistrate and Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts, I. 318; II. 229, 388, 389; his death, II. 229, 230.

Synod of Dort, the, III. 3.

Synods, meeting at Newtown in 1637, I. 204-209; action against Antinomianism, I. 203, 209; IV. 95; meeting at Cambridge in 1646, I. 329-332; the Cambridge Platform, I. 330, 333; its composition and power, I. 331; meeting at Boston in 1657 to settle questions relating to bap-

TAX

tismal rites, II. 18-20, 102, 104; a Colonial Synod convoked in 1662, II. 20; the *Result*, II. 20; the Reforming Synod, III. 341; a Synod convoked in 1708, III. 341; meeting held at Saybrook, III. 341-343, 440, 456; IV. 114; the Saybrook Platform, III. 341-343; IV. 114; a meeting projected in Massachusetts, III. 420, 421; prohibitory opinion of York, and Wearg, Crown-Lawyers, III. 421, 422.

TAILER, William, Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, III. 274, 316, 354, 355; IV. 40, 441; superseded by William Dummer, III. 356; elected Lieutenant-Governor a second time, IV. 40; meets the General Court, IV. 41; holds the Naval Office, IV. 41; his death, IV. 184.

Talbot, Lord Chancellor in England, opinion in relation to questions in Rhode Island, IV. 131, 132; opinion upon matters of law, IV. 309.

Talcott, Major John, his encounters with the Indians, II. 165-167, 170.

Talcott, Joseph, Governor of Connecticut, IV. 120, 445; his death and term of office, IV. 120, 445; establishment of new towns, IV. 121; proclamation of George II., IV. 122; the contest concerning the laws of inheritance, IV. 122, 123; action against the "New London Society," IV. 126; declared to be Captain-General of the Colony's Militia, IV. 127.

Tanner, the, I. 293.

Tar, I. 293; II. 84; III. 381; exported from Massachusetts, II. 84; III. 330, 366, 367, 398, 424; used for naval stores, III. 366, 398.

Tarratines, the, I. 29, 129.

Taunton, former name of, I. 243; town destroyed by Indians, II. 131; rumors of attack from Philip, II. 170; extortion of taxes, II. 334; religious excitement, IV. 120.

Taunton River, the, II. 129, 133, 171.

Taxation, I. iv; taxable property of New England, I. iv, v, 125, 126; on real estate in Boston, I. vi; authority of the charter in relation to, I. 126; laws in relation to, I. 137, 138, 354, 355; II. 321, 322, see *Laws*; colonial tax in Plymouth, I. 147; duties on vessels, I. 236, 353-355; II. 28, 275; III. 276; sum of money appropriated to Harvard College equals the colony tax for one year, I. 247, 248; reference to,

TAX

in the Articles of Agreement, I. 264; no tax on imported commodities, I. 274, 405, 406; manner of paying general taxes, I. 287, 295; the maintenance of church worship, I. 287; in Connecticut, I. 396; in New Hampshire, II. 267, 272, 274-276; privileges of assessment taken from the colonists, II. 298; to be levied by Governor Andros, II. 318, 332-334, 355, 356; to be levied on imported commodities, II. 320; III. 193, 373-375; IV. 331; new system in New England, II. 321, 322; arbitrary imposition of, II. 324-328, 332-334, 340, 345, 348; laxity of regulations, III. 22; assessment in consequence of the disastrous expedition against Quebec, III. 51-53, 89; new regulations and privileges, III. 75, 76, 127; troops from Plymouth paid by assessment of her citizens, III. 80; important Act of the Court in Massachusetts forbidden by the Privy Council, III. 127; taxable property in Connecticut, III. 210; IV. 281, 373; disturbances in Rhode Island in relation to the collection of, III. 217; taxes laid for the redemption of bills of credit, III. 269; ministers exempt from, III. 346; certain sects exempt from, in support of Congregationalism, IV. 125; schemes in England for taxing the colonies, IV. 180, 181, 328-334; regulations proposed in Franklin's scheme of colonial union, IV. 203, 204; real and personal, in Boston, IV. 238; in Massachusetts larger than in Connecticut, IV. 274, 275; power of England to impose taxes in America, IV. 290; the Sugar Act, IV. 303, 304, 336, see *Sugar Act*; arguments of Otis in relation to the rights of Parliament concerning, IV. 319-324; opinion of John Adams on the question of Parliament's power in America, IV. 325, 326; "Instructions" prepared for the Representatives, IV. 337-339, 347; demand for Representation or immunity from, IV. 338, 342-346, 349, 350, 354-356, 368, 370, 371, 373, 379, 389, 403, 427, 428, 430; Otis's statement of the "Rights of the British Colonies," IV. 340-347; distinctions between taxes and duties, IV. 354-356, 371, 410; Parliament declares its rights to tax the colonies, IV. 356, 371, 420; exemption from, of Brown University, IV. 364; feeling of Governor Hopkins of Rhode Island, IV. 368; remarks of Governor Hopkins, IV. 370, 371;

THA

the book entitled "Reasons why the British Colonies in America should not be charged with Internal Taxes," etc., IV. 373; arguments against unjust taxation in Connecticut, IV. 374; the Stamp Act, IV. 376, see *Stamp Act*; distinctions between internal taxes and regulations of commerce, IV. 377, 378; signification of a tax, IV. 378; Massachusetts invites the other colonies to meet to consult on the difficulties, IV. 388, 389; independent action of Virginia, IV. 389; organized resistance against, IV. 404; the proceedings of Parliament denounced by Pitt, IV. 406, 407; Pitt's distinction between taxation and legislation, IV. 407; new Act of Parliament imposing taxes on tea and other articles, IV. 410, 413; the Parliamentary right maintained by the tax being left on tea, IV. 420; opposition to the duty on tea, IV. 421, 427-430.

Tax-collector, the office in Boston a paid one, IV. 337.

Tea, I. 299; scarcity of, in New England, I. 299; duty imposed on tea, glass, and many other goods, IV. 410, 413, 421, 427-429, 430; the duty to be removed from all goods excepting, IV. 420; opposition in America to the duty on, IV. 421; diminution in the use of, IV. 427; destruction of, in Boston Harbor, IV. 429, 430; consequences of the destruction of, IV. 430, 431.

Teacher, the, I. 286.

Temperature, the, range of the thermometer in New England, I. 20.

Teneriffe, exchange of products with New England, I. 295.

Tenison, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, III. 11, 350.

Tennent, Rev. Gilbert, a Presbyterian minister, IV. 87; his religious work, IV. 87-89, 94, 104, 112; a treatise of, published, IV. 94; his remorse, IV. 104.

Test Act, the, III. 11; proposition to repeal, III. 11, 12.

"*Testimony and Advice*," the, IV. 96.

"*Testimony of the Pastors of the Churches . . . against several Errors*," etc., the, IV. 94, 95.

Thacher, Mrs., complained of for witchcraft, III. 102.

Thacher, Oxenbridge, a member of the House in Massachusetts, argues against the Writs of Assistance, IV. 308-312; opposition to Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, IV. 335, 336; moves to request a repeal of the

THA

- Sugar Act, IV. 347, 348; writes a treatise entitled "The Sentiments of a British American," IV. 349-354; his death, IV. 354, 398; the principles of colonial liberty, IV. 385.
- Thacher*, Rev. Peter, revival preaching, IV. 120.
- Thames River*, the, dwelling-place of certain Indian tribes, I. 29; formerly the Pequot River, I. 29.
- Thames River*, the, England, I. 186; II. 51.
- Thanksgiving Day*, first celebration of the annual feast, I. 72; the House of Representatives in Massachusetts complained of, for assuming the right of appointment, III. 416.
- "*The Body of Liberties*," prepared by Rev. Nathaniel Ward, I. 280-282, 357.
- "*The Christian Commonwealth*," etc., by Eliot, II. 27.
- "*The Danger of tolerating Levelers*," etc., I. 341.
- "*The Deplorable State of New England*," etc., a pamphlet entitled, III. 283-289.
- "*The General History of Virginia*," etc., by John Smith, I. 15.
- The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England*, I. 98.
- The Governor and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut*, II. 41.
- The Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island*, II. 52.
- "*The Humble Request of His Majesty's Loyal Subjects*," etc., parting Address from the Massachusetts Colony, I. 111.
- "*The Interest of Great Britain considered with regard to her Colonies*," etc., by Franklin, IV. 295, 296.
- "*The Rights of the British Colonies asserted and proved*," IV. 340-347.
- "*The Rights of the Colonies examined*," by Hopkins, IV. 369-371.
- "*The Rise, Reign, and Ruin of Antinomianism in New England*," IV. 95.
- "*The Sentiments of a British American*," by Oxenbridge Thacher, IV. 349-355.
- "*The True Travels, Adventures, . . . of Captain John Smith*," etc., I. 15.
- Third Church in Boston*, the, formation of, II. 102. See *Old South Church*.

TOM

- Third Revolution in New England*, the, I. iii. See *Revolution*.
- Thomas*, Earl of Lincoln, I. 106.
- Thomas*, General John, chosen by Massachusetts to command troops, IV. 435.
- Thomas*, Nathaniel, counsellor of Massachusetts, III. 234; IV. 442.
- Thompson*, David, I. 89; final settlement on the island bearing his name, I. 218.
- Thompson*, Mrs. David, I. 89.
- Thompson's Island*, origin of the name of, I. 89, 218.
- Thorpe*, Alexander, licensed to run stages, IV. 123, 129.
- "*Thoughts concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England*," by Rev. Mr. Edwards, IV. 105.
- Three Rivers*, town of, III. 40, 238; De Bougainville withdraws to, IV. 249.
- Thumb-screw*, the, II. 92.
- Ticonderoga*, IV. 208; plan of campaign against, IV. 222, 223; danger from Montcalm, IV. 228; disasters of Abercrombie, IV. 238-241, 280; defence of, IV. 241; taken by Amherst, IV. 245, 265; service of Rhode Island against, IV. 283.
- Tillotson*, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, III. 10; favors certain religious changes, III. 11; his liberal inclinations, III. 12, 350.
- Timber*. See *Woods*.
- Tispaquin*, an Indian chief, surrenders himself, II. 173; beheaded at Plymouth, II. 183.
- Tithing-men*, the, I. 276, 288, 378.
- Titles*, punctiliously observed, I. 300.
- Tituba*, a servant of Mr. Parris, III. 95, 96; confesses herself a witch, III. 95-97.
- Titus*, II. 136.
- Tiverton*, town of, II. 131; situation of, IV. 284.
- Tobacco*, I. 81, 86; II. 84; conflict with legislation, I. 299.
- Toleration Act*, the, III. 10, 11, 350.
- Tolland*, revivals in, IV. 111.
- Tom*, Captain, a "praying Indian," faithless to his trust, II. 183; his execution, II. 183.
- Tomahawk*, the, I. 83.
- Tomlinson*, John, a merchant of London, to act as agent for New Hampshire, IV. 67, 256; the plot against Belcher, IV. 67; his skill and methods, IV. 71; a grant of money to, IV. 257; procures the nomination of Wentworth as Governor of New Hampshire, IV. 256; Mason's claim, IV. 267-269; letter to Governor

TOP

- Wentworth in relation to the ministry, IV. 270.
- Topsfield*, III. 99.
- Torches*, used in fishing, I. 32, 33.
- Tories*, the, I. vi; feeling against, distasteful to the King, III. 13; their power in England, III. 13, 77, 258, 259, 260, 312, 314, 330; decline of their power, III. 352.
- Tornadoes*, I. 21.
- Toronto*, French forts, IV. 199.
- Torrington*, settlement of, IV. 121.
- Tower*, the, II. 33; IV. 167; confinement of Oxford, III. 352.
- Tower Hill*, I. 188.
- Town Courts*, the, I. 277.
- Town House*, the, II. 371, 373, 374; the Magistrates read their Declaration after the deposition of Andros, II. 371, 372; great dinner served, II. 380; the new charter read, III. 83; action taken concerning the impressment of the seamen, IV. 175-178; the mob in Boston, IV. 390, 391; the British troops quartered in, IV. 416-419; the "Boston Massacre," IV. 418, 419; the troops removed, IV. 419.
- Towns*, their powers and duties, I. 172, 274, 275; difference, in law, from cities, I. 275; number of, in the colonies of the Confederacy, I. 275; II. 82, see under the names of the colonies; their civil officers, I. 276; number of towns in Plymouth and Massachusetts destroyed in Philip's War, II. 181; their commons taken by Andros, II. 329; forbidden to hold their customary meetings, II. 345, 346; number represented in the Convention at the time of the Revolution, II. 378; principal town in Massachusetts, III. 81.
- Townshend*, General, takes the lead after the death of Wolfe, IV. 249; capitulation of Quebec, IV. 249, 250.
- Townshend*, Lord Charles, Chancellor of the Exchequer, III. 352; administration of England given to, III. 352; his quarrel with Walpole, IV. 39; at the head of the Board of Trade, IV. 330, 331; proposes changes in the rules of intercolonial commerce, IV. 330-332; debate on the Stamp Act, IV. 375; a patron of the Stamp Act, IV. 410; carries an Act through Parliament imposing the duty on tea, etc., IV. 410.
- Trade*, I. 17, 18, 35; of the aborigines of New England, I. 85; of the early settlers, I. 83, 86, 87, 145, 146, 239, 293-295; in furs, I. 87, 293;

TRE

- III. 29, 32, 33, see *Fur-trade*; with Indians, I. 145, 239, 293, see *Indians*; exports and imports, I. 148, 294, 295; II. 84, 196; III. 320, 345, 365, 366, 398, 399, 424; IV. 129, 305, 331-333, 353, 366, 373; leniency of Cromwell in regard to the laws of trade, I. 405, 406; II. 28; first attempts at, I. 405; the Navigation Laws to be strictly observed, II. 28, see *Navigation Act*; corporations having charge of, II. 98, 194, 195; III. 17, 55, 148; formation of "The Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations," II. 195, see *Lords of the Committee*; laws regulating and restricting, must be strictly observed, II. 196, 211-216, 224, 232, 243, 250, 306, 320, 345; III. 14-18, 143, 152, 277, 305, 306, 317, 318, 330, 331, 345, 445; IV. 335, 336, 339, 340, 366, 370, 377, 381, 386, 401, 420; laws repugnant to England must be repealed, II. 224, 306; III. 64, see *Laws*; duties on trading vessels, II. 274, see *Taxation*; relation of colonial trade to England, III. 14, 15, 148; Board of Trade and Plantations reorganized, III. 17, 18; Randolph's misrepresentations, III. 59, 60, 64; value of, in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, III. 304, 305; of Rhode Island, III. 330; IV. 129, 284, 363, 366, 367, 370, 371; valuable trade in Massachusetts, III. 398, 399; IV. 284, 305; of New Hampshire, III. 424; a company organized in Connecticut, IV. 126; contraband trade of the colonies, IV. 305, 306, 331-333; effect on, of the Boston Port Bill, IV. 312, 431, 432; changes proposed in the regulations of, IV. 331-333; relation of, to the Sugar Act, IV. 336, see *Sugar Act*; the regular trade of New England, IV. 352-354, 366, 367, 373; of Connecticut, IV. 372, 373; the restrictions deleterious to England, IV. 381, 386, 420; duties on imported goods, IV. 410, see *Taxation*; the Boston Port Bill, IV. 431, 432. See *Lords of Trade, Navigation Act, Sugar Act, and Stamp Act*.
- Trainband*, the, the unit of military organization in New England, I. 291; officers of, I. 291; number of, in Massachusetts, I. 291, 292.
- Treason*, the law of, revised, II. 241, 242.
- Treasury*, the, expense of the military service of 1758, I. vi; accounts of Winthrop, I. 140, 141; of the

TRE

- colonies, I. 241, 262, 278, 274, 298; II. 109, 110: Act imposing customs on dependencies of Great Britain, II. 93, 94; quit-rents to be drawn for the King, II. 260; Act passed by Andros to increase the King's revenue, II. 345; a commission takes charge of, in England, III. 8; debts of the colonies paid by bills of credit, III. 52; money voted toward Stoughton's burial, III. 151; the revenue to be drawn from the Post-office, III. 305-310; financial expedients, III. 810-812; the fixed salary for the Governors, IV. 3-39, see *Governor*; state of finances in Massachusetts under Governor Shirley, IV. 140-142; expenses of the government and military expeditions in 1758, IV. 227, 238; the increase of the debt of Great Britain, IV. 323, 329; sums voted by Massachusetts and Connecticut in the French War, IV. 329, 330; sum voted to the colonies, IV. 329, 330; the desire to relieve the imperial exchequer, IV. 330, 356, 357, see *Stamp Act*; the revenue to be obtained in America from the Stamp Act, IV. 357; requirements of the Stamp Act, IV. 376; position of the Duke of Grafton, IV. 409. See *Bills of Credit* and *Taxation*.
- Treat*, Major Robert, Governor of Connecticut, assumes command against the Indians, II. 137; his service and expeditions in Philip's War, II. 137-139, 143, 146, 147; elected Governor of Connecticut, II. 284, 300; proclamation of James II., II. 308, 309; letters from Randolph and from Dudley concerning the annexation of Connecticut to other colonies, II. 309-313; correspondence with Governor Andros, II. 336, 340; the charter demanded by, and surrendered to Andros, II. 336-342; a member of the Council of Andros, II. 342; resumes his office after the deposition of Governor Andros, II. 385; offices held by him, III. 208; IV. 445; becomes Deputy Governor of Connecticut, III. 208; IV. 445.
- Treby*, Sir George, new Attorney-General under William III., III. 9, 10; to frame a new charter for Massachusetts, III. 67-71.
- Trial*, the, I. 295.
- Trials*, the, trial by jury, I. 138, 147, 172, 277, 278; III. 157. See *Courts* and *Laws*.
- Trinitarians*, privileges allowed under the Toleration Act, III. 10, 11. See the names of Trinitarian sects.

UNC

- Trinity College*, I. 134, 174.
- Trinity Hall*, IV. 108.
- Trinity Term*, II. 240.
- Trumbull*, Jonathan, Governor of Connecticut, a graduate of Harvard College, III. 469; a Counsellor of Connecticut, IV. 396, 446; elected Governor of Connecticut, IV. 396, 445; opposition to the Stamp Act, IV. 396, 397.
- Truro*, I. 62.
- Tudors*, the, II. 317.
- Tuesday Evening Lecture*, the, IV. 86.
- Tufton*, John, Mason's property bequeathed to, I. 218, 219.
- Tufton*, Robert, Mason's property bequeathed to, I. 218, 219; changes his name to Mason, III. 187. See *Mason*.
- Turgot*, I. 257.
- Turkey*, the, I. 25.
- Turkey Carpets*, I. 297.
- Turkish Pirates*, II. 234.
- Turks*, the, I. 8.
- Turner*, Captain, his attack upon the Indians near the town of Gill, II. 162-165; killed in Greenfield meadow, II. 164.
- Turner*, William, a Baptist, banished from Massachusetts, II. 105.
- Turner's Falls*, its name given on account of Captain Turner, II. 165.
- Turpentine*, I. 293; an article of export from New England, III. 330, 366, 398, 424.
- Tuscaroras*, the, their aid desired by Dummer, III. 403, 404; join with the Five Nations, IV. 199.
- Tyler*, Royal member of the House in Massachusetts, IV. 336.
- "*Tymor*," the, harsh treatment of Captain John Smith, I. 9.
- Tyng*, Colonel Edward, Magistrate of Massachusetts, II. 81, 248, 377; to reconstruct the government of Maine, II. 81; represents the Eastern Province, II. 333; acts as Commodore of the fleet against Louisburg, IV. 155.
- Typhoid Fever*, I. 21, 22.
- UNCAS*, sachem of the Mohegan Indians, I. 187, 302; a constant friend to the English, I. 187, 302; II. 124; his quarrel with Miantonomo, I. 303, 307, 308; threatened with revenge, I. 313, 314; a treaty made with the Narragansetts, I. 313, 314, 343, 356; his life and the Mohegans in danger, I. 343-351, 356; his conduct not fully understood by the English, I. 367, 395; letter sent

UNC

- from the Confederacy, II. 98; land bought of, by John Mason, III. 337, 338.
- Uncas*, grandson to Uncas the Mohegan sachem, III. 337.
- Uncas*, Major Ben, son of the Sachem Uncas, III. 337, 445; matters pertaining to land claims, III. 337, 444; installed as sachem of the Mohegans, III. 445, 446; gifts voted to himself and wife, IV. 125.
- Uncoa*, Indian name for Fairfield, I. 234.
- Underhill*, Captain John, I. 165; serves in the Pequot War, I. 187-191; disfranchised on account of his Antinomian convictions, I. 208, 388; elected Governor of Cochecho, I. 216; charges against, I. 216-218; his service against the Dutch, I. 388, 397.
- Undertakers*, the, use of the term in regard to a certain church, III. 170.
- Union*, town of, IV. 121.
- United Colonies*, the, of New England, I. 263-268. See *Articles of Confederation*.
- United Provinces*, the, second war of Charles II. with, II. 98.
- United States*, the Revolution freeing the slaves, I. iii, vii, viii; III. 468; service rendered by New England in the War of the Rebellion, I. vii, viii and note; number and nationality of the population of, I. viii, ix, see *Population*; estimates of the census of 1860, I. ix; importance of the two branches of the Legislature, I. 257; expense of the war in Florida, II. 159; the Fugitive Slave Bill, III. 114; one of the first causes of its independence, III. 127; the Constitution of, III. 433; Vermont the fourteenth State of the Union, IV. 361; first steps of union, IV. 404.
- Upam*, Lieutenant, II. 148.
- Usher*, Hezekiah, complained of for witchcraft, III. 102; father of John Usher, III. 188.
- Usher*, John, Lieutenant-Governor of New Hampshire, his dwelling in Boston, II. 217; III. 194; pays the purchase-money to Gorges for the Province of Maine, II. 217; III. 188; acts as Colonial Treasurer and Counsellor, II. 296, 326, 398; III. 188, 355; favored by Randolph, II. 300; associated with Governor Andros in his extortions and acts of injustice, II. 327, 329; III. 188, 190-192, 313; Andros proceeds to his house under guard, II. 374; his position in regard to Massachusetts,

VAN

- III. 61, 190-192, 313; appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New Hampshire, III. 188; IV. 450; connected with the land claims of Mason in New Hampshire, III. 188, 190, 198, 428; report sent to Lord Nottingham concerning New Hampshire, III. 189, 190; his twofold office, III. 190; unpleasant relations with Governor Phipps, III. 191-193; his salary, III. 193; relieved from office, III. 193, 194; the "Piscataqua Rebellion," III. 194; resumes office for a short time, III. 195; remarks of Lord Bellomont concerning, III. 196, 197; relations with Governor Dudley, III. 313, 321, 322; receives a second appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of New Hampshire, III. 318; IV. 450; denounces the deed to Wheelwright as a forgery, III. 321; his letter to the Lords of Trade, III. 322; petition to displace from office, III. 324; his age and death, III. 325; his contest with Vaughan, III. 425.
- Ussamequin*, also called Massasoit, I. 243. See *Massasoit*.
- Utica*, IV. 42.
- Utrecht*, the Treaty of, III. 265, 303, 359, 381, 386, 387, 447; IV. 148.
- Utrecht*, the University of, III. 312.
- VANE*, Sir Henry, Privy Counsellor of the King, I. 173, 175.
- Vane*, Sir Henry, Governor of Massachusetts, I. 108, 109; II. 388; serves in the Long Parliament, I. 108; arrival in America, I. 173, 174; elected Governor of Massachusetts, I. 174, 175; II. 388; convenes a court in which the votes are sent by proxy, I. 177; trouble with Indians, I. 184; troubles in his term of service, I. 195-203; sanctions Antinomianism, I. 197, 202; relieved from office, I. 198-203; chosen Deputy for Boston, I. 202; controversy with Winthrop, I. 203, 204, 206; display and honors shown him at parting, I. 203, 204; fears concerning his course in England, I. 205, 206; business relating to the Providence Plantations, Aquetnet Island, and his acquaintance with Roger Williams, I. 213, 214, 344, 387-390; distinguishing feature in regard to education in the Assembly convened by, I. 247, 248; in sympathy with the Independents, I. 323; Randolph's reference to his anti-monarchical principles, III. 60; disposi-

VAS

- tion to humble Massachusetts, III. 186.
- Vassall*, Samuel, an Assistant of the Massachusetts Company, his refusal to pay ship-money, I. 100, 324; one of Parliament's Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, I. 324, 328.
- Vassall*, William, a West Indian planter and one of the original Assistants of the Massachusetts Company, I. 107, 109, 160, 324; II. 389; his two arrivals in New England and dwelling-places, I. 324, 325; part taken by, in the Presbyterian controversy, I. 324-329; his character, I. 325; the "Remonstrance and Humble Petition" sent to the General Court of Massachusetts, I. 325-328; goes to the Barbadoes, I. 328.
- Vatican*, the, proclamation of Quaker doctrines, II. 5.
- Vaudreuil*. See *De Vaudreuil*.
- Vaughan*, George, Lieutenant-Governor of New Hampshire, state of New Hampshire described, III. 324; acts as agent in London for New Hampshire, III. 324, 425; his opposition to Bridger, III. 370, 371; appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New Hampshire, III. 425; IV. 450; a grant of money to, III. 426; his quarrel with Governor Shute, III. 426, 427; removed from office, III. 427; his son Colonel William Vaughan, IV. 257.
- Vaughan*, William, father of Lieutenant-Governor George Vaughan and Counsellor of New Hampshire, III. 198, 425; IV. 450; sent to represent his province in England, III. 198; the effort to displace Governor Usher from office, III. 324.
- Vaughan*, Colonel William, son of Lieutenant-Governor George Vaughan, IV. 159, 257; his part in the operations against Louisburg, IV. 159-162, 257-260; his disappointed ambition, IV. 260; his death in London, IV. 260.
- Vegetables* of New England, I. 31.
- Venn*, John, leads the citizens against the House of Lords, I. 109.
- Venner*, Thomas, a cooper in Salem, the riot and the *Fifth Monarchy Men*, II. 27; III. 60.
- Vermont*, one of the New England States and the fourteenth in the Union, I. viii; IV. 361; number of troops furnished in the War of the American Rebellion, I. viii, note; fertility and minerals of, I. 23; inhabitants of, I. 27; III. 24; erection of Fort Dummer, III. 406;

VIR

- its territory laid open for settlement, IV. 361.
- Vernon*, Admiral, IV. 58; his expedition against Carthage, IV. 58, 59, 134, 272.
- Verrazzano*, I. ix, 8.
- Vetch*, Colonel Samuel, proposed expedition against Canada, III. 255; left in command at Port Royal, III. 258; accusations against, and trial, III. 278-281; matters pertaining to his offence, III. 286-288, 297, 298, 313; his commission as Colonel, III. 300; succeeded in Nova Scotia by Governor Nicholson, III. 382.
- Vice-Admiralty*, the, powers of, given to Governor Andros, II. 318.
- Vice-Admiralty Courts*, III. 18; established in New England and New York, III. 149, 159; petition to restrict the powers of, IV. 370. See *Admiralty*.
- Vice-Chancellor*, the, of the University of Oxford, II. 101.
- Vice-President of Harvard University*, the, III. 174, 294.
- Vice-Presidents of New Hampshire*, the, names of, II. 393.
- "*Vigilant*," the, IV. 260; seamen impressed for, IV. 282.
- Villebon*, French Governor of Acadia, III. 154, 237; hostility to the English, III. 237.
- Vines*, Richard, commands expedition to America, I. 17; at the head of Gorges's government, I. 224.
- Virginia*, efforts of Raleigh and Gosnold to colonize and explore, I. 4; a company formed to colonize, I. 6, 7; the "Council of Virginia," I. 7, 10; visited by John Smith, I. 10-15; Jamestown founded, I. 10; a permanent colony founded, I. 15; History of, by Smith, I. 15; visited by Captain Dermer, I. 18; proclamation forbidding transport to, without certain conditions, I. 49; ill success of early settlements of, I. 52; desire of the Puritans to settle there, I. 53; the Virginia Company, I. 53-55, see *Virginia Company*; Captain Wollaston goes to, with his party, I. 79, 87; government of, taken into the King's hands, I. 136; College of William and Mary, I. 247; laws pertaining to religious matters, I. 233, 284, 326; matters of trade, I. 294; II. 84; IV. 333, 366; banishment of Quakers, II. 16; excepted from Andros's jurisdiction, II. 355; exposed to French and Indian hostility, III. 29, 31; Andros made Governor of, III. 62; price of postage, III. 307; aid solicited in

VIR

the French war, IV. 153, 171; scheme of colonial union and alliance with the Indians, IV. 200-205; the name of George Washington first brought into notice, IV. 205, 206; defeat of General Braddock, IV. 211; number of troops raised against Quebec, IV. 273; relations with New England, IV. 291; the slave trade, IV. 366; the Cavaliers, IV. 384; the Resolves affirming immunity from taxation by Parliament, IV. 389; the Colonial Congress, IV. 398, 399; kind offers made to Boston, IV. 432; Peyton Randolph chosen President of the Second General Congress, IV. 433; George Washington appointed General-in-Chief of the American armies, IV. 439.

Virginia Company, the, I. 53-55; patent obtained under the seal of, I. 55, 56; territory disposable of, by the Company, I. 78; disagrees with the Council for New England, I. 77, 158; disregard of its chartered privileges, I. 136.

Voltaire, his remarks on the capture of Louisburg, IV. 169.

WACHUSETT, Mount, II. 156.

Wadsworth, Captain, the attack on Lancaster, II. 153, 154; killed in a fight with Indians, II. 161.

Wadsworth, Rev. Benjamin, Fellow of the Corporation of Harvard College, III. 385.

Wadsworth, James, appointed supervisor of the Mohegan Indians, III. 446.

Wadsworth, Captain John, Magistrate of Connecticut, II. 341, 391; secretes the charter of Connecticut, II. 341; contests the point of the control of the militia, III. 205, 206; tone of the government of Connecticut, III. 346.

Wainwright, Captain, the command given him by Colonel March, III. 252; killed in an expedition against the Indians, III. 253, 254, 257.

Wait, Deputy of Massachusetts, of Danforth's party, II. 246.

Wakely, his family murdered by Indians, II. 173.

Waldenses, the, III. 116.

Waldo, Samuel, meets with opposition from Belcher, IV. 136; his course in England, IV. 136, 137.

Waldron, Major Richard, Deputy of Massachusetts, and President of New Hampshire, to reconstruct the government of Maine, II. 81; holds command as Sergeant-Major of the

WAN

County of York, II. 176; his encounter with Indians, II. 176-179; unfortunate occurrence, leading eventually to his death, II. 176, 177; III. 25, 26; succeeds President Cutts, II. 270; suit against, II. 274; butchered by Indians, III. 25-27; his family settled seventy years on certain lands, III. 321; question concerning the validity of his title, III. 321.

Waldron, Colonel Richard, Jr., Counsellor and Secretary of New Hampshire, II. 270; IV. 69; succeeds to a vacant place in the Council of New Hampshire, II. 270, 394; dismissed from, and recalled to office, II. 271-273; his escape from the Indians, III. 245; business relating to the writ of ejectment served against, III. 319-321; trouble with Usher about the Council, III. 323; appears for New Hampshire before the boundary commission, IV. 69.

Wales, II. 357; III. 16, 330, 331; IV. 363.

Wales, birth of the Prince of, II. 357.

Wales, Princess Dowager of, IV. 405.

Walford, Thomas, early settler of Charlestown, I. 89, 165.

Walker commands a fleet against the French, III. 334; IV. 217.

Walley, John, Counsellor of Massachusetts under Andros, II. 333, 334, 399; appointed Lieutenant-General of troops, III. 44.

Wallingford, copper mines, III. 439.

Walnut, the, I. 23.

Walpole, Sir Robert, at the head of the King's affairs, IV. 16; his pacific and wise administration, IV. 32, 147; quarrel with Lord Townshend, IV. 39; neglect to aid Bishop Berkeley, IV. 133; opinion in regard to Stamp Duties, IV. 181.

Walpole, Indian ravages committed at, IV. 263.

Walton, Colonel, ordered to appear before the House of Representatives in Massachusetts, III. 395-397; to be removed from command, III. 401-403.

Wampanoags, the, I. 29; II. 187; unconverted to Christianity, I. 379; II. 124. See *Pokanokets*.

Wampum, I. 35, 295, 349-351.

Wampumpeag, I. 35.

Wamsutta, II. 126. See *Alexander*.

Wanasquatucket River, the, I. 166.

Wanton, John, Governor of Rhode Island, IV. 132-134, 446; term of office, IV. 134, 446; his death, IV. 134; inquiry into the action against the Gaspee, IV. 422, 423.

WAN

- Wanton*, William, his short term of office as Governor of Rhode Island, IV. 132, 446.
- War-belts*, I. 35.
- War-dances*, I. 37.
- War-songs*, I. 37.
- Ward*, Major-General Artemas, chosen by Massachusetts to command troops, IV. 435.
- Ward*, Rev. Nathaniel, his arrival in America, I. 156; the principal legislator of primitive Massachusetts, I. 279-282; "The Body of Liberties," I. 280-282; addresses a remonstrance to Winthrop, I. 318; empowered to act in the vacancy of the General Court, I. 318, 319; chosen election preacher, I. 357.
- Wardel*, Lydia, a Quakeress, II. 15.
- Wardwell*, Samuel, III. 111.
- Warham*, Rev. Mr., church at Dorchester under his ministry, I. 115, 116.
- Warner*, John, I. 312; empowered to act for the Narragansetts, I. 312, 313; threatens Massachusetts in a letter, I. 313; degraded from the place of Assistant, I. 388.
- Warren*, Commodore, receives despatches from Governor Shirley, IV. 150; his expedition against Louisburg, IV. 158, 159, 163-165, 169; capture of a relieving ship, IV. 160, 161; arrival in Boston, IV. 170, 175; plans in relation to Louisburg, IV. 179.
- Warren*, Richard, passenger in the *Mayflower*, I. 59.
- Warren*, situation of, IV. 284; temporary site of Brown University, IV. 363.
- Warwick*, Earl of, Admiral of the Long Parliament, I. 108, 320; patent of land in Connecticut granted to Lord Say and Sele, I. 235, 236; II. 39, 49; at the head of the commission issued by England for the government of New England, I. 267; book dedicated to, I. 341; letter from, produced by Gorton in Boston, I. 342; settlement named in honor of, I. 343.
- Warwick*, town of, I. 343, 345-347; II. 69, 83; IV. 129; name given to Shawomet, I. 343; matters pertaining to the government of, I. 346, 382, 388-390; III. 430; Gorton's action towards Warner, I. 388; number of freemen in, I. 390; visited by the Royal Commissioners, II. 69, 74; taxed to pay a debt to John Clarke, II. 111, 112; destroyed in Philip's War, II. 188. See *Shawomet*.
- Warwickshire*, I. 225.

WEN

- Washing-day*, the first, observed by the Pilgrims, I. 62.
- Washington*, General George, his name first brought into notice, IV. 206; reduction of Fort Duquesne, IV. 242; appointed to be General in-Chief of the American armies, IV. 439; his arrival at Cambridge to take command of the army, IV. 439.
- Washington*, city of, advance of Massachusetts troops to her relief, I. iii.
- Washington County*, former names of, III. 453.
- Washington*, Mount, I. 19.
- Water*, I. 32.
- Water-mills*, I. 293.
- Waterbury*, III. 259.
- Waterman*, Richard, unites with Roger Williams, I. 345.
- Watertown*, I. 115, 118, 311, 313; II. 137, 363, 364; III. 457; questions raised with the government, I. 124-126; the emigration to Connecticut, I. 178-183, 234; preaching to the Indians, I. 334.
- Waterville*, IV. 206.
- Wattacompanum*, his bad influence upon the "praying Indians," II. 182, 183.
- Watts*, Dr., IV. 81, 105, 106.
- Waymouth*, Captain George, his expedition to America, I. 5, 6.
- Wearg*, Solicitor-General of England, III. 421; his opinion upon the projected Synod in Boston, III. 421, 422.
- Webb*, General, Commander-in-Chief of the British American army, IV. 223; his position a temporary one, IV. 223, 224, 227; at Fort Edward, IV. 229; his imbecile conduct, IV. 229, 231, 280; letter from Pownall, IV. 232, 233.
- Webb*, Rev. Mr., the revivals in Boston, IV. 88.
- Webster*, John, Governor of Connecticut, I. 397.
- Weetamoo*, a squaw sachem, drowned in Taunton River, II. 171.
- Welde*, Joseph, Mrs. Hutchinson confined at his house, I. 208, 209.
- Welde*, Rev. Thomas, I. 127.
- Welles*, Thomas, Governor of Connecticut, I. 397; II. 390.
- Wells*, I. 223; II. 324, 325; III. 24, 85; unites with Massachusetts, I. 403; subject to repeated attacks and butcheries from the Indians and French, II. 174, 177, 179; III. 45, 85, 87, 98, 131, 145, 239, 245, 254, 406.
- Wentworth*, his emissaries dreaded by the Puritans, I. 122.
- Wentworth*, Benning, Governor of

WEN

New Hampshire, and son of Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth, removed from a lucrative office by Belcher, IV. 61; opposition from Belcher, IV. 61, 256; appointed Governor of New Hampshire, IV. 256, 450; son of Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth, IV. 256; offices held by, IV. 256, 257, 450; visit to London, and relations with Tomlinson, IV. 256; correspondence and relations with Shirley, IV. 257-259, 273; his administration in New Hampshire, IV. 257-271, 358-362, 395, 396, 399, 427, 428; made Surveyor of the Woods, IV. 256, 257; instructions with regard to bills of credit, IV. 258; letter on the danger from France, IV. 263; dispute with the Deputies of New Hampshire, IV. 269-271; trouble with Massachusetts concerning the boundary line, IV. 269-271; his salary, IV. 270, 271; complaints of, sent to London, IV. 270, 271; grants land for townships, IV. 271, 358-362; questions of boundary with New York, IV. 358-362; his grants called the New Hampshire Grants, IV. 361; receives a petition for a College in New Hampshire, IV. 361; his letter in relation to the Stamp Act, IV. 396; holds aloof from the Colonial Congress, IV. 399; his position in relation to the Stamp Act, IV. 427; followed by Governor John Wentworth, IV. 428.

Wentworth, John, Governor of New Hampshire, IV. 428, 450; disposal of the cargoes of tea, IV. 428, 429.

Wentworth, Captain John, Counsellor and Lieutenant-Governor of New Hampshire, III. 427; IV. 450; the land controversy, III. 428, 429; permission given to the Irish Presbyterians to settle on the Merrimack, III. 429; left in charge of New Hampshire, III. 429; new towns laid out, III. 429; his death, IV. 61; unpleasant relations with Governor Belcher, IV. 61, 256; his successor, IV. 61, 63.

Wessagussett, I. 75, 89; former name of Weymouth, I. 75, 76.

West, John, appointed as Deputy-Secretary of Massachusetts, II. 324, 330; appointed Judge of the Inferior Court of Suffolk County, II. 324; unites with Andros and Palmer in extortions and unjust practices, II. 324, 330, 332, 333, 347-349, 354, 374-376, 382; III. 62; made captive at the Castle, II. 375; to be sent with Governor Andros to England, III. 57; to be tried in England, III. 62.

WES

West Chester, II. 66.

West Church, the, under the pastorate of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, IV. 324.

West Haven, the, the ministers conform to the Church of England, III. 444.

West Indies, the, I. 2; II. 275, 277, 380; III. 51, 95, 133, 134, 136, 154, 167, 398, 454; IV. 150, 158, 159; visited by Columbus, I. 2; exports and imports, I. 294, 298, 407; III. 345, 424; IV. 332, 333, 365, 366, 373; conquest of Cromwell, I. 404; Indians sold into slavery, II. 183, 184; colonies of England in, III. 14; IV. 383; death of the Assistant of King's Chapel, III. 169; French privateers, III. 245; price of postage, III. 307; commerce with Rhode Island and Connecticut, III. 330, 373, 439; IV. 129, 362, 363, 365, 366; war with Spain, IV. 134, 272; application for troops, IV. 142, 145; trade of William Pepperell, IV. 153, 154; arrival of the exiles from Nova Scotia, IV. 215; capture of Guadaloupe, IV. 294; contraband trade, IV. 306; molasses exported to Massachusetts, IV. 332, 333; restrictions on the sugar trade, IV. 335, 366, 369.

West Jersey, Andros assumes the government, II. 356. See *New Jersey*.

West Riding, I. 106.

West Rock, a refuge sought by the regicides, II. 25, 38.

West Springfield, revival of religion, IV. 79.

Westbrooke, Colonel Thomas, commands a party against the Jesuits, III. 391, 392; appointed to take command in Walton's place, III. 402; attack on Norridgewock and Oldtown, III. 405, 406; further expeditions made by, III. 410.

Westerly, II. 308; III. 329; IV. 129; name changed to Faversham, II. 308; the Sabbatarians and Seventh-Day Baptists, III. 435, 436, 440, 441; revival work, IV. 119, 120; Episcopal congregations established at, IV. 134.

Western Islands, the, exports and imports, III. 424.

Western Massachusetts, I. 27; III. 24.

Western States, the, population of, I. ix.

Westminster Abbey, monument to Viscount Howe, IV. 239.

Westminster Assembly, the, I. 323; III. 172.

Westminster Catechism and Confession of Faith, the, III. 92, 172.

WES

- Westminster Hall*, I. 159, 161; II. 255, 259, 312; III. 5.
Westmoreland, Indian ravages, IV. 261.
Weston, Francis, I. 304.
Weston, Thomas, I. 57; one of the "Merchant Adventurers," I. 75-77; his attempt at colonization, I. 75-77; shipwrecked and robbed, I. 76, 77.
Wesley, John, abridgment of the publication of Jonathan Edwards, IV. 105; his action viewed by the Church of England, IV. 109.
Wethersfield, I. 181; III. 444; foundation of, I. 181-183; attacked by the Pequots, I. 185, 186; emigration from, I. 229, 230, 396; II. 25; planters meet to constitute a State with its government, I. 232-234; reception tendered to Andros, II. 340; fishing interests, III. 439; makes an offer for the erection of a college building, III. 443; religious work of Whitefield, IV. 111, 112; Ingersoll obliged to resign his office of Stamp Distributor, IV. 397.
Weymouth, former name of, I. 75; attacked by Indians, II. 157; opposition to Whitefield, IV. 99.
Whale Fins, III. 398.
Whale Oil, III. 398.
Whalley, Colonel Edward, one of the regicides, II. 21; offices held by, in England, II. 22; his arrival in Massachusetts, II. 22; his flight, II. 23-25; his life in Hadley and his death, II. 23.
Wharton, Richard, his visit to the King's Province, II. 308; privileged to make pitch, rosin, etc., III. 365.
Wheat, I. 380; II. 141, 142; III. 330.
Wheeler, Captain, wounded by the Indians, II. 133; saved by his son, II. 133; gives his command to Simon Davis, II. 134; proceeds to Marlborough, II. 136.
Wheeler, the son of Captain Wheeler, wounded by the Indians, II. 133.
Wheelock, Rev. Eleazer, first President of Dartmouth College, IV. 112, 361; his school at Lebanon for the natives, IV. 361, 362.
Wheelwright, Rev. John, brother-in-law to Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, I. 196, 197; invited to a church at Mount Wollaston, I. 198; the petition in his favor, I. 200, 201, 206, 208; his tenets discussed at the Synod, I. 204, 205; his trial and sentence of banishment, I. 206, 207, 223; forms a settlement at Exeter, I. 214; withdraws to the territory of

WIC

- Gorges, I. 220; his trip to England favored by Cromwell, I. 223; his banishment revoked, I. 223; removals, I. 223; his death, I. 223; deed of land from Indians, III. 321.
Wheelwright's Pond, III. 41.
Whigs, the, III. 11, 352; IV. 254; William III. offended with the party, III. 13; the leaders suffer special odium, III. 166; the party again in the ascendant, IV. 405, 406.
Whippoorwill, the, I. 25.
White, Rev. John, I. 94; scheme of colonization, I. 94-96; chairman of the Committee of Religion, I. 109, 110; address drawn up by him for the departing emigrants, I. 110, 111.
White, William, a Puritan, I. 50.
White Mountains, the, I. 19, 411.
Whitefield, Rev. Mr., first minister of Guilford, I. 297.
Whitefield, Rev. George, the revivalist, IV. 81; his work in New England, IV. 81-86, 98-101, 104, 111, 112, 118, 119; his impressions of Boston and New England, IV. 83, 84, 86; compared with Edwards, IV. 85; his opinion of Gilbert Tennent, IV. 87; his preaching, IV. 87, 101; his acquaintance with James Davenport, IV. 89, 90; his dangerous illness, IV. 98; second visit to New England, IV. 98-101; gives offence in regard to the communion, IV. 98-101; his death and burial, IV. 101; anonymous letter describing the state of things in the revival, IV. 104, 105; letter from an Episcopal minister concerning his work, IV. 108, 109; his appearance in Connecticut, IV. 111, 112, 118, 119; furnishes a legend for the regimental colors, IV. 155; opposition of Governor Law and his party, IV. 277; his influence over Mr. Wheelock, IV. 361.
Whitefield, Rev. Henry, arrives at New Haven, I. 229; founding of Guilford, I. 229, 230; his house, I. 297.
Whitehall, II. 339, 368.
Whitgift, I. 106.
Whiting, Rev. Samuel, the minister of Windham, IV. 110.
Whiting, William, acts as agent in England in behalf of Connecticut, II. 312, 388.
Whortleberry, the, I. 24.
Wiches to act for the Narragansetts, I. 312, 313.
Wickford, town of, II. 53; troubles with Connecticut and Rhode Island, II. 53; arrival of troops during Philip's War, II. 146, 150, 151.

WID

- Widows*, rights of inheritance, I. 278.
Wiggin, Thomas, brings out a party to Cochecho, I. 215; deposed from office, I. 216.
Wight. See *Isle of Wight*.
Wigwams, I. 30, 31, 45.
Wilbur, Shadrach, his punishment, II. 334.
Wild-cat, the, I. 26.
Wilkins, Richard, appointed for Postmaster, III. 306.
Wilks, Francis, IV. 25, 40; to act in London for the House of Massachusetts, IV. 25, 32; matter of payment to, IV. 25, 28, 32, 33; appointed agent for Connecticut, IV. 124; vote of the House to discharge from office, IV. 142.
Willard, Esquire, Secretary of Massachusetts, IV. 82.
Willard, Mr., escorts Whitefield to the Governor's house, IV. 82.
Willard, Rev. Samuel, Vice-President of Harvard College and Pastor of the Old South Church, II. 322; III. 103; effort of Andros to intrude Episcopacy upon Boston, II. 322, 323; suspected on account of his course during the excitement in relation to witchcraft, III. 103; acts as Vice-President at Harvard College, III. 103, 292, 293; his death, III. 293.
Willard, Major Shmon, I. 374; II. 377; serves in Philip's War, II. 135-137, 152.
Willett, Thomas, I. 365.
William III., Prince of Orange, King of England, II. 116, 117; III. 24, 112, 137, 233, 430; his entry into England and the Revolution of the Seventeenth Century, II. 362, 367-369; IV. 287, 331; a copy of his Declaration sent to America, II. 366, 367; proclaimed King of England, II. 379, 381, 382, 385, 386; III. 10, 13, 54, 55; petitions offered by Mather and Phipps in behalf of New England, II. 381, 382; his alliances, III. 3, 6; his religious and political position, III. 3-8, 10-13; hostility to France, III. 3, 29, 34, 35; his Declaration of Right, III. 12; a Convocation summoned to decide upon religious matters, III. 12; offended with the Whigs, III. 12, 13; legislation in relation to woollens, III. 16; a plot to assassinate, III. 17; colonial administration previous to his accession, III. 17; Board of Trade and Plantations re-established, III. 17, 18; his wish concerning the government of Massachusetts, III. 20, 53-57, 67; war declared against France, III. 29, 35, 42, 43; expedition fitted out

WIL

against Quebec, III. 48-52; Andros ordered to be sent to England for trial, III. 53; the Claim of Right, III. 54; Address sent from Massachusetts, III. 56, 57; effort of Massachusetts and her agents to obtain her chartered rights, III. 58-71; Andros and his fellow-prisoners set at liberty, III. 62, 149; Address brought by the opponents of Massachusetts, III. 63, 64; views on government, III. 65-67; a new charter to be drawn for Massachusetts, III. 67-71; absent from England, III. 67, 81, 194; provisions of the charter for Massachusetts, III. 71-75, 126, 169, 354, 361, 381; IV. 68, 285; prerogatives assigned to, III. 71-74, 78, 79, 159; his power of restricting the legislation of Massachusetts, III. 72, 126, 156-159; certain trees in the colonies to be reserved for the navy, III. 73, 365; endows Massachusetts with Maine and Nova Scotia, III. 75, 147, 381; attitude of the different colonies of New England toward, III. 77; Address sent from Plymouth, III. 79; gives audience to Mather, III. 79; his views on New France, III. 84, 85; action of the Privy Council in regard to witchcraft, III. 118; his views on witchcraft, III. 123; in common with the Privy Council disallows certain legislation in Massachusetts, III. 126-130; matters pertaining to his orders in regard to the control of the militia of Rhode Island and Connecticut, III. 137, 207, 218-221; IV. 292; Address sent to, from Massachusetts asking aid in the French wars, III. 143; attitude towards the colonists during the wars with France, III. 145, 146, 149; Admiralty powers reserved to the crown, III. 159; matter of Lord Bellomont's salary, III. 161; share of Lord Bellomont in the enterprise of fitting out Kidd's vessel, III. 163-167; efforts of Massachusetts to secure an Act of Incorporation for Harvard College, III. 172-175, 292; Lord Bellomont maligned, III. 175; honor offered to Stoughton, III. 176; the charters of New England in danger, III. 179, 180, 453, 454; his death, III. 180, 184, 198; effort of Dudley to procure promotion to office, III. 183, 184; attitude towards Massachusetts and other colonies, III. 186, 198, 199, 303; the union of New Hampshire with Massachusetts, III. 189, 193; thanks of New Hampshire for the new appointment of

WIL

their Governor, III. 194; petition from Allen, III. 197; Address from Connecticut, III. 199; the woful decade, III. 200; plan of the expedition against Canada, III. 202-204; rights of appeal from the colonies, III. 204, 205; question of the boundaries of Connecticut, III. 213; report from Rhode Island, III. 216; desolation caused by the French wars, III. 235; matter of the salary of Governor Phipps, III. 267; influence brought at the time of Dudley's commission, III. 295; condition of Puritanism, III. 303; mail arrangements in the colonies, III. 306; tolerance of, III. 346, 350, 463; law requiring the royal approval of governors, III. 431; desire to annex Rhode Island and Connecticut to New Hampshire, III. 431, 432; questions of validity of titles to land in America, III. 458; godfather to William Burnet, IV. 1; matters in New England under, IV. 287, 288; statutes of, relating to the powers of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, IV. 308.

William and Mary College, the, I. 247.

William and Nicholas, the, a ship of war, II. 58.

William Henry, Fort. See *Fort William Henry*.

Williams, the Lord-Keeper, I. 135.

Williams, Abigail, affected by the witches, III. 94-97.

Williams, Rev. Elisha, III. 444; made Rector and President of Yale College, III. 444; IV. 275; growth of the college IV. 275; resigns his office at Yale, IV. 275.

Williams, Colonel Ephraim, founder of Williams College, IV. 217; encounter with Dieskau, IV. 217-220; loss of, IV. 218.

Williams, Francis, a colony given in charge to, I. 218.

Williams, Rev. John, minister at Deerfield, III. 242; the sack of, and slaughter at Deerfield, III. 242-244; sufferings of himself and family, III. 242-244.

Williams, Rev. Roger, I. 46; a friend to the Indians, I. 46; his arrival in Boston, I. 161, 162; gives offence by his independent views, I. 162, 163; settles at Plymouth, I. 163; installed as Teacher at Salem, I. 163, 174; his troubles with the church of Salem, I. 163-165; banished from Salem and Massachusetts, I. 165, 214; dealings with the Indians, I. 166, 184, 185, 345; II. 286; lays the

WIL

foundations of what is now Providence, I. 166; his individualism, I. 167, 168; assists the settlers, I. 211; sent with a petition to Vane, I. 214; appealed to for help, I. 218; annoyed by Gorton, I. 305; sails for England, I. 344; obtains patent to associate certain towns in one community, I. 344; returns with his patent to Boston, I. 344; forms a partnership with Richard Smith, I. 345; Gorton's friends join with him, I. 345, 346; appointed Assistant for Providence, I. 346; II. 392; a constitution chosen and a code of laws drawn, I. 346, 347; made Chief Magistrate, I. 347; II. 392; the danger of an Indian war, I. 348; accompany the force from Massachusetts to the Indians, I. 349; departs again for England, I. 386-390; restoration of his Patent, I. 389, 390; his administration, I. 390, 391; made Assistant, I. 391; II. 392; deposed from office, I. 391; his hopes regarding Winthrop's settlement, I. 395; appointed Assistant by the charter, II. 52, 392; appointed Magistrate of Rhode Island, II. 53, 392; distrusts the methods of the Royal Commissioners, II. 70; quarrel with William Harris, II. 111, 112; sends challenge to George Fox, II. 113; holds a dispute with three of Fox's chaplains, II. 113; his death, II. 285, 286; his position in Rhode Island, II. 190, 286.

Williams College, IV. 217.

Williamson, Secretary of State in England, II. 216; letters from Massachusetts, II. 216.

Williamstown, formerly Fort Massachusetts, IV. 174.

Willington, settlement of, IV. 121.

Willoughby, Francis, elected Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts, II. 73, 388.

Wills, II. 324; III. 76, 129; IV. 123, 376.

Wilson, Lieutenant, his attack upon Indians, III. 88.

Wilson, Alexander, I. 25.

Wilson, Deborah, a Quakeress, II. 15.

Wilson, George, a Quaker, II. 15.

Wilson, Rev. John, I. 115, 124; settled at Mishawum, I. 115; his trip to England, I. 120, 127; his church removed to Boston, I. 123, 134; visits Plymouth, I. 131; affront offered to, by Mrs. Hutchinson and others, I. 197, 198; his speech on Newtown Common, I. 202; sentence pronounced against Mrs. Hutchinson, I. 210; his death, II. 101.

WIN

Winchester, Connecticut, IV. 121.
Winchester, New Hampshire, Indian ravages committed at, IV. 261.
Wincob, John, I. 55; a patent taken out in his name, I. 55, 56.
Windham, IV. 110, 275; revival in, IV. 110.
Windmills, I. 298.
Windsor, Connecticut, I. 146, 181-183; II. 148; IV. 277; furnishes troops for the Pequot War, I. 186; planters meet to constitute a state with its government, I. 232-234; families from, settle at Fairfield, I. 234; effect of the law on woollen exports, III. 148; tract of land granted to, IV. 121, 122; gift to the church, IV. 125.
Windsor, England, III. 289.
Wine, I. 295, 299; III. 330, 424; IV. 298.
Wingfield, I. 10.
Winnington, lawyer for the Crown, II. 220; his report concerning the legal condition of Massachusetts, II. 220, 221.
Winnipiseogee, Lake, I. 20; Indians retreat to, III. 139.
Winnisimmett, former name of Chelsea, I. 88.
Winslow, Edward, his opinion of the Indians' religion, I. 43; III. 407; voyage of the Puritans to America, I. 58-62; a passenger in the Mayflower, I. 59; landing at Plymouth, I. 62-64; meets Massasoit, I. 67, 68; visits Massasoit, I. 70, 71; kindness to Massasoit, I. 76; returns to England, I. 83; brings supplies to America, I. 83; obtains furs near the Kennebec, I. 87; land bought for the Plymouth people, I. 95; the trouble caused by Hocking, I. 145; visits Boston on business, I. 146; elected Governor of Plymouth, I. 147; II. 387; acts as agent for Massachusetts and Plymouth in England, I. 152, 237, 238, 327, 328, 335, 339-343, 393; incurs the displeasure of Winthrop, I. 237; committed to Fleet Prison, I. 237, 238; brings Rev. John Norton from England, I. 240; urges the English to sympathize with the conversion of the Indians, I. 335; his two errands to England, I. 339; "Hypocrisis Unmasked," I. 341; his action in the Shawomet affair, I. 339-343; his affirmation concerning the law in Massachusetts about Baptists, I. 382, 383; his assiduity in behalf of Plymouth, I. 393; Commissioner in charge of an expedition to Jamaica, I. 404; death of,

WIN

I. 408; Leverett succeeds as agent for Massachusetts in England, II. 1.
Winslow, John, brings the news of the entrance of the Prince of Orange into England, II. 366, 367, 370; attempt of Andros to prevent his movements, II. 366, 367.
Winslow, General John, IV. 211; the expulsion of the French Neutrals, IV. 211, 213-216; recalled from Nova Scotia, IV. 223; expedition against Crown Point, IV. 227, 228.
Winslow, General Josiah, Governor of Plymouth, son of Governor Edward Winslow, II. 109; succeeds Governor Prince in office, II. 109, 387; Alexander an Indian taken ill at his house, II. 126; news of Philip's War brought by Sausaman, II. 127-129; appointed Commander-in-Chief against the Narragansetts, II. 145; assumes command at Petty-quamscott, II. 147; invites Randolph to visit Plymouth, II. 203; proposition made by Randolph concerning, II. 226; his death, II. 277; differs from his father, II. 294.
Winslow, Captain Josiah, grandson of Josiah Winslow, killed by Indians, III. 407.
Winter Harbor, numbers killed in war, III. 239; Indian ravages, III. 254; former name of Biddeford, III. 254.
Winthrop, Fitz-John, son of Governor Winthrop, and Governor of Connecticut, II. 292; one of the Council in Massachusetts, II. 292; his visit to the King's Province, II. 308; to proceed to England to seek a renewal of the charter of Connecticut, III. 199; to take command of the expedition against Montreal, III. 203, 204; to be sent to England on business for Connecticut, III. 206, 207; becomes Governor of Connecticut, III. 208; IV. 445; his term of service, III. 333; IV. 445.
Winthrop, John, first Governor of Massachusetts, resolution to emigrate with his family, I. 105, 106; chosen Governor of the Massachusetts Company, I. 106; II. 388; resolution to transfer the charter to America, I. 105, 106; his antecedents, I. 106; takes leave of his country, I. 110, 111; his projects of the new nation, I. 110; his Journal, I. 112, 361; treatise composed by, I. 112; arrives at Salem, I. 113; IV. 38; searches for new site for settlement, I. 114; enters into a church covenant, I. 115; first Cis-Atlantic Court of As-

WIN

sistants, I. 115; rules of government decided upon, I. 115-118; erection of a few buildings in Boston, I. 119; proposes to reside at Cambridge, I. 119, 123-125; the public worship committed to him by Wilson, I. 120; re-elected Governor, I. 120, 124, 126, 133, 201, 202, 255, 360; 400; II. 388; his place of residence changed to Boston, I. 123, 124; Dudley's anger and reconciliation, I. 124; questions of difficulty raised by Watertown, I. 124-126, 139; germ of a second house of legislature, I. 126; visited by Chickatabot, I. 129; proposition from the Indians on the Connecticut River, I. 130, 146; visited by Miantonomo, I. 130; visits Plymouth, I. 131; feeling toward, I. 139-141; acts as Assistant, I. 139, 169; II. 389; placed on a committee of war, I. 156; his view of the favorable turn of events, I. 160, 161; his advice to Roger Williams, I. 165, 166; his opinion of the obliteration of the red cross, I. 169, 176; chosen for Deputy-Governor, I. 175, 318; II. 388; elected to the Standing Council, I. 176; disapproves of the code of statute laws, I. 176, 177; visits the Connecticut River, I. 178; imagined jealousy of Mr. Haynes, I. 179; description of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, I. 196; a non-partisan of Mrs. Hutchinson, I. 197, 198, 210; the need of his restoration to office, I. 201; daily slights shown to him, I. 202; defends the Alien Law, I. 203; controversy with Vane, I. 203, 204, 206; letter from Wheelwright asking for revocation of banishment, I. 223; Winslow incurs his displeasure, I. 227; feeling about his long term of office, I. 249, 250; removed from office honorably and elected Assistant, I. 250, 251; II. 389; his opinion of Dudley, I. 250, 251; his letter to England at the time of danger to the charter of Massachusetts, I. 251-254; always called in time of trouble to the highest office, I. 255, 360; his account of the litigation concerning the stray sow, I. 257-259; controversy with Bellingham, I. 258; possesses valuable collection of books, I. 289; his house, I. 297; Gorton and his company brought before, I. 297; disturbances caused by Gorton and the Shawomet settlers, I. 308-312, 343; his letter to the Dutch, I. 315; opposition to, I. 317, 318; deposed from office of Federal Commissioner, I. 318; sends order to

WIN

Richardson, I. 320; letter pertaining to the controversy, I. 324; his opinion of La Tour, I. 336; events happening under his jurisdiction, I. 356; party opposition to, I. 356, 357; his defence and triumph, I. 358-360; his notice of Thomas Hooker, I. 361; code of laws revised, I. 331; establishment of the common and grammar schools, I. 361; his sickness and death, I. 361, 362, 400; events succeeding his death, I. 363; his service as Governor, I. 400.

Winthrop, John, Jr., Governor of Connecticut, his arrival in America, I. 149, 173; son of the Governor of Massachusetts, I. 149, 394; builds a fort on what is afterward Saybrook, I. 181, 182; brings commission concerning Connecticut, I. 181, 182; returns to America with preparations for iron-work, I. 394; founds a settlement on Pequot River, I. 394, 395; a skilful physician, I. 395; at the head of the government of Connecticut, I. 397; results of the Synod, II. 19; information furnished concerning the regicides, II. 23; prepares an Address to the King, II. 39; to proceed to England as agent for Connecticut, II. 39; to procure a copy of the patent granted to Lord Say and Sele, II. 39; to obtain a charter for Connecticut, II. 39; charge of the business of Lord Say and Sele, II. 40; his reception in England, II. 40, 191; admitted to the Royal Society, II. 40, 191; a charter obtained for Connecticut with large privileges, II. 40-42; his powerful friends, II. 40-43; the extinction of New Haven's independence, II. 41-45; his character, II. 43-45; his letter to Connecticut, II. 45; his return from England, II. 46; interference of John Clarke, II. 48-51; negotiations with Clarke, II. 50, 51, 282; writes concerning the Atherton Company, II. 50; rumors concerning, reported to Charles II., II. 51, 52; sent to the Royal Commissioners with instructions from Connecticut, II. 66; condition of the settlement during the forty years following his immigration, II. 89-91; serves as Governor of Connecticut, II. 115, 390; his death, II. 190; III. 469; his policy and intentions regarding New Haven and the Confederacy, II. 190-193; III. 456; differs from his father, II. 294; charged with treachery, III. 452; the trustee of John Liveen's will,

WIN

- III. 457, 458; the latter part of his rule. III. 458, 459.
- Winthrop*, John, son of Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, his complaint against Connecticut, IV. 122, 123.
- Winthrop*, Mrs. John, inventory of her property, I. 297.
- Winthrop*, Mrs. John, IV. 123.
- Winthrop*, Captain Wait, Counsellor of Massachusetts, son of Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, II. 292; one of the Council under Governor Andros, II. 292, 398; takes command of the Castle in Boston Harbor, II. 297; to command the militia, II. 377; resigns his position, II. 379; made Major General of the military forces, III. 21; part taken in the transactions of witchcraft, III. 113; one of the associates of the Superior Court, III. 128; appointed to the agency in England, but the agency withdrawn, III. 184; sent to New York, III. 255.
- Wiscasset*, quarrel between Indians and English, IV. 185.
- Wise*, Rev. John, leader in the movement at Ipswich against the government, II. 326-328.
- Wiswall*, Rev. Ichabod, sent to England, to seek for a charter for Plymouth, II. 277, 278; inhuman treatment offered him, II. 349, 350; acts as agent for Plymouth, III. 80, 81.
- Witchcraft*, its appearance in Massachusetts, III. 90; executions, III. 90, 91, 93, 99-102; the witches required to say the Lord's Prayer in English, III. 93; a Court of Oyer and Terminer unlawfully called into action, III. 93, 112; part taken by Stoughton, III. 99, 100, 104, 105, 112, 113, 177, 178; number of victims executed, III. 102; steps taken to turn the tide, III. 103, 104, 106; the transactions considered, III. 104-124; horror of Saltonstall at the proceedings, III. 105, 113; part taken by Sewall, III. 106, 107, 112, 113, 177, 178; Governor Hutchinson's statement regarding, III. 107, 108; the statement of six women at Andover, III. 110, 111; executions for, in many places, III. 115-117; bull of Innocent VIII., III. 116; executions in Scotland, III. 117.
- Witter*, William, visit of Clarke to, I. 385.
- Wolcott*, Roger, Lieutenant-Governor of Connecticut, leads troops against Louisburg, IV. 272, 273; succeeds Governor Law in office, IV. 277, 445; incurs Connecticut's displeasure, IV. 277, 278; term of office, IV. 277, 278,

WOR

- 445; opposition to the scheme of federal union, IV. 278, 279.
- Wolf*, the, I. 26; the destruction of, III. 434.
- Wolfe*, General James, IV. 216; his letter to Massachusetts concerning the exiles from Grand Pré, IV. 216; capture of Louisburg, IV. 242, 243, 254; trip to England, IV. 243; opinion of, held by Pitt, IV. 243; attention in England shown him, IV. 243; the campaign against, and capture of Quebec, IV. 244-250, 265; receives his death wound, IV. 248; the name dear and honored, IV. 253.
- Wollaston*, Captain, attempts a settlement, I. 78, 79, 87, 88.
- Wollaston*, Mount, settlement of, I. 127; church at, invites Mr. Wheelwright, I. 198.
- Women*, Indian wives, I. 34, 35; laws pertaining to, I. 280, 281; titles of married women, I. 300; cultivation of, in New England, II. 89, 90; the defence of Oyster River, III. 247; law of inheritance in Connecticut, IV. 122, 123.
- Wood Creek*, III. 203, 256; IV. 217.
- Woodbury*, John, urged to remain at Naumkeag, I. 96.
- Woodcock*, the, I. 25.
- Woodpecker*, the, I. 25.
- Woods*, resources of, I. 293, 294; the timber excellent for ship-building, I. 294; III. 363-375; IV. 41, 71; a present of masts sent to the King, II. 79, 80; III. 364, 365; to be preserved for the King, III. 73, 364-375, 380, 389; IV. 41, 61-63; exportation of, restricted, III. 345; Surveyors of, appointed, III. 366, see *Armstrong*, *Bridger*, *Burniston*, *Dunbar*, *Furzer*; exported from New England, III. 374, 398. See *Exports and Imports*.
- Woodstock*, discreditable action of Connecticut in regard to, IV. 274, 275.
- Woodward*, a survey made in Massachusetts, III. 213, 335.
- Wool*, I. 295, 298; III. 330, 366, 367, 399, 424; Act of Parliament relating to the trade in the wool manufactures of America, III. 16, 148; the trade in Massachusetts, III. 369; IV. 352; woollen goods, manufacture of, III. 64; IV. 387.
- Woolwich*, Indian butcheries committed at, II. 174; former name of, II. 175.
- Worcester*, England, the victory of Cromwell, I. 392, 393.
- Worcester*, Massachusetts, former name of, II. 146; on the frontier

WRE

- line of Massachusetts, III. 24; religious work of Whitefield, IV. 84.
- Wrentham*, sacked and burned, II. 159.
- Writs*, to be issued in the King's name, II. 35; granted by the Justices, IV. 312.
- Writs of Assistance*, the, issued by the courts in Boston, IV. 306, 307; hearings and arguments on their legality and length of duration, IV. 307-312, 362; feeling of resentment in Massachusetts against the Judges, IV. 317; granted in Massachusetts, IV. 333; granted in New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, IV. 362.
- Writs of Habeas Corpus*, the, III. 123.
- Writs of Intrusion*, the, II. 347-349.
- Writs of Quo Warranto*, the, I. 159, 161; II. 218, 220, 221, 250, 253-257, 290, 306, 309.
- Writs of Scire Facias*, the, II. 259.
- Wyllis*, Samuel, a Magistrate of Connecticut, II. 341, 390; a tree on his grounds receives the charter of Connecticut, II. 341.

YALE, Elihu, Governor of Fort St. George, in the East Indies, III. 443; his gifts to Yale College, III. 443; offices held by, III. 443.

Yale College, established and incorporated, III. 343, 344; donations to, III. 344, 443; IV. 124, 125, 133, 275; first President of, III. 344; regulations of, III. 344, 345; number graduating at the first two Commencements, III. 345; designated seat of the College at Saybrook, III. 345; President Pierson succeeded by Rev. Mr. Andrew, III. 345; its library, III. 442, 443; IV. 276; site and cost of a building, III. 442, 443, 459, 460; the large gifts from Mr. Elihu Yale, III. 443; number of students, III. 444; opposition to the revivals, IV. 99, 118; gift from Bishop Berkeley, IV. 133, 275; discreditable action of Connecticut, IV. 274, 275; endowment of, IV. 275; resignation of Rector Williams, IV. 275; obtains a charter and perpet-

ZIO

- ual corporation, IV. 275, 276; second building erected, IV. 276; a Professor of Divinity appointed, IV. 276; body of laws adopted, IV. 276; discussion concerning doctrinal instruction, IV. 276, 277; Board of Visitors, IV. 276, 277; number of graduates in 1760, IV. 277.
- Yards*, naval supplies, III. 365; IV. 200.
- Yarmouth*, England, sailing of the *Arbella*, I. 110.
- Yarmouth*, Massachusetts, I. 243; early institutions of government, I. 243, 276; Eliot preaches to the Indians, I. 334.
- York*, Archbishop of, I. 54.
- York*, Duke of. See *James II.*, of England.
- York*, England, I. 60.
- York*, Maine, I. 78; III. 24, 45; former name of, I. 78, 221, 403; action of the Royal Commissioners in regard to the government of, II. 78; a commission sent to, to reconstruct the government, II. 81; treachery and cruelty of the Indians, II. 178, 179; III. 85-87, 145, 240, 246, 254, 406; surprised by French and Indians, III. 86, 87; power of Whitefield, IV. 82, 83, 98. See *Agamenticus*.
- York County*, towns incorporated in, I. 403; Indian warfare and murders, II. 176; III. 145; IV. 185; contested election for the clerk of, IV. 47; questions of boundary, IV. 69.
- Yorke*, Attorney-General of England, his opinion of the projected Synod in Boston, III. 421, 422; opinion in relation to questions in Rhode Island, IV. 131, 132.
- Yorkshire*, the name given to Long Island, II. 64.
- Yorkshire*, Maine, a new county called so, I. 403. See *York County*.
- Yorkshire*, England, I. 107; emigrants from, I. 293; settlement attacked by Indians, II. 177, 180.
- Young*, Sir John, I. 109; his place in Cromwell's Parliament, I. 109; pleads the defence for the Council of New England, I. 159.

ZION, II. 44.

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